

THE  
HISTORY  
*John Heygate 1720* OF THE  
CHURCH,

FROM

Our LORD'S Incarnation, to the Twelfth Year of the Emperor  
MAURICIUS TIBERIUS, or the YEAR OF CHRIST 524.

As it was written in GREEK by

*K* EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS,

Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*;

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS,

Native of *Constantinople*;

AND

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS,

Born at *Epiphania* in *Syria Secunda*.

Made *English* from that Edition of these HISTORIANS, which VALESIIUS  
published at *Paris* in the Years 1659, 1668, and 1673.

Also, the LIFE of CONSTANTINE in Four Books, Written by EUSEBIUS  
PAMPHILUS; with CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION  
OF THE SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS'S SPEECH in Praise of CONSTANTINE,  
spoken at his TRICENNALIA.

VALESIIUS'S ANNOTATIONS on these Authors are done into *English*, and  
set at their proper Places in the Margin; as likewise a Translation  
of His Account of their LIVES and WRITINGS.

With Two INDEXES; the One, of the Principal Matters that occur in  
the TEXT; the Other, of those contained in the NOTES.

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In this *Second Edition* are added,

- I. TWO MAPPS, containing all the Places mention'd in these Ecclesiastical Histories.
  - II. Some OBSERVATIONS in reference to the Geographical Part of these Ecclesiastical Histories,  
and to the aforesaid Mapps: Both by ED. WELLS, D. D.
  - III. The Order of the Presidency of the *Patriarchs*, taken from Bishop *Beveridge's* Pandects.
  - IV. A CHRONOLOGICAL INDEX of the Popes and Emperors, taken from *Cassiodorus*.
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L O N D O N:

Printed by J. M. for Awnsham and John Churchhill. at the Black  
Swan in Paternoster-Row. MDCCIX.

RECEIVED

John Geo. Hether  
1825  
No 25

Received of Mr. J. G. Hether

1825





# THE PUBLISHER

OF THIS

ENGLISH Translation

TO THE

# READER.

**V**ALESIUS has spoken so fully and satisfactorily concerning what He has done in *His Edition* of these following *Ecclesiastick Historians*, as to *His Amendments of the Greek Text*, as to *His Latin Version* of them, and as to *His Explanation of the obscurer passages that occur in them*; and besides, has added such compleat *Accounts concerning the Lives and Histories of these Authors*: (All which particulars, because they were judged necessary to be made known to the *English Reader*, are done into His own Language, and prefix'd before each Writer whom they concern:) That 'tis needless to give the Reader any farther trouble here, than barely to acquaint him, for *what reason* this *English Translation* was at first attempted, and by *what Helps and Assistances* this Attempt has at length been finished.

It cannot be supposed a thing unknown to any Person, though He may have been but meanly conversant amongst Books, that this is not the first time wherein *these Church-Historians* have appeared in *English*. For 'tis now almost a Compleat (a) *Century*, since *Meredith Hanmer Doctor of Divinity*, first published *His Translation* of them all; excepting only *Eusebius's Four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, and the *Two Orations* subjoined thereto: Which, by a *Dedication* to Sir *John Lambe Knight, Doctor of Laws, and Dean of the Archbis of Canterbury*, seem to have been made *English* several years after *Doctor (b) Hanmer's* death, by one *Mr. Wye Saltonstall*.

After *Four Editions* of *Doctor Hanmer's Translation*, a *fifth*, whereto was added *Mr. Saltonstall's Version of the Life of Constantine and the Two Orations*, was published in the Year 1650. Which *Impression* being sold off, and the Book become Scarce; the Person whose Propriety *Dr. Hanmer's Translation* was, some few Years since resolved to reprint it. This Resolution he communicated to some Friends, whom He knew to be able Advisers and Directors in an Affair of that nature. From them He received answer to this effect: That in *Doctor Hanmer's Translation* they saw many things that wanted Correction, which they supposed were not so much to be attributed to the *Doctor*, as to the Imperfection and Mistakes of the *Greek Text* and those *Latin Translators*, which the *Doctor* had made use of: That now there was a fair way opened, whereby the Errors in the *Doctor's Translation* might be corrected, in regard the *Original Text of these Historians*, after it had been compared with several *Ancient Manuscripts* of the best Note, (whereby the imperfections in it were

(a) *His Epistle Dedicatory* to Robert E. of Leicester bears date December the 15th. 1584.  
(b) Hedyed at Dublin, of the plague Anno 1604. See Fuller's *Worthies of Wals.* Flintshire. pag. 39.

supplied, and the faults committed in *other Editions* amended;) was, together with an excellent *Latin Version* thereof, published at *Paris* by *Henricus Valesius*, a Person of such eminent Learning, that by the unanimous consent of the *Arch-Bishops* and *Bishops* of the *Gallican Church*; He had been pitcht upon and employed as the fittest Man to undertake a work of this Nature: And therefore their advice was, that the *Doctor's Translation* should be compared with *that Edition of these Historians* which *Valesius* had published, and that, where-ever it differed, it should be made to agree with the *Greek Text* thereof.

After receipt of this advice, 'twas resolv'd it should be followed. And accordingly a *Reverend and Learned Divine* was prevail'd with to undertake this Work. Who, after He had done some few *Chapters* only of the *First Book* of *Eusebius's History*, for reasons best known to Himself, desist'd. But by this Tryal of His it plainly appear'd, that (besides its being an invidious attempt to go about to interpolate what another Person had long since put his last Hand to;) it was a work of far greater labour to bring *Doctor Hammer's Translation* to an agreement with the *Greek Text* of *Valesius's Edition*, than to make a *New One*. On which account this latter was resolv'd upon; and by Divine assistance being now finished, is here presented to the *Reader's* view.

The *Reader* having been acquainted with the *Reason* why this *New Translation* was at first attempted, 'tis fit He should know farther, by what *Helps* and *Assistances* this attempt has at length been finished.

This *Version*, as has been intimated, was taken immediately from the *Greek*, according to *that Edition* which *Henricus Valesius* set forth at *Paris*: Whence this advantage will accrue, that whatever Errors are found in it, will be Errors but of one descent. Besides *Valesius's Edition*, *That which Robert Stephens* Printed at *Paris* in the year 1544. was likewise all along consulted. Nor were the *Latin Translators* of *these Historians* refused or neglected: Namely these four; *Musculus's Version* Dedicated to *Edward the Sixth*, King of England, and Printed at *Basil* in the Year 1549; the Translation of *John Christopherson* (heretofore (a) *Master of Trinity College* in Cambridge, afterwards *Bishop of Chichester*;) Printed at *Cologne*, in the Year 1570; *John Curterius's Version*, or rather his *Emendation* of *Christopherson's*, Printed at *Paris* in the Year 1571; And lastly *Grinaeus's Translation*, set forth at *Basil* in the Year 1591. All which *Versions* were all along inspect'd; and in all places that required it, their Disagreements or Consents are (as the *Reader* will find,) taken notice of; unless the *Learned Valesius's* diligence had made those Remarks needless.

As for the *Notes* they are in a manner all *Valesius's*: nor is any Remark of his left untranslated (though perhaps some times made shorter;) that was judg'd of use to an *English Reader*, and becoming an *English Translation*. If the *Reader* does, as now and then He will, meet with a Note that has not *Valesius's* name set at the bottom; He may conclude that not to be *Valesius's*; however, He generally meets with some intimation or other, whereby notice is given him, on what authority such a Remark is grounded. But whereas in *Valesius's Edition*, His Notes on all *these Historians* are placed together in a Body by themselves, at the latter end of each Author whereto they belong: Here the *Reader* has them embodied with the Text, and by the Letters of the Alphabet He is shown the passages in the History, whereof they treat

(a) See Godwin de Praefationibus Anglie, pag. 501; and Fuller's Worthies, Lancashire.

## To the Reader.

treat. In which method the Reader's ease was consulted; that He might not have the trouble and interruption given Him, of turning forward and backward, from the *Matter* to the *Notes*, and from thence to the *Matter*.

How far *this Translation* is beholden to *That done by Doctor Hammer*, will quickly be discovered by any, that shall take the pains to compare them. It need not be dissembled, that the *Doctor's Version* has been seen; and 'tis as needless to detain the *Reader* in shewing Him by tedious instances, that He has not been, nor could have been followed, without a departure from the *Original Greek* as published by *Valesius*.

It only remains, that the *Reader* be entreated, as He peruses *this Translation*, to excuse and amend what Errors may have escaped the Press; which that He may the easier be perswaded to, He is desir'd to be mindful of this Excellent Saying :

Μὴδὲν ἀγνοεῖν ἐστὶ Θεῷ, καὶ πάντα ἁρμόζειν.

'Tis God's property to mistake in nothing, and to correct all things.

28 SE 60

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J E S U S C H R I S T, S O N O F

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Eusebius Pamphilus's Oration in praise of the Emperor Constantine, spoken at his Tricennalia, is divided into XVIII. Chapters, without Contents.

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ANCIENT Writers were wont, before their Books, to set an Index [or, Contents] of the Chapters ; to the end, the Readers might know, at first sight as 'twere, what was treated of in each Book. Now this was usually done by them two ways. For they either prefixed the Contents of all the Books together, before their whole Work ; as *Plinius Secundus* has done in his *Books of Natural History*. Or else their usage was, to set the Contents of the Chapters before each Book ; as *Our Eusebius* has done in his *Ecclesiastick History*. For 'tis not to be doubted, but *Eusebius* did himself make these Contents or Titles of the Chapters, and set them before his *Books of History*, as they now occur. We may indeed observe, that in these Contents *Eusebius* does always speak of himself in the first Person. For instance, after the Contents of the Chapters of the Second Book, these words occur : *Σὺν τῷ ἐκείνῳ ἔτι ἐστὶν αἱ ἐκείναι, αἱ αὖ καλεῖται, Τετραβιβλίου, Ἰουστὴ καὶ φίλου.* That is, *Note, that this Book was collected by me, out of the Writings of Clemens, Tertullian, Josephus, and Philo. Besides, in his Seventh Book, these are the Contents of the Last Chapter ; Περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἡλικίου αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀποθανόντος αὐτοῦ, &c.* That is, *Concerning those Ecclesiastick Persons who were famous in our own Age, &c.* Whence it may plainly be observed, that *Eusebius* the Compiler of this History, was the Author of the Contents of the Chapters also. Besides, *Rufinus*, who rendered the *Books of Ecclesiastick History* into *Latin*, about six hundred years after *Eusebius*'s death, has observed, that *Eusebius* had the Contents of his *Copies*. And this is apparent from *Rufinus*'s *Manuscript Copies*, one of which, written out above seven hundred years since, I have in my custody. For in them the Contents of the Chapters are always set before every Book, in the same order wherein they are now placed in our *Greek Manuscript Copies*. And *Rufinus* calls them *Capitula*. But *Cassiodorus* in his *Preface to the Thieritic History*, terms them righter *Tituli* ; as does likewise *St. Cyrillus*, in his *Exhortation to Martyrdom*, [written] to Fortunatus. *Conpendium feci, fias he, ut propositis titulis, quos quis noscere debeat & tenere ; Capitula Dominica subnectere.* Where you see that *Tituli* are distinguished from *Capitula*. Moreover, *Sozias*, in the word *καταλόγος*, and in the word *ἱστορία*, remarks, that *Tituli* differ from *Capitula*. For instance, *St. Matthew* [he says] contains sixty eight *Tituli*, but three hundred fifty five *Capitula* ; and so concerning the other Gospels. *Capitulum* is properly a Part of a Book, which contains the entire Narrative of some one thing. But *Titulus* is an Index set above the *Capitulum* ; and sometimes one *Titulus* or Title contains many *Capita* or Chapters, as may be seen in the *Pandects of the Civil Law*. The same thing was heretofore visible in *St. Matthew*'s Gospel, which had more Chapters than Titles, as *Suidas* does attest. So also in the other Gospels. For, that Passage which occurs in *Suidas*, namely, that *St. Mark* had forty eight *Tituli*, and but thirty six *Capita*, is faulty, and instead of thirty six, it must be mended thus, two hundred thirty three, as may be plainly gathered from the *Canons of the Gospels* which *Our Eusebius* composed. But sometimes each *Titulus* does answer each *Capitulum*, as 'tis in these *Books of Ecclesiastick History*. And in the *Margarine and Medicanean Copies*, the *Tituli* or Contents of each Book are prefixed, together with the *Numeral Notes* or Figures. But in the *Hebraick Manuscript*, after the *Titulus*, *αριθμοὶ* is added, together with the *Numeral Note*. But this term never occurs in those *Excellent Copies* which I have mentioned : Yea, instead thereof, I found the word *αριθμοὶ* placed in the Beginning of the Fourth Book, over the very Contents of the Chapters ; *Αριθμοὶ τετραβιβλίου αὐτοῦ*. That is, *The Contents of the Fourth Book*. Vale.

THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY  
OF

Eusebius Pamphilus,  
IN TEN BOOKS.

Made *English* from that Edition set forth by VALESIIUS, and  
Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIIUS's Annotations on the said Historian ; which are done  
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Hereto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life* and *Writings* of the foresaid *Historian* ; Collected by  
VALESIIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.



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L O N D O N :

Printed by J. M. for A. and J. Churchill, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. MDCCLVIII.

# V A L E S I U S S P R E F A C E, To his Edition of E U S E B I U S S H I S T O R Y.

**H**AVING performed the Office of a Solemn (a) Dedication, 'tis now time, *Most Illustrious Prelates!* That I should give *You* a particular Account of my Work. For, whereas this Labour was undertaken by me, on *Your* Account chiefly, and by *Your* Command; I do both wish, and also hope, that before all others, *You* will be the Readers and Judges of my Work. There are three things therefore, which I have endeavoured to perform in *this Edition*. The first is, an Amendment of the *Greek Text*: The second, a Latin Version of it. The third is, an Explanation of the obscurer places. As touching the Latin Version, after three Translators of *Eusebius's History*, I have made a fourth. But no person before us, had attempted an Amendment and Explanation of the *Eusebian Work*. But, that I may speak more distinctly concerning each particular in its Place and Order, I will begin first from the Emendation. Whoever attempt a new Edition of old Writers, those Persons must of necessity begin their Labour from an Emendation. So *Origen*, after he had undertaken a New Edition of the *Seventy Interpreters*, and had found many passages in them that were doubtful and disagreeable by reason of the diversity of Copies, in the first place Laboured in an Emendation of them. And having compared the Copies of the *Seventy Seniors*, partly with the *Hebrew Text*, partly with *three other Editions*, namely *Aquila's*, *Theodotion's*, and *Symmachus's*; He took out all those Errors which had crept into the Edition of the *Seventy Seniors*. For this He himself intimates, in His *Eighth Treatise* on St. *Mattbew*, in these Words. (b) *In Exemplaribus quidem Veteris Testamenti, quaecunque fuerunt inconsonantia, Deo prestante coaptare potuimus; utentes judicio ceterarum Editionum. Ea enim quae videbantur apud Septuaginta dubia esse propter Consonantiarum Exemplariorum, facientes judicium ex Editionibus reliquis, convenientia servavimus. Inde, in the Copies of the Old Testament, whatever [passages] were disagreeable, by God's assistance we have been able to make fit; using the judgment of the rest of the Editions. For those [passages] which seemed in the Seventy to be doubtful by reason of the agreement of Copies, making a judgment from the other Editions, we have preserved agreeable.*

(a) *Valesius dedicated his first Volume, (which contains Eusebius's Ten Books of History, His life of Constantine, Constantine's Oration, and His own) to the Arch-Bishops, Bishops, and the whole Clergy of the Gallican Church.* (b) See *Origen's Works*, second part, pag. 46. Edit. Paris 1619.

*Origen's Example* was afterwards followed by *St. Jerome*, who bestowed a new Edition of the *Seventy Translators* mended by Himself, and distinguished by *Asterisks* and *Obelisks*, on the Men of His own Language, as He Himself attests in several places. And that I may speak also concerning profane Writers, *Crates* and *Aristarchus*, *Grammarians*, who set forth most accurate Editions of *Homer's Poem*, have done nothing else in a manner, but mended and distinguished that Work. In like manner therefore, when I had resolved to publish a New Edition of the *Eusebian History*, I used my utmost Industry and diligence in its Emendation. Two Editions only of *Eusebius's History* have hitherto come forth in *Greek*. The one is the *Paris-Edition*, which *Robert Stephens* Printed; a Person who on this very account has deserved highly of Learning, because He was the first that published the Body of *Ecclesiastick History* in a most Excellent Letter. The other is the *Geneva-Edition*. But *this* has in the *Greek Text* every where express that Edition of *Robert Stephens*: save only, that it has various Readings and Emendations set at the Margin, [taken] out of the Copies of Learned Men; and, that out of those Copies it has supplied some imperfections which occur in the Books concerning the *Life of Constantine*. Therefore, my pains was to be bestowed upon that one Edition only of *Robert Stephens*. Which, with as much



diligence as I could, I have compared with *Four Manuscript Copies* of the best Note, and have restored it in many places. Two of these *Four Copies*, the *King's Library* furnish'd us with. The former bears the *Arms of Francis the First*; written on *Silken Paper*, about four hundred years since; and it does sometimes exhibit singular Readings, and very different from the other Copies. This is that, which in *my Notes* I have named *The King's Copy*. The other is out of the *Medicean Library*, which being now removed into the *King's*, is called by one and the same name of the *King's Library*. This, to distinguish it from that *former Copy*, is in *Our Notes* termed the *Medicean Copy*. Which, though it be something less ancient, is nevertheless transcribed from an excellent Copy, and by a Learned hand. *Robert Stephens* had made use of *Both these Copies*, in *His Edition of the Eusebian History*. And in *His Printing of the Text* it self, He has almost every where followed the *King's Copy*, and very seldom departs from its footsteps, as I have remark'd in *my Notes*. But in the distinction of the *Chapters*, He has express'd the *Medicean Copy*, wherein the Contents are set before each Chapter, and are written in *Red-Letters*. There is, besides those, a *third Copy*, belonging to the most Eminent Cardinal *Julius Mazzarinus*. Before I speak concerning the Goodness and Excellency of *which Copy*, it is requisite, and You (Most illustrious Prelates!) with importunity seem to crave this very thing of me, that a few words should be said concerning the *Most Eminent Cardinal*, by whom that *Copy* was lent me. For, whereas this Most Eminent Prince, born to every thing that is Great, does embrace Learning with a singular affection and benevolence; We, who from our infancy have applied our Minds to the Studies of Learning, should doubtless be ungrateful, should we not, both in our own, and in the name of all Learned Men in general, study to render Him all possible Thanks, as well in Words, as in our Writings. Farther, with what favour and how great a benevolence He does honour and respect Learning, His bounteous Liberality and Munificence towards Learned Men does attest; which, to speak nothing concerning other Persons, (a) He was lately willing should be extended even to me also, when I neither hop'd for, nor thought of any such thing. The same thing is declar'd by His most completely-furnish'd Library. Which having stor'd with innumerable Copies of the Best Writers, partly Printed, and partly in Manuscript; He does not keep it perpetually shut like some Sepulchre, as those old Senators of the City *Rome* did, whom (b) *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth sharply reprove on that very account; but opens it, as 'twere some publick House, to all the Learned; and voluntarily invites each Person to it; and freely imparts the use of His Manuscript Books to the Studious, as often as they shall have need. What shall I say concerning His other Virtues and eximious Accomplishments of Mind? What concerning His wonderful Moderation and Lenity, whereby He hath allay'd intestine Commotions and Tumults without the blood of any Citizen? But, these things will be spoken by me more fully at another time, or more Rhetorically by others. For at present I have resolv'd, to pursue those Praises of His only, which do apart belong to the Studies of Literature. Nevertheless, I can't possibly refrain my self, but must speak something here concerning that Peace, which the most Eminent Cardinal, with all imaginable earnestness and industry, does now chiefly urge and promote, and which we hope will in a short time be made publick by His Majesties (c) Proclamation. For, this thing is of great concern to the advantage of Learning; which every one knows to be the Child of Peace, and to repose it self under its Umbrage and Defence. Whereas therefore the most Eminent Cardinal, when first placed at the Helm of State, had not Himself rais'd a dismal War with the *Spaniards*, but had found it already rais'd: by various Councils (as [tis requisite] in so Great an Affair,) long and accurately weigh'd, at length He hath resolv'd upon this; that the *Spaniards* are to be broken by a lasting War, and must really be made to know how powerful the *French* are in Arms, Riches, Valour, Constancy, and the other necessary Provisions and Helps for a War: that the Enemy, made sensible of their own weakness and the power of the *French*, might be slower in future to provoke Our Nation, either by Arms or Injuries. For [twas His Sentiment,] that a firm and secure Peace could no otherwise be made with the Enemy, than till such time as by their frequent Overthrows and Losses they had perceived, that they were inferior to the *French* in waging War. Therefore, when the *Spaniards*, no otherwise than the *Phrygians*, had at length understood that; then the most Eminent Cardinal, perceiving a fit opportunity of entering into a Peace presented it self, refus'd not to make it with the Enemy, and to recede something from Our Right, from the chief point of the whole War; lastly from that Hope and Victory which we had now almost in our Hands; that thereby He might [promote] the Good of the People, [answer] the wishes of all good Men, and gratifie the desire of the whole Christian World. In which Affair I can't indeed enough admire His singular Prudence, and His Wisdom that was salutary to the State. For the Peace was for no other reason deferred so long, than that in future it might be lasting and more firm. And let thus much be said by the by, concerning the praises of the most Eminent Cardinal. Who having, during the War, never desisted from cherishing Learning and Learned Men in a most gracious manner; 'tis much more to be hop'd, that in the time of His Own Peace, He will embrace the same Arts with a choice Affection and Care: and will bring it to effect, that Our *French*, who for the Glory of Arms have been always eminent above other Nations, may now excel for the praise of Learning,

(a) He allowed Valesius a yearly Pension of 1500 Livres; which sum the Cardinal sent him yearly, as long as he lived; and by his Will continued it still Valesius's dearth: See Valesius's Life, written by his brother Eudrian. (b) See Ammianus Marcellinus, Book 14. p. 14. Edit Paris 1636. (c) Or, Cryers.

Learning, and in Studies of the best Arts. But, 'tis now time, that we should return thither, whence we have digress'd. That *third Copy* therefore, which the *Library of the Most Eminent Cardinal* hath furnish'd us with, is far the best and ancientest of all those Copies of *Eusebius* which I have seen. For, whatever Emendations we found in other Copies, are all shewn us by that Manuscript: And many other Amendments occur in it, which I found not in other Copies, as the Studious Readers will be able to perceive from my Annotations. It is written in Parchment, [transcrib'd] about seven hundred years since, most neatly and also most correctly. It has likewise (a) *Short Expositions* now and then set at the side, sometimes in an ancient, some-  
times in a more modern hand; which Expositions we have set down in Our Notes, at their due places. Many other things also are to be taken notice of in that Excellent Manuscript, partly in the *Accents*, partly in the (b) *Distinction or Punctuation*. For, as to the *Accents*, in that Manu-  
script Words are often *accented*, which in other Copies have a *Circumflex Accent*. For instance, *π*ο-  
*τα* in that Copy are always *accented*. But on the contrary, *ο*ψι*ο*n, which in other Manu-  
scriptes is marked with an *acute Accent*, is *Circumflexed* in that Copy. And this in my judgment is righter. But, as to the *Distinction*, which we vulgarly term the *Punctuation*, this Copy is so accu-  
rately *pointed*, that from this very one Manuscript you may understand the whole manner and know-  
ledge of *pointing*, which is a thing of no small moment. Indeed, before I had procured this Co-  
py, I was not thoroughly acquainted with the usefulness and necessity of the *Middle distinction*; with which, that very one Book, diligently inspected and examined, hath at length made me ac-  
quainted. But, we shall speak more hereafter, concerning the *Distinction*. This moreover, I have observed in that most ancient Manuscript, as often as a (c) *full distinction*, or *π*α*ρ*α *ε*ξ*α*μ*η*ν is set in any Line, the first Letter of the following Line appears without the order of the rest, and touches upon the very outward Margin. And this is a sign, that a new Chapter, or a new Pe-  
riod is begun after that *final distinction*. I have observed the same in the other Manuscript Copies also. Indeed, in the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*, which contain *Eusebius's Books* con-  
cerning the *Life of Constantine*, I have found that 'tis always so, as often as a new Chapter is be-  
gun. We had, besides, a *fourth Copy* out of the *Library of that most illustrious Personage Nicho-  
las Fuke*, who bears the Office of *Procurator General in the Senate of Paris*, and at the same time manages the *Præfecture of the Royal Treasury*, with the highest commendation. And these four Manuscript Copies we have made use of, in order to our amendment of the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*. But, we have compared the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, with three ancient Copies. The first is that *Copy of the King's*, concerning which I have spoken a-  
bove, in which Manuscript, before the *Books of Ecclesiastick History*, occur the *four Books* con-  
cerning the *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, written, though not in the same, nevertheless in an ancient hand. The second place belongs to the *Old Sheets of the King's Library*. So I call cer-  
tain Papers, which are digested into *Quaternions*; but they are loose, and are not made up into the form of a Book. In these Sheets, besides *Eusebius's Books concerning the Life of Constantine*, and the *Oration of the same Emperor to the Saints*, occurs the first *Quaternion of the Ecclesiastick History*; whereof I have likewise made frequent mention in my Notes. All the rest of it, by what accident I know not, is lost. The *Fuketian Library* furnished us with the *third Copy*. Wherein, before the *four Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, is prefixt *Eusebius's Panegy-  
rick*, spoken to the same *Constantine*, in the thirtieth year of His Empire. This *Copy*, tho' of the meanest Antiquity, is nevertheless of the best Note, and in many places more correct and larger than those two former, which *Robert Stephens* made use of in his *Edition*. Besides these Ma-  
nuscript Copies, we were assisted by those various Readings and Emendations, which learned Men had with their own Hands noted at the Margin of *Robert Stephens's Edition*. Of which sort many Books are now to be found. But we made use more especially of three, which are likewise often mentioned in our Notes. The first was *Hadrian Turnebus's*, which with great exactness He had compared with *The King's*, and *The Medicean Copy*. But the *Books concerning the Life of the Emperor Constantine*, had been compared with an *English Copy*, either by the Hand of *Hadrian Turnebus* Himself, or that of *Odo Turnebus*. The second Copy was *Vulcobius's*; which, because *Renatus Moreus* a *Physician of Paris* had lent me, I am wont in my Notes to term *Moreus's Copy*. This Book contains some few other Emendations, besides those which occur in *Turnebus's Copy*. The third was *Sir Henry Savil's* Book, a Person of incomparable Learning; it was sent me out of England by *James Usber Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. For, whereas I had perceived, that in *Usber's Notes on the Martyrdom of the B. Polycarp*, a Manuscript Copy of *Eusebius's History* out of *Sir Henry Savil's Library* was quoted; and had found, that, by some passages produced by *Usber*, that *Copy* was of the best Note; I made my request to Him by Letter, that he would transmit to me the various Readings of that *Copy*; for I did suppose, that the whole *Copy* had been compared by him. But he wrote back to me, that the *Copy* it self, written in silken Paper, had been given by *Sir Henry Savil* to the *Oxford Library*. But he presently sent me *Robert Stephens's Edition*, in the Margin whereof *Sir Henry Savil* had noted the Emendations taken out of that his own Manuscript *Copy*. Nevertheless, as far as I have been able to conjecture, *Sir Henry Savil* hath not set all the Readings of the Manuscript *Copy* at the side of that *Edition*; but those only, which

he thought to be good and undoubted. For some Readings are produced by *Usher* out of that Manuscript Copy, which I afterwards perceived were omitted by Sir *Henry Savil*. Farther, the same Sir *Henry Savil*, at the Margin of *that Edition*, hath written many Amendments, out of a Book of *John Christophorson's*; which Book *Christophorson* had compared with some Manuscript Copies. These are the Helps from Books, wherewith we were furnished, when we undertook to mend the Books of *Eusebius's History*. But lest any one should perhaps think, that any thing hath been altered by us rashly and at pleasure, we do before all things desire the Readers should know, that we have done nothing without the consent and authority of the best Copies. And so scrupulous were we, of making any Alteration in these Books, that when it appear'd most evidently, that the place was corrupted, we refused even then to favour and follow our own Conjecture. For proof hereof may be [produced] a place in the Close of the *Tenth Book of the Ecclesiastick History*, pag. 399 [of *Our Edition*:] which runs thus: *ὁ δ' ἀπερὶ τὴν πόλιν θεοσεβείας ἐκπρεπῶς μέγα ὁ κληρικός κωλύσας τὴν*. We could very easily have restored the true Reading here, and instead of *ἐκπρεπῶς*, mended it in this manner, *ἐκπρεπῶτα*. For so *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, in (a) his *Second Book*, cites this place of *Eusebius*: nor is it otherwise written in *Eusebius's Second Book concerning the Life of Constantine*, Chap. 19; where this Passage is repeated almost in the very same words. Lastly, no place is mended in *this our Edition*, concerning which I have not advertised the Reader in my Notes, and have not given an Account of mine Amendment.

*Distinction*, or *Punctuation*, is not the least part of Emendation; concerning which I must say something, lest peradventure the Readers should be confounded by a new kind of *Pointing*, which was first brought into *this Edition* by me. Although, if we would speak properly, this is not a new sort of *Distinction*, but the oldest, and made use of by all the Ancients, as well Greek as Latin Writers: Which being wholly disused and lost by the negligence of more modern Authors, I have, at least in part, endeavour'd to restore in *this Edition*. Those Ancients indeed (the Figures of Letters being then newly invented,) wrote in one continued form, without any *distinctions*. Whose thing contained much of difficulty both in reading and pronouncing, the ancient Grammarians found out three *Positives* or *Distinctions*, whereby, as 'twere by certain *Stations* and *Runs*, the continued Journey of Speech might be distinguished and divided. The first they termed *ὑποσημία*, that is a *Sub-distinction*: The Second *μέση*, that is a *middle Distinction*: The Third *πλεον σημία*, that is a *final or full Distinction*. Now they noted them by three Points placed in a different site. For a Point set at the bottom of a Letter, denotes a *Sub-distinction*: a middle *Distinction*, which the Latines have termed (b) *Moran*, is shown by a Point placed at the middle of a Letter. But that Point which is set at the head of a Letter, denotes a *final Distinction*. What the Import and Design of these *Distinctions* is, the Grammarians do inform us; *Donatus*, and *Marinus Victorinus*, and *Diomedes* in his *Second Book*. Which Author last named, at this place shall be to us instead of all. *Lectioni*, says he, *Posituras accedere vel Distinctiones oportet, &c.* To Reading must be added the Positives or Distinctions, by Grecians termed *σημαί* which, during our reading, give a liberty of recovering Breath, lest it should fail by a Continuation. These are three, a *Distinction*, a *Sub-distinction*, a *middle Distinction* or *Pause*, or, as some will have it, a *Sub-middle*: The Diversity of which [three] is shown by three Points set in a different place. And after some few words: A *Distinction* is a token of silence, when, the Sense being ended, there is a liberty of resting longer. The Mark hereof, is a Point set above the Verse, at the head of the Letter. A *Sub-distinction* is a Sign of a meet and convenient Silence, whereby the Course of Pronunciation (the Sense remaining) is so stop'd, that what follows, ought to succeed immediately. The Note hereof, is a Point placed under the Verse. A *Pause* is a small Separation, interposed in the Continuation of Senses, and possesses the middle place of a meet *Distinction* and *Sub-distinction*, in such manner that it may seem neither perfect in the whole, nor omitted, but by a Signification of Staying, may want the beginning of another Sense. And it attends this Office only, that by the shortest Respiration it may recover and nourish the Reader's Breath. For, in pronouncing every one ought in such wise to be silent, that, because the Breath it self is changed by a kind of decay, it may afterwards be recovered. As thus;

Ut belli signum Laurenti Turmus ab arce  
Extulit, & rancio strepuerunt cornua Cantu.  
Utque acres concussit equos, utque impulit arma,  
Extemplo turbati animi.

For, there are many middle Clauses of this Reading. First, lest those be confounded, which are put as double-membred and treble-membred [Clauses,] and the like. Then, that the (c) Emphasis of the Words may be more eminently apparent and conspicuous, which may be moved by some Affection, either by Indignation, or Commiseration compared, &c. Such Marks therefore of Distinctions and Punctuations as these, all the Ancients, as well Greeks as Latines, made use of in their Books: which also, as 'tis manifest, were still in use, in the Age of *Isidorus Hispalensis*. For this we learn

(a) Chap.  
r. pag. 45.  
Edit. Pa-  
ris, 1590.

(b) A  
Pause.

(c) Adus  
verborum.

learn from *His Origines*, Book 1. Chap. 19. In Manuscript Copies likewise, which are somewhat ancienter, the same way of distinguishing is always observed. But more modern Writers, whether by Unskilfulness, or a kind of Sloth and Negligence, have changed them all. And instead of a Sub-distinction, they have put (*d*) *little Rods*; for the mark of a middle Distinction, (*d*) *Com-  
ma's*. But they have cast the Note of a final Distinction from the Head to the Feet of a Letter. Which ill way of Pointing almost all Printers have follow'd, except *Aldus Manucius*. For he in his Edition of *Greek Books*, whereof he printed almost an innumerable company, hath always retained that Punctuation, which he had found in Manuscript Copies. As to the *Little Rods*, I would not condemn them: For 'tis of very small moment what Mark we should make use of, to denote a *Sub-distinction*, provided that Mark be placed at the Feet of a Letter. Indeed, in that excellent and most ancient *Manuscript belonging to the Mazarine Library*, whereof I have made mention before, I found a *little Rod* placed sometimes for a *middle*, sometimes for a *final Distinction*; that is, sometimes at the middle of a Letter, sometimes at the top. And not only by a *little Rod*, but also by a *Scilicet* or *εὐλαῖα*, turned backwards, a *middle Distinction*, was sometimes denoted, as *Victorinus* informs us in his *First Book of the Art of Grammar*. But, whereas we now-a-days put a Point at the Feet of a Letter for a *final Distinction*, in my judgment that can in no wise be born with. For it does not only contradict Antiquity, but Reason also. For Reason requires, that a Mark placed in the same site, should denote the same *Distinction*. A Point therefore placed in the bottom ought to signify the same that a *little Rod* does, which is set at the bottom of a Letter. For, not the Mark it self, but the Site of the Mark alters the *Distinction*. Whence 'tis made evident, that a *final Distinction* is not rightly shown by us, by our setting a Point at the foot of a Letter. Wherefore, 'tis not without reason that I have endeavour'd to restore the old way of Punctuation in this Edition. I have indeed retained the *Little Rod* it self, in regard it denoting a *Sub-distinction* it serves for the same purpose with a Point: but from the Authority of the *Manuscript Copies*, I have, by way of Recovery as 'twere, put the *middle Distinction* into possession of its own places. The Advantage and Necessity whereof, the Studious, I hope, will soon acknowledge. For, that *middle Distinction* does not only serve for this purpose, that breath may be taken in order to the continuing the beginning of another Sense, and that the *Emphasis* may be more eminently apparent and conspicuous, as *Diomedes* writes; but also, to denote the difference of Persons and Dignities. So somewhere in these Books, where the reading is *ἐπισκοπῶν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων*, the Most Eminent Cardinal's Manuscript, after the word *ἐπισκοπῶν*, adds a *middle Distinction*. Besides, in many places I have set a Point at the head of the Letter, to denote a *final Distinction*: and would have done that every where, had not the force of old custom diverted me from my Attempt. But, what I have in part only performed in this Edition, that (I hope) will at length be perfected by others endued with greater Learning and Authority, who shall in future publish the Books of the Ancients. And thus much may suffice to have been spoken briefly concerning *Our Emendation and Punctuation*. Come we now to the *Latin Translation*.

I doubt not but there will be many who will admire, why, after three *Latin Translators of Eusebius*, and those not meanly vers'd in the *Greek Tongue*, I should have made a *fourth Version*. To whom in the first place I answer thus: If after *Rufinus*, who first turned the *Books of Ecclesiastick History* into *Latin*, *Misculus* might have leave to make a new Translation; if again, after *Misculus*, *Christophorus* might have leave to do the same, why should not I also have the like liberty with others? Amongst the *Jews*, after the Edition of the *seventy Seniors*, confirmed by the Religion of so many Oaths, by the Authority of so many Ages; first *Aquila*, then *Theodotion* and *Symmachus*, did each of them publish new Versions of the *Old Testament*. Also, some Persons are found to be the Authors of a *fifth*, *sixth*, and *seventh Edition*, whose names are unknown: and all these Translations *Origen* hath placed in his *Hexapla*, that they might be read by Catholics. That therefore which the *Jews* were free to do in the *Old Testament*, why may not I have leave to do in *Eusebius*? Especially, in regard 'tis less dangerous to attempt that in *Eusebius*, than in the sacred Books of the Divine Scriptures. Indeed, many and those cogent Reasons enforce'd me even against my will, to undergo the burthen of this new Translation. For, whereas by (*e*) Your Command and with Your Advice I had undertaken a new Edition of the *Ecclesiastick History*, and perceived, that the Versions of former Translators, by reason of their frequent Mistakes and ill Renditions, did in no wise satisfy the Desire of Learned Men; as it has been (*f*) already declared by the Testimony of *J. Curterius* and *Peter Hallixius*: One of these two things was of necessity to be performed by me, that I should either correct the old Translation, or else make a new one. Farther, to correct the Translation of others, as it is in it self a thing troublesome and difficult, so also it seem'd invidious. For, His own Praise and His own Honour, is from us due to each Person. They have done as much as in them lay, and by their own Pains have endeavour'd to lighten and lessen our Labour. Therefore, the Work of each Translator ought to be commended by us, rather than interpolated. *Rufinus*, altho' he follows the Sense of *Eusebius* rather than his Words, is nevertheless neat and clean, and not unpleasant to the Readers: And even on this very account highly to be commended, because he was the first that bestow'd the *Ecclesiastick History* on Men of the *Latin Tongue*; whose Translation the *Western Church* has made use of till our own Age. *Misculus* keeps closer to the words, and in translating is short and clear, and in

(e) He mean the French Clergy.  
(f) In his Epistle Dedicatory.

many places more happy than *Christophorson*. *Christophorson*, as He is more diligent and learner than *Musculus*, so also is more verbose, and has something of the Style of *Cicero*. Besides, He used Manuscript Copies in the making his Translation; and was the first that published *Eusebius's Panegyrick* spoken at *Constantine's Tricennalia*, in *Latin*. Which the *Geneva-Printers* afterwards printed in *Greek*. Some body will be ready to say here; What need then was there of a new Version? whereas those Translators abound with so many and such high Commendations. I rehearse their Praises, but do not detect their Errors; which I had rather should be discovered by the Testimony of others, than mine own. But, if any one will read my *Notes*, or shall have a mind to compare my Translation with their Version, He will doubtless understand, with how many and how gross Mistakes their Translations are stult; and that 'twas not without reason, that you had ordered me to make a new Version of *Eusebius*. But, because I am slain upon this Discourse, not willingly but by necessity, I will say something briefly concerning the Errors of former Translators. For, should I have a mind to reckon up all their Mistakes one by one, my Discourse would be stretch'd to a vast length. To begin therefore with *Rufinus*: Who knows not, that, at his pleasure, he has added many Passages to *Eusebius*, has taken away many Passages from him, has changed many; and in most places is rather a *Paraphrast* than a *Translator*? For instance; In the *Seventh Book* he has inserted a tedious Narrative concerning the Miracles of *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, which occurs not in the Copies of our *Eusebius*. The same Person, in the *Ninth Book*, rehearſes a Speech of *Lucian* the Martyr, spoken before the Judge in defence of our Faith: Which Speech the Copies of *Eusebius* do not acknowledge. He has omitted almost the whole *Tenth Book* of the *Ecclesiastick History*, in his Version. I say nothing here concerning the Chapters altered by him in the *Sixth and Seventh Book*, in as much as I have given the Reader notice of this thing, in my *Notes*. How many places of *Eusebius* are misunderstood and ill rendred by him? This is he, who of *Zacharias* the Priest, of whom mention is made in *St Luke's Gospel*, has made us a Martyr of *Lyons*. This is he who hath confounded *Biblias* with *Blandina*. This is he who has made the most Noble Martyr *Philoromus* a Tribune of Soldiers, from his being a *Rationalist*. To what purpose is it to speak concerning *Musculus*, whose Versions (for he has translated other Writers also into *Latin*,) are not extraordinarily approved of by the Learned? I could, if I had a mind, expose his innumerable Mistakes: Amongst which this is a notorious one. *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his *Epistle to Germanus*, which *Eusebius* records in his *Sixth* (g) *Book*, says, that he was taken by the Soldiers *et in iduibus*, and was brought to *Taposiris*. But *Musculus* believed *Heliodysnas* to be a Town. For thus he renders it: *Ego namque cum Heliodysnas, una cum illis qui mecum erant, venissem, Taposirim a militibus ductus sum*. For I, after I was come to *Heliodysnas*, together with them that were with me, was brought by the Soldiers to *Taposiris*. Farther, the same *Musculus* in his Translation has wholly omitted *Eusebius's Book* concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, which is subjoynd to the *Eighth Book* of his *Ecclesiastick History*; for what reason I know not. For that *Book* of *Eusebius's*, is a most elegant one. The Translation of *John Christophorson* remains [to be spoken of,] which very Version wants not its Bleisings. For to omit the *Barbarisms* which do frequently occur in it, his Translation is too prolix and intricate, whilst he either adds some Words to fill up the Period, or annexes his own Explanations in order to the clearing of an obscure place. Sometimes also, of two Periods he makes but one, and puts two Chapters into one: In so much that the Division of the *Latin* Chapters in his Translation differs much from the *Greek*. Which thing, how much Trouble and Vexation it breeds in citing places out of *Eusebius*, all the Studious know. The same Translator was indeed sufficiently well vers'd in Divinity; but he was meanly furnished with the Skill of (b) a Critick, and with the Knowledge of *Roman* Antiquity. Wherefore, in the proper Names of *Roman* Magistrates, and in those Matters which appertain to the *Civil Administration*, he is always out: For instance, in rendring the words *ἡγεμον, ἐπαρχος, ἐπαρχικὸς ταξείως*, and in other such like terms. Lastly, *Christophorson* has embodied *Eusebius's Book* concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, (which in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, and in the *Manuscript Copies*, is subjoynd to the *Eighth Book* of his *Ecclesiastick History*,) with his *eighth Book*, because he believed it to be a part thereof. Which Mistake of *Christophorson's*, the *Geneva-Printers* having afterwards followed, that they might make the *Greek* agree with the *Latin*; of two Books of *Eusebius's*, have made but one. And let thus much be briefly spoken concerning the Errors of former Translations, not with any design to disparage or lessen the Glory of any Translator; but, that all the Studious may understand, that we had good reason for our undertaking a new Translation. Which as I dare not warrant to be perfect and every way compleat, (for that would be too much confidence;) so I do boldly affirm, that it wants very many Faults, wherewith former Translations do abound. Further, whereas three things are required in a Version; namely, that it be faithful, elegant and clear; I have made it my business, that no one of these should be wanting in our Translation.

(g) Chap.  
4c.

(b) Or,  
Critical  
Art.

# VALESIUS'S PREFACE.

The Translation is followed by *the Annotations*. Wherein I had an Eye chiefly to two things: First, that I might give an account of my Emendations, and might propose to the Studious the various Readings of Manuscript Copies: Secondly, that I might clear the obscurer passages in *Eusebius*, and might explain the ancient Usages and Rites of the Church, by producing and comparing the passages of other Writers. To my *Annotations* I have subjoined (a) *four Dissertations*. The first whereof is, *Concerning the Beginning and Progress of the Schism of the Donatists*. The Second, *Concerning the Anastasis and the Jerusalem-Martyrium*. This is followed by a *disputation about the Version of the Seventy Translators against James Usher Arch-Bishop of Armagh*. The Fourth is, *Concerning the Roman Martyrology which Rosweyde published*. And these are the things which with care and diligence I have performed in this Edition, in order to the illustration of *Eusebius's History*. Which if to any one they shall peradventure seem slight and of little worth, let him think, that all things which are published in this kind of Learning, are in a manner of this nature, and are either valued or contemned according to the Affection and Stomach of the Readers. For, if they find a candid and studious Reader, they are highly esteemed: But if they shall happen to fall into disdainful Ears, they are look't upon as nothing. Besides, what but that which is very ordinary and mean can be expected, from me especially, who by reason of my weakness of sight am forc'd both to read and write by other Men's Eyes and Hands: And who, whilst by reason of the greatness of the Labour I do always hasten forwards, have so hastily dictated this whole work, such as it is, that I have scarce had leisure to read it over again. On which account I am the more to be pardoned, if perhaps in any place of my *Notes* I have not so fully satisfied the Reader's desire.

(a) These four Dissertations are published at the latter end of *Volume of the Ecclesiastick Antiquities*.

# VALESIUS'S ACCOUNT Concerning the LIFE AND WRITINGS OF EUSEBIUS CÆSARIENSIS.

**C** Concerning the Life of Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, Acacius, his Scholar and Successor in the See of Cæsarea, had heretofore written a Book, as (a) Socrates does attest. But in regard this Book, together with very many others, is lost by the carelessness of Antiquity, we, by gathering together from this place and other the Testimonies of Ancient Writers who have spoken concerning Eusebius, to the utmost of our ability will endeavour to repair that Loss. Eusebius therefore was born in Palestine, about the Close (as 'tis likely) of Gallienus's Reign. That he was a Native of Palestine, is hence prov'd, because by the Ancients he is commonly called a Palestinian. So, 'tis certain, Basilus, Theodoret, and others do term him. And although he might have been thus Sur-nam'd from his being Bishop of the City Cæsarea, yet it seems to me truer, that he drew that Sur-name from his Country. Indeed, he himself does attest, in his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, that during his being a youth he was educated and conversant in Palestine, and that Constantine was first seen by him there, whilst he made a journey thither from Palestine in the Court of Diocletianus Augustus.

(c) Chap. 43. where see Note (a.)

Before, in the Second (c) Book of the same work (where he records a Law of Constantine's, which he wrote to the Palestinians in favour of the Christians,) he does plainly shew himself to have been a Palestinian. For, after he has recited the Contents of that Law transmitted to the Palestinians, he adds these words. Τὸ μὲν δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν οὕτως ἡγήσασθαι μετέδωκε βασιλεὺς γεγνημῶς, ταῦτα διετίθετο. These were the Constitutions contained in the Emperor's first Edict sent to Us. But whereas I have plac'd his Birth upon the Latter end of Gallienus's Reign; of this thing I have Eusebius himself for my Author. For speaking (in his Books of Ecclesiastick History,) concerning Dionysius Bishop of the Alexandrians, he does attest that He had lived in his own Age, as may be seen in Book 3. Chap. 28. Wherefore, in regard 'tis manifest that Dionysius Alexandrinus departed this life on the twelfth year of Gallienus's

Empire, Eusebius must of necessity have been born then, if his age fell on those times wherein Dionysius lived. The same may likewise be gathered from the Fifth (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, about the end of it, where speaking concerning Arctemon's Heresie, he writes that Paul of Samosata had revived that Heresie in (e) his age. Lastly, relating (in his Seventh Book,) those things which hapned during the Reign of Gallienus, before he begins his Discourse concerning the Error and Condemnation of Paul of Samosata, he has these Words. (f) Ἀλλὰ δὲ πᾶν μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἰσορῶν; φέρε ὃ τῶν κατ' ἡμᾶς τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα γνωσθέντων γεγονέναι οὐκ ἔστιν ὀρθῶς. But now, after an Historical relation of these things, we will deliver to the knowledge of posterity an account of our own age. Whom he had for his Parents, is unknown to us, excepting that Nicephorus Callistus, following I know not what Authors, does tell us that he was begotten of the Sister of Pamphilus the Martyr. But in Arius's (g) Letter to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, he is termed the Brother of Eusebius Nicomedensis. And although by reason of his friendship he might be called the Brother, yet it seems truer to me, that he was either the near Kinsman or Cousin-germane of Eusebius Nicomedensis, especially in regard Arius, although many other Persons are there mentioned, yet terms only Eusebius of Cæsarea Brother to him of Nicomedia. Besides, Eusebius of Nicomedia was a Native of Syria. For he was at first Bishop of Berytus. Nor was it the usage then, that Strangers and Persons unknown should be preferred to govern Churches. What Masters he had in secular Learning, is in like manner unknown to us. But in sacred Literature he had Dorotheus the Eunuch, a Presbyter of the Antiochian Church, for his Master: of whom also he makes an honourable mention in his Seventh (h) Book. Although Eusebius at that place says only, that he had heard Dorotheus, whilst he expounded the Holy Scriptures in the Church not unjustly. Nevertheless, if any one has a mind (with Trithemius) to conclude from those

(d) See Chap. 28. at the beginning. (e) Eusebius's.

(f) Book 7. Chap. 26.

(g) Which occurs in Arius's Ecclesiastick History. Book 1. Chap. 5. Edit. vales.

(h) Chap. 32.

# Valesius's Account concerning the Life and Writings, &c.

those words of Eusebius, that Eusebius was Doctheus's Disciple, truly I shall not very much oppose him. Theotecnus being at that time dead, the Bishoprick of the Church of Cæsarea was administered by Agapius, a person of eminent piety and large bounty towards the Poor. By him Eusebius was admitted into the Clergy, and entered into the strictest and most intimate friendship with Pamphilus, who at that time was eminent amongst the Presbyters of the Church of Cæsarea. Pamphilus was by Nation a Phœnician, born at Berytus, Scholar to Pierius a Presbyter of the Alexandrian Church, as Photius relates. Who (in regard he was inflamed with a singular love of sacred Learning, and with the greatest diligence imaginable, made a Collection of all the Books of Ecclesiastick Writers, and especially of Origen's;) founded a most famous School and Library at Cæsarea. Of which School Eusebius seems to have been the first Master. Indeed Eusebius, in his (a) Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, writes in express words, that Apphianus, who completed his Martyrdom on the third year of the Persecution, had been instructed in the sacred Scriptures by him in the City Cæsarea. From that time Eusebius always lived with Pamphilus in the closest intimacy, and continued his inseparable Companion till his death: So dear to him, that from his Friendship he got the surname of Pamphilus. Nor did Eusebius love him whilst he lived only, but had a singular affection for him when dead also: in so much that after Pamphilus's death, he always made a most honourable, and likewise a most loving mention of him. This is attested by those Three Books which he wrote concerning the Life of Pamphilus the Martyr, which Books St. Jerome terms most elegant ones. The same is likewise gathered from many Passages which occur in his Ecclesiastick History, and in his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. Lastly, in his Second Book against Sabellius, which was written by Eusebius after the Nicene Council, he frequently commends Pamphilus the Martyr, altho' he suppresses his name. For even in the very beginning of his Discourse he says thus. Puto adhuc aures obstrepi meas a memoria beati illius viri, &c. I think my Ears are as yet struck by the memory of that blessed Man, who frequently made use of that devout word. For even your Ears do as yet retain the sound of that word. For I think I hear him saying, The only begotten Son of God. For this Religious word was always uttered by his Mouth. For it was the remembrance of the Only begotten, to the Glory of the unborn Father. Now, we have heard the Apostle commanding, that Presbyters ought to be honoured with a double Honour; those especially who labour in the Word and Doctrine. And at pag. 29. he speaks of him again in this manner. Hæc non nos extollunt, &c. These things do not puff us up, (b) remembering that Blessed Man. Now I wish I could so speak, as together with you I did always hear from him. But these words which are now said, seem to have been pleasing to him. For 'tis the glory of good Servants, to speak truth concerning the Lord; and 'tis the honour of those Fathers who have taught well, if their Doctrines be repeated. And again in the same Book, pag. 37. Hæc audiebamus semper a beato illo viro, &c. These words we always heard from the Blessed Man. For they were often spoken in this manner by him: Altho' some suspected, that he uttered these words with his mouth, but that in his Heart he thought otherwise. And

indeed I remember with you, that I have heard from him, that he hath satisfied us with an holy Oath, that there was not one thing in his Tongue, and another in his Heart. And a little after. Sed nunc quidem paucis, &c. But now, let thus much be said by us in short, in memory and honour of that our Father, so good, so laborious, and every where vigilant for the Churches. For we have not made mention of his Stock, nor of his Education, or Learning, or of (c) the rest of his Life and (c) His Resolution. Which Passages in Eusebius (that I ther Life. may not defraud any one of his Commendation,) were shown me by the most Learned Franciscus Ogerius. Now, from what I have said it may be evidently enough gathered, that Eusebius was joined to Pamphilus by no (d) Tie of kindred, but by the (d) Or, Bond of friendship only. 'Tis certain, Eusebius, altho' he names Pamphilus in so many places, and boasts so highly of his friendship, yet never terms him his Kinsman or Relation. Yea, from Eusebius's own testimony 'tis plainly made out, that Pamphilus the Martyr was not Eusebius's Kinsman. For in the Close of his Seventh (e) Book of Ecclesiastick History, where he makes mention of Agapius Bishop of the Church of Cæsarea; his words are these. Κατὰ τὸν ἑλλογισμὸν αὐτοῦ πρὸς φίλον ἀγαπῶν, προσβέβηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ πατρίας ἐξουσίας, &c. In this Man's time we knew Pamphilus (a most eloquent Man; and a true Philosopher in the practices of his Life) honoured with a Presbytership of that Church. Whereas therefore Eusebius himself does attest, that Pamphilus was first known by him, then, it is sufficiently apparent, that they were not joined together by any kindred or affinity. In these times hapned that most severe Persecution of the Christians; which being first begun by Diocletian, was by the following Emperors continued to the tenth year. In the time of this Persecution, Eusebius, in regard he was then a Presbyter of the Church of Cæsarea, resided almost constantly in that City, and by continual exhortations instructed many persons in order to Martyrdom. Amongst whom was Apphianus, a noble Youth, whose illustrious Combat our Eusebius does relate in his (f) Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. In the same Persecution Pamphilus was taken, and cast into Prison, where he spent two whole years in Bonds. During which time Eusebius in no wise deserted his Friend and Companion: but visited him continually, and in the Prison wrote together with him Five Books in defence of Origen. The Sixth and last Book of that Work he at length finished after Pamphilus was dead. That whole Work was by Eusebius and Pamphilus dedicated to the Confessors living in the Mines of Palestine, as Photius relates in his Bibliotheca, Chap. 118. In the time of the same Persecution, on account of some urgent Business of the Church, as 'tis probable, Eusebius went to Tyre. During his residence in that City, he attests (Book 8. Chap. 7.) that he himself was eye-witness of the glorious Combats of five Egyptian Martyrs. And in the Ninth Chapter of the same Book, he writes that he came into Egypt and Thebais, whilst the fury of the Persecution as yet raged; and that there he beheld with his own eyes, the admirable Constancy of many Martyrs of both Sexes. There are those who relate, that Eusebius in this Persecution, to free himself from the Troubles of a Prison, sacrificed to Idols: and that that was objected against him by the Egyptian Bishops and Confessors in the Synod at Tyre, as we will hereafter relate. But I doubt not but this is false, and a Calumny forged by

(a) Chap. 4. where see Note (f).

(b) The remembrance of, &c.

(c) Chap. 32. towards the end.

(f) Chap. 4.



# Valesius's Account concerning the Life and Writings.

by the Enemies of Eusebius. For, had so great a Crime been really committed by Eusebius, how could he have been afterwards made Bishop of the Church of Cæsarea? How is it likely that he should have been invited by the Antiochians, to undertake the Episcopate of that City? And yet Cardinal Baronius has catch'd up that as certain and undoubted, which was objected against Eusebius by the way of Contention and Wrangling, by his Enemies, nor was ever confirmed by any one's Testimony. At the same time, a Book was written by Eusebius against Hierocles. And the occasion of writing it was given by Hierocles of Nicomedia, who about the beginning of this Persecution, when the Churches of the Christians were every where demolished, insulting as it were over the disquieted Religion, in the City Nicomedia published two Books against the Faith of Christ, which he entitled, *ΜΑΛΑΚΙΩΣ*. In which Books amongst other things he asserted this, that Apollonius Tyaneus performed far more and greater Miracles than Christ; as Lactantius does attest in his

(a) Seventh Book. But Eusebius contemned the Man, rested satisfied in confuting him in a very short Book. Agapius Bishop of Cæsarea being dead during this interval, and the Persecution being now abated, and Peace restored to the Church; by the general consent of all Persons Eusebius was put into his (a) Episcopate. Others make Agricola (who was present at, and subscribed to the Synod of Ancyra, on the Year of Christ 314, Successor to Agapius. So Baronius in his Annals, at the Year of Christ 314; and Blondell in his Apology pro sententia B. Hieronymi, Chap. 19. where he writes, That Eusebius undertook the Administration of the Church of Cæsarea after Agricola's death, about the Year of Christ 315. But those Subscriptions of the Bishops which are extant in the Latin Collections of the Canons, in my judgment seem to have little of certainty and validity in them. For they occur not either in the Greek Copies, or in the Latin Version of Dionysius Exiguus. Besides, Eusebius reckoning up (in the Seventh

(b) Book of his Ecclesiastick History,) the Bishops of the chief Seat, under whom the Persecution began and raged, ends in Agapius Bishop of Cæsarea, who (says he) took a great deal of pains in that Persecution for the good of his own Church. He therefore must of necessity have sat Bishop until the end of the Persecution. But Eusebius was made Bishop immediately after the Persecution was ended. For when Paulinus Bishop of Tyre dedicated a Cathedral, some time after Peace and Repose was restored to the Church; He, together with other Bishops, was invited by Paulinus to its Dedication, and made a most elegant Oration before him, as we are informed from the Tenth (c) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. Now, this hapned before Licinius rebelled against Constantine, which fell on the Year of our Lord 315. About these Times Eusebius wrote those famous Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration and Preparation. Which Books, 'tis plain, were written before the Nicene Council, in regard they are by name cited in his Ecclesiastick History, which was written by Eusebius before that Council, as we have shewn in Our Annotations. In the interim Licinius, who managed the Government in the Eastern Parts, incited by a sudden rage, began to persecute the Christians; especially those that were Prelates, of whom he had a Suspicion that they shewed more of favour to Constantine, and put up Prayers for him. But Constantine undertook an Expedition against Licinius, and in a short time compell'd him, after he had been vanquished in two Fights by Land

and Sea, to a Surrendry. And thus Peace was again by Constantine restored to the Christians, who inhabited the East. But a far more vehement Disturbance was at that time raised amongst the Christians themselves. For Arius a Presbyter of the City Alexandria, in regard he would publicly in the Church preach up some new and impious Opinions concerning the Son of God, and having been frequently admonished by Alexander the Bishop, would nevertheless persist in those Assertions, was at length condemned together with the Associates of his own Error, and was expelled out of the Church. Highly resenting this his Condemnation, he sent Letters, with a Draught of his own Faith, to all the Bishops of the neighbouring Cities: Wherein he complained, that he had been undeserv'dly deposed by Alexander, in regard he asserted the same Points that the rest of the Eastern Prelates maintained. Many Bishops imposed upon by these Artifices, and powerfully incited by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was an open Favourer of Arius's Party, wrote Letters in defence of Arius, to Alexander Bishop of the City Alexandria, entreating him to restore Arius to his former Place. Our Eusebius was one of their number, whose Letter, written to Alexander, is extant in the Acts of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod, and is by us put amongst the (d) Testimonies of the Ancients. Eusebius Cæsariensis's Example being presently followed by Theodotus and Paulinus, the one Bishop of Laodicea, the other of Tyre; they interceded with Alexander for Arius's Restoration. Whose Letters, as patronizing his own Opinions, in regard Arius boasted adds a of in all places, and by the authority of such Great Men, drew many Persons into a Society of his own Error; on this account Alexander himself also was forced to write Letters to the other Bishops of the East, whereby it might be made publicly known, that Arius, together with his Associates, had been justly condemned and deposed. Two Letters of Alexander at this present extant: the one to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, in which Alexander complains of three Bishops of Syria, who agreeing in Opinion with Arius had inflamed the Quarrel, which they ought rather to have extinguished, and had rendered it fiercer than it was before. These three are Eusebius, Theodotus, and Paulinus, as may be collected from Arius's Letter written to Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia. The other Letter of Alexander's, written to all the Bishops throughout the World, Socrates records it in his First (e) Book. To these Letters of Alexander almost all the Eastern Bishops subscribed: Amongst whom the Prelates of chiefest note were, Philogonius Bishop of Antioch, Eustathius of Berea, and Macarius of Jerusalem. Now, these Bishops who seem'd to be of Arius's side, in regard they saw themselves severely touch'd in Alexander's Letters, made it their business to defend Arius with far more of fierceness and vehemency: but most especially Eusebius Nicomedienfis. For our Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea, together with Patrophilus and Paulinus, and other Bishops of Syria, concluded upon this only, that Arius the Presbyter should have a liberty of holding Assemblies in his own Church; nevertheless, that he should be subject to Alexander the Bishop, and should earnestly request of him that he might be admitted to Peace and Communion. The Bishops in this manner disagreeing amongst themselves, and some favouring Alexander's, others Arius's side; the Contention was incredibly heighten'd. To cure which mischief, Constantine assembled a General Synod of Bishops (such one as no Age had ever seen,) from all Parts of the Roman World,

(d) Valesius after this his Account of Eusebius's Life and Writings, Collects for himself (which he made himself) of the Testimonies of the Ancients, both for and against Eusebius. A Translation whereof into English, look'd upon as needless.

(a) He should have said his Fifth Book: where see Chap. 2, p. 1. Edit. 1657.

(b) Chap. 32.

(c) See Chap. 4. where Eusebius has inserted this his Speech.

(e) Chap. 6.

in Nicæa a City of Bithynia. Of this Greatest and most Celebrated Council, Our Eusebius was not the least part. For he had both the first place in the Right-Hand (a) Side, and also in the name of the whole Synod made a Speech to the Emperor Constantine, who sat on a Golden Chair in the midst between the two Rows of those who sat together [in the Council:] as he himself attests in the Preface to his First (b) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, and in his (c) Third Book of the same Work. The same is likewise confirmed by Sozomen, in the First (d) Book of his Ecclesiastick History. Farther, when there was a great contest amongst the Bishops concerning a (e) Draught of the Creed, Our Eusebius proposed a Draught that was exactly true and plain, and which was commended by the consent of all the Bishops, and of the Emperor himself. But, in regard something seem'd to be wanting in that Draught, in order to confuting the Impiety of the new Opinion; the Fathers of the Nicene Synod judg'd these words as necessary to be further added, Very God of very God; begotten not made, being of one Substance with the Father. They likewise annex'd Anathematisms, against those who should assert that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not. And at first indeed Our Eusebius refused to admit of the term Consubstantial. But afterwards, informed by the other Bishops what the Import and Meaning of that word was, he at length consented and subscribed to this Creed, as he himself relates in his (f) Letter to his Diocess of Caesarea. Some affirm, that Eusebius, forced by necessity, and out of a fear of the Emperor, rather than from the Sentiment of his own Mind, had subscribed to the Nicene Creed. I might indeed be easily induced to believe that, concerning others who were present at this Synod. But, I can't think so of Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea. For after the Nicene Synod, Eusebius always condemn'd those who would assert that the Son of God was made of Nothing, as 'tis plain from his Books against Marcellus, and expressly from the Ninth and Tenth Chapter of his First Book De Ecclesiastica Theologia. Athanasius does likewise attest the same concerning him. Who (though he has often related that Eusebius Caesariensis had subscribed to the Nicene Synod, yet) does never declare, that he did that dissemblingly and in pretence only. Had Eusebius subscribed to the Nicene Council, not heartily, but by fraud and under a colour; why did he afterwards send that Letter I have mentioned, to his Diocess of Caesarea, wherein he profess'd ingenuously, that he had embrac'd that Faith, which had been published in the Nicene Council? After the Nicene Synod, the Arians out of a fear of the Emperor, were for some little time quiet. Resuming their boldness presently, after they had by subtilty crept into the Prince's favour; by all ways and arts they began to persecute the Catholick Prelates. Their first assault was made against Eustathius Bishop of the City Antioch, who was eminent both for the Glory of Confession, and was also accounted the Chief amongst the Assertors of the Nicene Faith. Him therefore they accus'd before the Emperor, because he maintained Sabellius's Impiety, and because he had reproach'd Helena Augusta the Emperor's Mother. A numerous Assembly of Bishops is convened in the City of Antioch, in which presided Eusebius of Nicomedia, the Chief and Ring-leader of the whole Faction. Eusebius of Caesarea was likewise present at this Synod. Eustathius therefore having been accus'd by Cyrus Bishop of the Beroëans, because he held the impious Doctrine of Sabellius, and moreover an Accusation of (g) Incontinency having been framed against him, is thrust out of his own See. On which account a most impetuous Tumult is rais'd at Antioch; the People being divided into two Parties, some requesting Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea might be put into Eustathius's place; others desiring Eustathius into Bishops might be restored to them. And it had come to blows, had not a fear of the Emperor, and the Judges authority repress'd them. The Sedition being at length quieted, and Eustathius banish'd, Our Eusebius (although entreated both by the People, and by the Bishops also that were present, to undertake the Administration of the Antiochian Church, yet) refused to do that. And when the Bishops by Letters written to Constantine, had acquainted him both with their own [Vote,] and with the Suffrage of all the People; Eusebius wrote his Letters also to Constantine. Whereunto the Emperor Constantine gave answer, and highly commended Eusebius's Resolution. Eustathius having in this manner been deposed, which was done on the Year of Christ 330, as I have remark'd in my (h) Annotations; the Arians turn the violence of their Fury upon Athanasius. And in the first place they complain of his Ordination in the Prince's presence: then, that (i) he exacted an Imposit of a Linen Garment from the Provincials: that he had broken a sacred Cup: lastly, that he had murder'd one Arsenius a Bishop. Therefore Constantine, wearied with their most troublesome Complaints, indic'd a Council in the City of Tyre, and commanded Athanasius the med, in-Bishop to repair thither, to make his defence. In that Synod Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea amongst others, sat as Judge; whom Constantine had a mind should be present at that Council. Potamo Bishop of Heracleopolis (who had come thither with Athanasius the Bishop, and some Prelates of Egypt;) seeing him sitting in the Council, is said to have accus'd him in these words: [Is it fit,] Eusebius, that You should sit, and that the Innocent Athanasius should stand to be judg'd by You? Who can bear such things as these? Tell me, were not you in Custody with me during the time of the Persecution? And I lost an Eye in defence of the Truth; but you appear'd main'd in no part of your Body, nor did you undergo Martyrdom, but are alive and whole. By what means did you escape out of Prison? unless you promised our Persecutors that you would do the (k) detestable thing, and perhaps you have done it. These things are in this manner related by Epiphanius in the Heresie of the Meletians. From which words by the it appears, that they are mistaken who relate, that Our Eusebius had some time sacrific'd to Idols, and that that was openly objected against him in the Tyrian Synod. For Potamo accus'd not Eusebius, as if he had sacrific'd to Idols; but only his Dismissal out of Prison safe and whole, had given Potamo an occasion of suspecting that concerning him. Nevertheless 'tis possible that Eusebius might have been dismiss'd out of Prison by some other way, than that which Potamo has related. Farther, from Epiphanius's words it may, I think, be gather'd, that Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea presided at this Synod. For he adds, that Eusebius being sore vex'd at the bearing of these words, dismiss'd the Council. Yet from other Writers we have it for certain, that not Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea, but Eusebius of Nicomedia presided at the Tyrian Synod. After the Council held at Tyre, all the Bishops who had sat together there, by the Emperor's order betook themselves to Jerusalem, to celebrate the Consecration of that Great Church, which Constantine had erected in that place, in

Honour of Christ. There Our Eusebius graced the Solemnity, by several Sermons which he made in the Church. And when the Emperor by most sharp Letters had summon'd the Bishops to his own Court, that in his presence they might give an account of those things, which by fraud and out of hatred they had transacted against Athanasius; Our Eusebius together with five others came to Constantinople, and certified the Prince concerning all Transactions. Then also he recited his Tricennal Oration in the Emperor's own presence, in the Palace. Wherein the Emperor hearken'd with the greatest joy imaginable, not so much in respect of his own, as God's Praises, whom Eusebius has magnified throughout that whole Oration. This was the Second Oration that Eusebius spoke in the Palace, as he himself attests in his Fourth

Bishops who had consecrated Constantine's Church at Jerusalem, that is on the Year of Christ 335, or else 336, as Baronius will have it. Indeed (e) Socrates acknowledges but Three Books of Eusebius against Marcellus; those namely which are entitled De Ecclesiastica Theologia: whereas nevertheless, the whole Work against Marcellus, was by Eusebius comprized in Five Books. Farther, of all Eusebius's Books, the last seem to be those Four concerning the Life of Constantine. For they were written after the Death of that Emperor, whom Eusebius did not long survive. For he died about the beginning of Constantius Augustus's Reign, a little before the Death of Constantine Junior, which hapned when Acindynus and Proculus were Consuls, on the Year of Christ 340; as may be gathered from Socrates's Second (f) Book. Now, what Scaliger says, in his Animadversions upon Eusebius, pag. 250. of the last Edition, that Eusebius's Books against Porphyrius were written under Constantius Son to Constantine the Great, cannot so easily be admitted of by us, in regard 'tis confirmed by the Testimony of our ancient Writer. But what the same Scaliger adds in that very place, that the Three last Books of the Evangelick Demonstration, the Eighteenth namely, Nineteenth, and Twentieth, were written by Eusebius against Porphyrius; therein he does manifestly blunder. St. Jerome (g) writes indeed, that Eusebius answered Porphyrius in Three Volumes, that is, in the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, and Twentieth; who in the Twelfth and Thirteenth of those Books which he published against the Christians, had attempted to confute the Book of the Prophet Daniel. But St. Jerome does not mean Eusebius's Books concerning Evangelick Demonstration, as Scaliger thought, but the Books he wrote against Porphyrius, which had this Title, 'Εὐσεβίου ἀποκρίσεις, [Books] of Confutation and Apology, as may be gather'd from Photius's Bibliotheca. Farther, I am of opinion, that these Books were written by Eusebius after his Ecclesiastick History: And this I conjecture from hence, because Our Eusebius in the Sixth (h) Book of his Ecclesiastick History, where he produces a famous Passage out of Porphyrius's Third Book against the Christians, makes no mention of those Books wherein he had answered Porphyrius: Whereas nevertheless, he is wont to be a diligent Quoter of his own Works, and does frequently refer the Studios to the reading of them. But because a fit opportunity presents it self, I have a mind to make some few Remarks here concerning his Books of Ecclesiastick History. For on their Account chiefly, all this Labour has been undertaken by us. Indeed, much hath been written by Our Eusebius for the profit and advantage of the Catholick Church, and in confirmation of the Truth of the Christian Faith; partly against the Jews, and partly against the Heathens. Nevertheless amongst all his Books, his Ecclesiastick History does deservedly bear away the Bell. For, before Eusebius, many Persons had written Books in defence of the Christian Faith, and by most cogent Reasons had confuted the Jews Contumacy, and the Error of the Heathens. But there was no person before Eusebius, who could deliver to Posterity an History of Ecclesiastick Affairs. On which account Our Eusebius is the more to be commended, who was both the first that found out this Subject; and also, after he had attempted it, left it entire and perfect in every respect. 'Tis certain, although many have been found after him, who, incited by his example, have undertaken to commit to writing Ecclesiastick Mat-

ter; (a) Chap. 16. For he had before made an Oration in the Palace concerning the Sepulchre of Our Lord: which the Emperor heard standing, nor could he ever be persuaded, though he was once and again entreated by Eusebius, to sit down in the Seats for him; saying, twas fit, that Discourses concerning God be heard by persons standing; as Eusebius relates in the thirty third Chapter of the same Book. Farther, how dear and acceptable Our Eusebius was to Constantine, may be known both from these Matters I have mentioned, and also from many other Circumstances: For he both frequently received Letters from him, which occur inserted in the forsaide Books. Nor was it seldom that he was sent for to the Palace, and entertained at Table, and honoured with private Discourse. Moreover, Constantine related that Vision of the Cross, which he saw in the Heaven at such time as he was making his Expedition against Maxentius, to Our Eusebius; and shew'd him the Labarum, which he had [order'd to be] made, to express the likeness of that Cross, as Eusebius himself does (b) attest. And when he wanted (c) Copies of the Sacred Scriptures for the use of these Churches which he had built at Constantinople, he committed the Care and Over-sight of transcribing them to Eusebius; in regard he well knew him to be most skillful in these matters. Lastly, when Our Eusebius had dedicated a (d) Book concerning the Feast of Easter to him, that Present was so acceptable to Constantine, that he ordered that Book to be forthwith translated into Latin; and by a Letter written to Eusebius entreated him, that he would as soon as possible communicate the Works of this nature which he was upon, to the Studios in Sacred Matters. About the same time Eusebius comprized a Description of the Jerusalem Church, and of the Sacred Gifts which had been consecrated there, in a final Book, and dedicated it to the Emperor Constantine. Which Book, together with his Tricennal Oration, he had placed at the Close of his Books concerning the Life of Constantine. But this Book is not now extant. At the same time also Five Books were written by Eusebius against Marcellus: The last three whereof De Ecclesiastica Theologia, he dedicated to Flaccillus Bishop of Antioch. Now Flaccillus entred upon that Bishoprick a little before the Synod of Tyre, which was convened in the Consulate of Constantius and Albinus, on the Year of Our Lord's Nativity 335. 'Tis certain, Eusebius (in his first Book against Marcellus De Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 14.) writes in express words, that Marcellus had been deservedly condemned by the Church. Now Marcellus was first condemned in the Constantinopolitan Synod, by those very

(f) Chap. 4, and 5. (g) In his Preface to his Comments on Daniel. (h) Chap. 19. ter; (e) Eccl. Hist. B. 2. Chap. 20. where see Note (h.)

ters; yet they have all begun their History from those times wherein our Eusebius had closed his Work: but the History of the foregoing times, which he had set forth in Ten Books, they have left to him entire and untouched. Wherefore, should any one have a mind to term him the Father and Founder of Ecclesiastick History, truly that person would seem to give him this surname not absurdly nor without cause. Now, what way Eusebius applied himself to this Subject, 'tis not hard to conjecture. For, whereas in the Last Part of his Chronical Canons, he had accurately noted the Time of Our Lord's Coming, and of his Passion; the Names also of the Bishops who had sat in the four chief Churches, and of the famous Men who had flourished in the Church; and lastly, in their own Time and Order had digested the Heresies and Persecutions wherewith the Church had been disquieted; He was led by the hand as 'twere, by little and little to the writing an Ecclesiastick History; that he might handle those matters more largely and copiously in his Ecclesiastick History, which in his Chronical Canons he had comprized in a Summary as 'twere. Indeed he had comprized in the (a) Preface to his Ecclesiastick History, does plainly shew that which I have said.

(a) Book 1. Chap. 1.

Where also he requests, that Pardon may be granted him by candid Readers, if peradventure he shall not so largely and copiously pursue and finish this Subject: For [ he says, ] that he was the first person who applied himself to this sort of Writing, and first began to walk in a way which had not before been worn by any one's Footsteps. But this may seem to some persons, not so much an Excuse and desire of Pardon, as an Endeavour to procure Praise and Glory. Further, notwithstanding it appears evident from Eusebius's own Testimony, that he wrote his Ecclesiastick History after his Chronological Canons; yet 'tis strange that Both those Works proceed to one and the same Limit, namely, to Constantine's Twentieth Year, which was the Year of Christ 325. That moreover may deservedly be wondered at, that although the Nicene Synod was celebrated on Constantine's (b) Vicennalia, yet no mention is made of it, either in his Chronicon, or Ecclesiastick History. For, whereas in his Latin Chronicon, at the Fifteenth Year of Constantine, these words occur; Alexandrinæ Ecclesiæ 19. ordinatur Episcopus Alexander, &c. Alexander is ordained the nineteenth Bishop of the Alexandrian Church; by whom Arius the Presbyter being ejected out of that Church, joyns many to his own Impiety. To confute the Perfidiousness of which persons, a Synod of 318 Bishops being convened at Nicæa a City of Bithynia, ruin'd all the subtil Devices of the Hereticks by the opposition of [the term] HOMŌOUSIOS: 'Tis plain enough, that those words were not written by Eusebius, but were added by St. Jerome, who interpolated Eusebius's Chronicon, by inserting many Passages on his own head. For, to omit that, namely, that the mention of the Nicene Synod is here set in a foreign and disagreeable place; who can ever believe, that Eusebius would have spoken in this manner concerning Arius, or would have inserted the term HOMŌOUSIOS into his own Chronicon? Which word always displeased him, as we shall see afterwards. How should Eusebius say, that there were three hundred and eighteen Bishops present at the Nicene Synod? when in his Third (c) Book concerning the Life of Constantine, he writes in most express words, that something more than two hundred and fifty sat in

(b) Twentieth year of his Empire.

(c) Chap. 8.

that Synod. Yet I don't doubt, but the Ecclesiastick History was finish'd by Eusebius some years after the Nicene Synod. But whereas Eusebius had resolv'd to close his History with that Peace which after Diocletian's Persecution shone from Heaven upon the Church, as he himself attests in the beginning of his Work; he designdly avoided mentioning the Nicene Synod, lest he should be compelled to set forth the Strifes and Brouils of the Bishops quarrelling one with another. For Writers of Histories ought chiefly to take care of and provide for this; that they may conclude their Work with an illustrious and glorious Close, as Dionysius Halicarnassensis has long since told us in his Comparison of Herodotus and Thucydides. Now, what more illustrious Event could be wish'd for by Eusebius, than that Peace which by Constantine had been restored to the Christians, after a most bloody Persecution; when the Persecutors being every where extinct, and last of all Licinius taken off, no fear of past Mischiefs was now left remaining? With this Peace therefore Eusebius chose to close his History, rather than with the mention of the Nicene Synod. For in that Synod the Divisions seem'd not so much compos'd, as renewed: And that, not by the fault of the Synod it self; but by their pertinacious Obstinacy who refus'd to acquiesce in the most wholesome Determinations of the Sacred Council. And let thus much suffice to have been said by us in reference to the Life and Writings of Eusebius.

It remains, that we speak something concerning his Faith and Orthodoxy. And in the first place, I would have the Readers know, that they are not to expect here from us a Defence of Eusebius. For it belongs not to us to (d) pronounce concerning matters of this nature, in regard in these things we ought rather to follow the Judgment of the Church and the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers. Wherefore we will set down some Heads only here, whereon relying as on some firm foundations, we may be able to determine with more of certainty concerning Eusebius's Faith. Whereas therefore the Opinions of the Ancient in reference to Our Eusebius are various; and some have thought, that he was a Catholic; others, an Heretick; others (e) Διπλωτωρ, that is a person of a doubtful and wavering Faith; we must enquire, to which Opinion chiefly we ought to assent. 'Tis a constant Rule of the Law, in doubtful matters the more favourable and milder Opinion ought to be embraced. Residet, whereas all the Westerns, St. Jerome only excepted, have entertain'd honourable Sentiments concerning Our Eusebius; and whereas the Gallican Church hath enrolled him amongst the number of Saints, as may be gathered from Victorinus Aquitanus, (f) Ufuardus, and others; without question 'tis better, that we should subscribe to the Judgment of our Fathers, than to that of the Eastern Schismatics. Lastly, Whose Authority ought to be greater in this matter, then that of the Bishops of Rome? But Geladius, in his Book De Dubus Naturis, has recounted Our Eusebius amongst the Catholic Writers, and has recited two Authorities out of his Books. Moreover, Pope Pelagius (g) terms him the most honourable amongst Historians, and pronounces him free from all spot of Heresy, notwithstanding he had highly commended heretical Origen. But some body will say, that the Judgment of the Easterns is rather to be followed, in regard the Easterns were better able to know Eusebius, as being a Man of their own language. But it may be answered, that there are not wanting some amongst the Easterns, who have thought well

(d) Judge, or give Sentence.

(e) Double tongue'd, or equivocal.

(f) In his Country.

(g) In Eastern, and in Western.

(c) See his Defence of him, in Book 2. Chap. 21. of Our Eusebius. Amongst whom is (c) Socrates and (d) Gelafius Cyzicenus. But, if the Judgment of the Seventh Oecumenical Synod be oppos'd against us, Our Answer is in readiness. For, Eusebius's Faith was not the Subject of that Synod's Debate, but the Worship of Images. In order to the overthrowing whereof, when the Adversaries a little before convened in the Imperial City, had produced an Evidence out of Eusebius's Letter to Constantia, and laid the greatest stress thereon; the Fathers of the Seventh Synod, that they might lessen the Authority of this Evidence, cry'd out, that Eusebius was an Arian. But they did this by the only, from the Occasion and Harred of that Letter; not designedly, or after a Cognizance of the Cause. They do indeed produce some Passages out of Eusebius, whereby they would prove, that he adhered to the Arian Opinion. But they make no difference between Eusebius's Books before the Nicene Council, and those he wrote after that Council; which nevertheless ought by all means to be done, to the end a certain and just Sentence might be pronounced concerning Eusebius's Faith. For, whatever he wrote before the Nicene Synod, ought not to be objected and charged as a Fault upon Eusebius. Further, Eusebius's Letter to Alexander, wherein he intercedes with him for Arius, was doubtless written before the Nicene Synod. Therefore, that Testimony of the Fathers of the Seventh Synod against Eusebius, although it has the greatest Authority, yet seems to us a rash Judgment, before the Matter was heard, rather than a Synodal Sentence. But the Greeks may have leave to think thus concerning Our Eusebius, and to call him a Borderer upon the Arian Heresie, or even an Arian. But who can with patience bear St. Jerome, who not content to term him Heretic and Arian, does frequently stile him a Ring-leader of the Arians? Can he be justly termed a Ring-leader of the Arians, who after the Nicene Synod always condemn'd the Opinion of the Arians? Let his Books De Ecclesiastica Theologia be perus'd, which he wrote against Marcellus long after the Nicene Council. We shall find what I have said, that they were condemn'd by him, who would affirm, that the Son of God was made of things which are not, and that there was a time when He was not. Athanasius does likewise attest the same thing concerning Eusebius, in his Letter about the Decrees of the Nicene Synod, in these words: Καὶ πρὸ τοῦ τῆς θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπολοῦντο, &c. And truly he was unhappy in that: For, to the end he might clear himself, he in future accus'd the Arians, because when they would maintain that the Son [of God] exist'd not before He was begotten, by this means they might deny Him to have exist'd before His Incarnation. And this is the Testimony which Athanasius gives Eusebius, who bore Eusebius a private Grudge. But St. Jerome, who had no Reasons of Harred against Eusebius, yea, who had profited so much from his Writings; who had rendred his Chronical Canon, and his Book De Locis Hebraicis into Latin; yet brands Eusebius with this Reproach, which even his most malicious Enemies never fasten'd on him. The Reason of which thing I am not able to find out, unless it be, that St. Jerome, having conceived an Hatred against Origen, beyond measure persecut'd

all the Defenders of his Opinions, and especially Our Eusebius. It must indeed be confess'd, that Our Eusebius (altho' he can't deservedly be term'd a Ring-leader of the Arians, yet) after the Nicene Synod was perpetually conversant with the Chiefs of the Arians, and together with them oppos'd the Catholic Bishops, Eustathius namely, and Athanasius, the principal Maintainers of HOMO OUSIOS. That also seems worthy of Reprehension in Eusebius, that altho' he always asserted the Eternity of the Son of God against the Arians, yet never heartily approv'd of the word HOMO OUSIOS. 'Tis certain, he has never made use of that Term, either in his Books against Marcellus, or in his Orations concerning the Faith against Sabellius: Yea, in his Second Book against Sabellius, he does plainly intimate, that that Word, in regard it occurs not in the Scriptures, is displeasing to him. For thus he says: Sic ut ergo de his quæ possunt quæri, incertum est non quærere, &c. As therefore concerning those Matters which may be search'd into, 'tis Sluggishness not to enquire: So, in reference to them which there is no necessity of searching into, 'tis boldness to enquire. What things then ought to be search'd into? Those which we find recorded in the Scriptures. But, what we don't find in the Scriptures, let us not search after. For, were it behoveable that they should be known to us, doubtless the Holy Spirit would have plac'd them in the Scriptures. And a little after he has these words: Let us not in such a manner expose our selves to danger, but let us speak safely. But if any thing be written, let it not be blotted out. And in the end of his Oration he expresses himself in this manner: Speak what is written, and the Controversie will be ended. In which words Eusebius, no doubt, touches upon the term HOMO OUSIOS. But now, if you please, let us hear the Testimonies of the Ancients concerning Eusebius: Wherein this is chiefly to be remark'd, altho' the Judgments of Aduersaries concerning Our Eusebius have been various, in reference to the Purity of the Ecclesiastick Opinions; yet all do unanimously give him the Commendation of most profound Learning. One only Person, Joseph Scaliger, has liv'd in our Father's Memory; who, hurried on with a rash Boldness and Lust of Reproaching, has endeavour'd to deprive Eusebius of this Glory of his Learning, which even his Adversaries never envied him. His (d) Words, if (d) See any one be desirous of knowing them, we have Scaliger's placed amongst the Testimonies of the Ancients. Elench. Tribes. not that we have any great value for his Judgment, in this Particular especially; but with this and Book Design rather, that his unreasonable Detraction might be exposed to publick view. Who having resolv'd me to write Comments on Eusebius's Chronical Canon, in the very Entrance of that Work re- about the proves St. Jerome, because he hath term'd Eusebius a most Learned Man. And at first I had in- his Avowed determin'd, to have reason'd at large against his asser- Scaliger, and to have confuted his Opinion by a more copious Answer. But in regard that Matter niceon, pag. requires a greater Leisure, and would peradventure be tedious to the Readers, it will be more opportunely deferr'd to another time.

# SOME OBSERVATIONS

in Reference to the

## GEOGRAPHICAL PART

OF THE

## Ecclesiastical Histories

OF

*EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES, and EVAGRIUS,*

And to the *M A P S* thereunto adjoin'd.

**F**OR the better understanding the *Geographical* Part of the Ecclesiastical Histories herewith publish'd, it may be of use, at least to such as have but little insight into Geography, to make the following Observations.

I. That it is very usual to have the Names of Places somewhat *varied* by various Authors, and that especially as to their Termination. Hence we find the same Place by some termed *Cyzicus*, by others *Cyzicum*; so *Astacus* and *Astacum*; *Mopsucrene* and *Mopsucrena*; *Arca* or *Arce*, and *Arcaæ*. And so in other Syllables besides the last, *Sardica* and *Serdica*; *Emesa* and *Emisa*; *Cyrrus*, *Cyrrus*, and *Cyrrhus*, &c. And hither may be refer'd the different rend'ring of the same Word: For instance, the City, where the first General Council was held, is sometimes render'd in *English* (literally agreeable to the *Greek*) *Nicea*, sometimes more short *Nice*; so *Antiochia* and *Antioch*, *Thracia* and *Thrace*, &c. The same *Greek* Word is also differently render'd as to 'spelling, *viz.* *Sardes* and *Sardis*; *Laodicea* and *Laodices*; *Apamea*, *Apamea*, and *Apamia*, &c. From this Observation the Reader may easily infer, that he is not to look on Words, that are thus a little varied, to denote presently so many various Places; and consequently is not to expect all these Variations in the *Mapps* hereunto belonging.

II. Names of Places are frequently *corrupted*, or falsly written, through the Ignorance, or at least Heedlessness of Transcribers. Here are not wanting Footsteps of it in these Histories. To instance but in one place, *Chap. 25. B. 3.* of *Socrates's* History, where we find mention made of the Bishop of *Zene*, corruptly for *Zede*; of the Bishop of *Sippi*, corruptly for *Hippi*, as *Valesius* has observ'd; and of the Bishop of *Antros* for *Adra*, as *Valesius* conjectures; and of *Εὐαγρίου Σικελῆς*, or as some Copies have it, *Σικελῶν*, which Reading *Valesius* prefers, and saith, that *Siculi* is the name of a City in the East, Concerning which (adds he) *I have yet met with nothing*. Now if it seems not so probable, that *Ἀντρίου* (as it is in the *Greek*) should be writ for *Ἀδραν* or *Ἀδρανδῆς*, as *Valesius* conjectures; what if it should be supposed to be rather written for *Ἀναγρίου*, the Mistake being but little, and so easie; and we have not only such a Town as *Ἀναγρίον* mention'd by *Ptolemy* in *Galatia*, but we there find it also writ *Andrus*, or *Antrus*; and placed not far from *Ancyra*, the Bishop whereof is mention'd in the same place, and on the same account by *Socrates*. And as to *Εὐαγρίου Σικελῆς*, 'tis certain, that sometimes the Western Bishops were upon some occasion or other in the Eastern Parts, and therefore *Σικελῆς* may possibly be not only the common, but truest Reading, and denote that the said *Evagrius* was a *Sicilian* Bishop. And supposing *Σικελῶν* to be the true Reading, the same Interpretation may hold, as may be prov'd. But if we will with *Valesius* rather suppose *Σικελῆς* or *Σικελῶν*, to denote here some City in the East; then perhaps we may meet with something concerning it, when we find in *Ptolemy*, a City on the *Euphrates*, call'd *Κικυλία*; and we may suppose the Original Reading in *Socrates*, to have been *Κικλῆς* or *Κικλῆς*, or *Κικλῶν* or *Κικλῶν* from which *Σικελῆς* or *Σικελῶν* (or *Σικελῶν* or *Σικελῶν*) is an easie change. And

this Conjecture is made the more probable, because there are here mention'd by *Sacerates* the Bishops of *Samofata* and *Urima*, both which lay likewise on the same River, somewhat above *Cecilia* or *Cicelia*. To this corruption of Names, or else to the variation of Names observed under the first Head, ought to be refer'd (as I am inclin'd to think) the words *Avares*, or *Abares*, or *Abari*, or *Abasgi*; which may not improbably have been the same People; and I find others of this Opinion. For which reason *Abasgi* is not mention'd in the Maps, but only *Abares*.

III. The Names of Countries are, many or most of them, taken in different Senses, according to the several Divisions made at several times. Thus *Illyricum*, which once denoted only a Province lying on the East of the *Adriatick* Gulf, came in time to denote many and large Provinces. Hence the Reader is not to wonder, if he finds *Sirmium* sometimes reckon'd a City of *Pannonia*, sometimes of *Illyricum*; *Sardica* or *Serdica*, sometimes fill'd a City of *Thrace*, sometimes also of *Illyricum*; namely, because *Illyricum* in its largest acceptation included all *Pannonia*, and that part of *Thrace*, wherein *Sardica* stood. On the contrary *Syria*, which most anciently denoted all that Tract, which lay from the River *Euphrates* to *Egypt*, between *Arabia Deserta* Eastward, and the *Mediterranean* Sea Westward, came afterwards to be restrain'd simply and properly only to a small part of it, namely about *Antioch*. Hence what is stiled by one Writer simply *Palestine*, by another is stiled *Syria-Palestine*; and the same City is reckon'd by one, as appertaining to *Phoenicia-Libanensis*, by another to *Calestria*, or as it is sometimes plac'd *Syria-Cele*, by a third, a City of *Syria* in general, &c. Now to have taken notice of all this variety of Divisions in the Maps, would only have perplexed them, and so render'd them less useful. Therefore in them I have set down only such Divisions, as are generally made use of by the Ecclesiastical Writers. The others may be best learnt from the *Notitia*, which is (I think) intended to be publish'd with these Histories; and also from the Division of the *Roman Empire*, made by *Constantine the Great*; part whereof is to be seen in *Valesius's* Notes, p. 332. 2. But because the Knowledge of that Division is of good use to the understanding Ecclesiastical Affairs, therefore I shall here give it the Reader all together in one view, so far forth as seems requisite for him to know.

The *Roman Empire* was divided by *Constantine the Great* into Four General Parts, two whereof made up afterwards the *Western Empire*, the other two, the *Eastern*, viz.

The WESTERN Empire.	
(1.) The Prefecture or Government of the <i>Praefectus Praetorio Italiae</i> , distinguished into three Dioceses, viz.	The Diocese of Italy, or All Italy, the Isles Sicily, Sardinia, & Italian Diocese, comprehending The Diocese of <i>Illyricum</i> , comprehending The Diocese of <i>Africa</i> , including
(2.) The Prefecture of the <i>Praefectus Praetorio Galliarum</i> , distinguished into three Dioceses, viz.	All Old Gaul, with the <i>Alpes Graiae &amp; Maritimae</i> . All Old Spain, with the <i>Insulae Baleares</i> , i. e. <i>Majorca</i> , <i>Minorca</i> , & <i>Mauritania Tingitana</i> . All Britain, that was under the Roman Government.
The EASTERN Empire.	
(3.) The Prefecture of the <i>Praefectus Praetorio Orientis</i> , distinguished into five Dioceses, viz.	<i>Africa</i> Proper, the <i>Hellestianick</i> Province with the Isles, <i>Phrygia</i> <i>Pacatiniana</i> & <i>Salutaris</i> , <i>Lydia</i> , <i>Caria</i> , <i>Lycia</i> , <i>Pamphylia</i> , <i>Pisidia</i> , <i>Lycania</i> . <i>Bithynia</i> , <i>Honorias</i> , <i>Pontagonia</i> , * <i>Galatia</i> , <i>Galatia Salutaris</i> , <i>Helenepontrus</i> , <i>Pontus Polemoniacus</i> , <i>Cappadocia Prima &amp; Secunda</i> , <i>Armenia Prima &amp; Secunda</i> . <i>Cilicia Prima &amp; Secunda</i> , <i>Isauria</i> , <i>Syria Proper</i> , <i>Comagena</i> or <i>Euphratensis</i> ; <i>Syria Salutaris</i> ; <i>Phoenice Maritima</i> , & <i>Libanensis</i> ; <i>Palestina Prima</i> , <i>Secunda</i> , & <i>Salutaris</i> ; <i>Osrhoene</i> , or <i>Osdracae</i> , <i>Mesopotamia</i> , <i>Arabia Petraea</i> , the Isle <i>Cyprus</i> . <i>Egypt</i> Proper, <i>Augustamnica</i> , <i>Arcadia</i> , <i>Thebais</i> , <i>Libya Superior</i> & <i>Inferior</i> . <i>Europa</i> , <i>Thracia Proper</i> , <i>Hæmimons</i> , <i>Rhodia</i> , <i>Mesia Secunda</i> , <i>Scythia Proper</i> .

\* This seems to be the same, that in the Ecclesiastical Histories is call'd *Galatia the less*, whereof *Ancyra* was the Capital City.

(4.) The Prefecture of the <i>Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici</i> , distinguish'd into two Dioceses, viz.	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">The <i>Dacian</i> Diocese, containing</div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;">The Diocese of <i>Macedonia</i>, including</div> </div>	<div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Mæsia Prima</i>, <i>Dacia Ripensis</i> &amp; <i>Mediterranea</i>, <i>Dardania</i>, <i>Prævalitana</i>, and Part of <i>Macedonia Salutaris</i>. </div> <div style="display: inline-block; vertical-align: middle;"> <i>Achaia</i>, <i>Macedonia Parva</i> or <i>Proper</i>, <i>Thesaly</i>, <i>Crete Isle</i>, <i>Epirus Vetus</i> or <i>Inferior</i>, <i>Epirus Nova</i> or <i>Superior</i>, and the other part of <i>Macedonia Salutaris</i>. </div> </div>

It is to be observ'd, that before the Division of the Roman Empire between *Honorius* and *Arcadius*, to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Illyrici* did also belong the *Illyrican Diocese*, which was afterwards taken from this *Præfect*, and added to the Government of the *Præfectus Prætorio Italiae*, as is above-mention'd.

IV. From the foregoing Division may be easily learn'd the Reason, why in the Ecclesiastical Histories, mention is sometimes made of *Mauritania*, *Libya*, *Africa*, and so of *Britannia*, *Gallia*, and *Spania*, &c. in the singular; sometimes of the *Mauritania's*, *Libya's*, *Africa's*, and so of the *Britannia's*, *Gallia's*, *Hispania's*, &c. in the Plural. Namely, Both ways of speaking amount to the same, the former having a respect to the whole Countries consider'd together, as denoted by their general Names; the latter having respect to the said Countries, as distinguished into several Divisions or Parts, by some Epithet added to the general Name for distinction-sake; thus we find in the foregoing Division of the Empire, three *Mauritania's*, viz. *Tingitana*, *Cæsariensis*, and *Stifensis*; two *Libya's*, viz. *Superior*, and *Inferior*, &c. And so Britain was divided into *Britannia Prima*, *Secunda*, *Flavia Cæsariensis*, *Maxima Cæsariensis*, and *Vakmia*: *Gallia* into (G) *Lugdunensis Prima*, *Secunda*, *Tertia*, and *Quarta*; *Aquitania Prima*, and *Secunda* mention'd by *Socrates*, &c. And here it may be of use to note, that altho' *Gallia* be sometimes translated *France*, and *Hispania* sometimes *Spain*; yet neither does *Present France* include all *Gallia* or *Old Gaul*; nor *Present Spain* include all *Hispania* or *Old Spain*.

V. It is to be observed, that the same Division has sometimes several Names, whereof one is used by one Writer, another by Another, accordingly as the use of this or that Name prevail'd in the time wherein that Writer liv'd. Thus *Libya Superior* and *Inferior*, mention'd above in the *Egyptian Diocese*, are sometimes stiled *Cyrenæica*, and *Marmarica*; and *Cyrenæica* again is otherwise stiled *Pentapolis* or *Libya Pentapolitana*. And hence it is, that in reckoning up the Parts of a Country, we often find them differently expressed.

VI. I am inclin'd to think, that the Title of the 12<sup>th</sup> Chapter of *Eusebius's* Second Book is somewhat corrupted. It stands at present thus, *περί ἑκλυσῆς τῆς τῶν Ὀρεινῶν βασιλείας*, whereas I am apt to think, that either *Ὀρεινῶν* is a corrupt reading for *Ἀσιαβωνῶν*; or else that the Original reading was only *περί ἑκλυσῆς τῆς βασιλείας*, and that τῶν Ὀρεινῶν being added (as was intended, though erroneously) by way of Explication in some Copy, crept at length into the Body of the Title. We find this same Person in the beginning of the Chapter stiled simply ἡ βασιλισσα Ἑκλυσῆς; and at the very close of the Chapter we are told, that τῇ Ἀδιὰβην-τῶν ἐδ' ὅς ἐστι βασιλεύουσα ἐκλυσῆς. And so she is all along stiled *Queen of Adiabene* by *Josephus* the Historian. But *Adiabene*, or *Osroene* were not the same Countries, but different.

VII. Whereas, on that Passage of *Socrates* B. 7. Chap. 22.—*When the Bishop of Chebron had ended his Life*,—*Valesius* makes this Remark, *This City, and the Name of this Bishop, are equally unknown to me*: I am not aware at present of any thing, that hinders us from taking this City to be no other, than the City *Hebron* in *Palestine*, or the *Holy Land*, so famous in the History of the Old Testament. Sure I am, that this City is writ both by the LXX Interpreters, and by *Josephus* *ἡβὲρ*, just as it is here in the Greek of *Socrates*, excepting that the Accent is different, which is of no great moment, since a Mistake therein is so very easie. To confirm this Opinion, several Considerations might be offer'd, was it needful.

VIII. Whereas *Socrates*, B. 2. Chap. 37. relates, that the *Ursacians* left Italy, went into the Eastern Parts, and arrived at a City of Thrace, the Name whereof was *Nice*, where they published a Creed;—their Design being to impose on the simpler sort of People by the likeness of the Cities name, namely to *Nice* in *Bitlynia*: Neither *Ptolemy*, nor any of the *Notitia's*, or other Geographical Books by me, mention any such City in Thrace. In the *Pentingerian Tables*, there is indeed a *Nicea* or *Nice*, placed between *Larissa* and *Thessalonica*, and so in the Road from Italy to Thrace, but then 'tis an Error in *Socrates* to place it in Thrace, when it lay in Macedonia, West of Thessalonica. If the City meant was not this, but did lie in Thrace, then perhaps it was no other than *Nicopolis*, surnam'd *ad Nesum*, which lay much in the same Road, and which is a Compound, denoting much the same as *Nicæa* means or the City *Nicæa* or *Nice* distinctly. And such Persons, as would go about to impose on the simpler sort of People, by the likeness of Names, would not stick at making use of such a Quibble, as to denote *Nicopolis* by the City *Nice*.

And



And thus I have made such Observations, as occur'd to me, whilst I was drawing up the Maps, and seem useful to such Readers, as are less vers'd in the Study of Geography. I shall conclude, by taking this Opportunity to offer to the Judicious one Consideration, *viz.* Whether since Geography does so much depend on the Revolutions of Governments, and the several Divisions of Countries, that have been made thereupon, through the several Ages of the World; the most proper way to bring Geography to such Perfection, as it is capable of, would not be this; namely, *To begin with the most Ancient Authors or Writers, and from them to gather (as far forth as may be) the State of Geography in their times, then to descend to the Writers of the next Age or Ages, and by comparing these with the other, to learn what Changes had been made in Geography, during that Interval; and so to compile a Body of Geography, the several Sections whereof should treat of, and by proper Maps represent the several Faces of Geography, according to the several succeeding Ages of the World.* This, I conceive, to be as proper a Method as any can be taken, not only to perfect Geography, as far as may be; but also to convey to the Studious an easie, and withal distinct and clear Notion of it. Besides which, there will also arise another very considerable Advantage from such a Work, when drawn up; I mean this, That whatever Historian a Man shall take in hand, he need but be inform'd, in what Age, or of what Age the Historian wrote, and then by having recourse to that Section of the foremention'd *Body or System of Geography*, which appertains to that Time, he may thereby be presently taught to understand the Geographical Part of the History he is reading. 'Tis obvious, that such a Work would require not only a great deal of Pains and Time, but also a great deal of *Somewhat Else*, absolutely necessary to furnish the Compiler with those many and chargeable Materials, that are requisite for him to have. And 'tis as obvious, that the Considerations to be expected from a *Bookseller*, will not amount to a sufficient Encouragement for such an Undertaking. And hence it comes to pass, that as History is esteem'd a most useful part of Learning, and Geography one of the *Eyes* of History, without which he that reads any History, must be necessarily much *in the Dark*; so any King that has been so happy as to consult both his own Glory, and his Peoples Good, by becoming a *Promoter of Learning*, hath hereupon judg'd it requisite, among his other Pensioners of Learning, to have also a *Regius Geographus*. And I need not stand to acquaint the Learned, what Service has been done by such to Geography, and so to Learning in general.

Colesbach, May 5.  
1709.

E. WELLS.

# O R D O P R Æ S I D E N T I Æ

## Sanctissimorum Patriarcharum :

1. Romanus. 2. Constantinopolitanus. 3. Alexandrinus. 4. Antiochenus. 5. Æliensis five Hierosolymitanus.

*Ordo Præsidentie Metropolitanorum, & Autocephalorum, & Episcoporum, sub Apostolico Throno à Deo custoditæ, hujus & Imperialis Urbis (Constantinopoleos) agentium.*

**P**rovinciæ Cappadocia:  
 Provinc. Asia.  
 Provinc. Europæ.  
 Provinc. Galatiæ.  
 Provinc. Helleſponti.  
 Provinc. Lydiæ.  
 Provinc. Bithyniæ.  
 Provinc. ejuſdem.  
 Provinc. ejuſdem.  
 Provinc. Pamphylia.  
 Provinc. Armenia.  
 Provinc. Elenoponti.  
 Provinc. Armenia.  
 Provinc. Cappadociæ.  
 Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.  
 Provinc. Honoriadis.  
 Provinc. ponti Polemoniæ.  
 Provinc. Galatiæ.  
 Provinc. Lyciæ.  
 Provinc. Cariæ.  
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Cappatianæ.  
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Salutaris.  
 Provinc. Lycaoniæ.  
 Provinc. Piſidiæ.  
 Provinc. Pamphylia.  
 Provinc. Cappadociæ.  
 Provinc. Laziæ.  
 Provinc. Thraciæ.  
 Provinc. Rhodopæ.  
 Provinc. Inſularum Cycladum.  
 Provinc. Æmimonti.  
 Provinc. ejuſdem.  
 Provinc. Phrygiæ Pacatianæ.

Metropolitæ Cæſariæ.  
 Met. Ephēſi.  
 Met. Heracleæ Thraciæ  
 Met. Ancyra.  
 Met. Cyzici.  
 Met. Sardium.  
 Met. Nicomediæ.  
 Met. Nicææ.  
 Met. Chalcedoniſ.  
 Met. Sidæ.  
 Met. Sebaſtiæ.  
 Met. Amaſariæ.  
 Met. Melitiniæ.  
 Met. Tyanorum, five Chriſtopolis.  
 Met. Gangrorum.  
 Met. Claudiopolis.  
 Met. Neocæſariæ.  
 Met. Piſſenuntis, five Juſtinianopolis.  
 Met. Myrorum.  
 Met. Stauropolis.  
 Met. Laodiciæ.  
 Met. Synadorum.  
 Met. Iconii.  
 Met. Antiochiæ.  
 Met. Pergæ, five Sylæi.  
 Met. Moceſſi.  
 Met. Phaſidis.  
 Met. Philippopolis.  
 Met. Trajanopolis.  
 Met. Rhodi.  
 Met. Adrianopolis.  
 Met. Martianopolis.  
 Met. Hierapolis.

*Hæſſenus Metropolitanæ. Hic porro incipiunt Autocephali.*

Provinc. Myſiæ.  
 Provinc. Scythiæ.  
 Provinc. Europæ.  
 Provinc. Paphlagoniæ.  
 Provinc. Aſiæ.  
 Provinc. Iſauriæ.  
 Provinc. Rhodopæ.

Autocephalus Odyſſi.  
 Aut. Tomes.  
 Aut. Bizyæ.  
 Aut. Pompeiopolis.  
 Aut. Smyrnæ.  
 Aut. Leontopolis.  
 Aut. Maronææ.

B

Province.

Provincia Bithynia.  
 Provinc. Rhodopes.  
 Provinc. Galatia.  
 Provinc. Europa.  
 Provinc. Thracia.  
 Provinc. insul. Lesbi.  
 Provinc. Helleponti.  
 Provinc. Caria.  
 Provinc. Thracia.  
 Provinc. Insula.  
 Provinc. Rhodopes.  
 Provinc. Europa.  
 Provinc. insul. Lesbi.  
 Provinc. Bithynia.  
 Provinc. Europa.  
 Provinc. Rhodopes.  
 Provinc. Zicchia.  
 Provinc. ejusdem.  
 Provinc. ejusdem.  
 Provinc. Iauria.  
 Provinc. Eleoponti. C. F. Hellenoponti.  
 Provinc. insular. Cycladum.  
 Provinc. Rhodopes.  
 Provinc. Europa.  
 Provinc. Hemimonti.  
 Provinc. Armenia.  
 Provinc. Abasgia.  
 Provinc. ponti Polemoniacy.  
 Provinc. Paphlagonia.  
 Provinc. Lycaonia.  
 Provinc. Pisidia.  
 Provinc. Maris Egei.  
 Provinc. Phrygia Salutaris.  
 Provinc. Pamphylia.

*Provincia Cappadocia.*

Episcopus.

Episcopus.

- |                 |                           |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Caesarea.     | 2 Basilicarum thermarum.  |
| 3 Nyssa.        | 4 Methodiopolis Armeniaca |
| 5 Camulianorum. | 6 Ciscifia.               |

*Provincia Asia.*

- |                  |                                  |
|------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1 Ephesi.        | 2 Hypaeorum. [drum.              |
| 3 Trallium.      | 4 Magnesia prope Maeandrum.      |
| 5 Elaea.         | 6 Adramyttium.                   |
| 7 Asii.          | 8 Gargarorum.                    |
| 9 Mastaurorum.   | 10 Caloes.                       |
| 11 Bryullorum.   | 12 Pittanines.                   |
| 13 Myrines.      | 14 Phocia.                       |
| 15 Aurillogolis. | 16 Nifae.                        |
| 17 Maschacomae.  | 18 Metropolis.                   |
| 19 Baretorum.    | 20 Magnesia.                     |
| 21 Aninatum.     | 22 Pergami.                      |
| 23 Aneorum.      | 24 Prienes.                      |
| 25 Arcadiopolis. | 26 Nova Aulaea.                  |
| 27 Templi Jovis. | 28 Augazorum.                    |
| 29 Sion.         | 30 Colophonae.                   |
| 31 Levedi.       | 32 Tei.                          |
| 33 Erythrarum.   | 34 Clazomenarum.                 |
| 35 Attadorum.    | 36 Theodosiopol. five Perinthia. |
| 37 Cyma.         | 38 Palaeopolis.                  |

*Provincia Europa.*

- |                     |               |
|---------------------|---------------|
| 1 Haraclea Thracia. | 2 Panij.      |
| 3 Callipolis.       | 4 Cherronefi. |
| 5 Cyla.             | 6 Radefti.    |

Autocephalus Apamea.  
 Aut. Maximianopolis.  
 Aut. Germiorum.  
 Aut. Arcadiopolis.  
 Aut. Beroa.  
 Aut. Mitylenes.  
 Aut. Parij.  
 Aut. Meliti.  
 Aut. Nicopolis.  
 Aut. Praconesi.  
 Aut. Anchiali.  
 Aut. Selymbria.  
 Aut. Methymnes.  
 Aut. Cij.  
 Aut. Apri.  
 Aut. Cypsalorum.  
 Aut. Cherfonis.  
 Aut. Bosporum.  
 Aut. Nicopolis.  
 Aut. Cotrudorum.  
 Aut. Euchetorum.  
 Aut. Carpathi.  
 Aut. Aeni.  
 Aut. Driziparorum, five Mesene.  
 Aut. Mesembria.  
 Aut. Heracliopolis, five Phylactheos.  
 Aut. Sebastopolis.  
 Aut. Trapezuntis.  
 Aut. Amastridis.  
 Aut. Misthiorum.  
 Aut. Neapolis.  
 Aut. Aegaea.  
 Aut. Coryae.  
 Aut. Selgae.

*Provincia Galatia.*

- |                |                   |
|----------------|-------------------|
| 1 Ancyra.      | 2 Tabia.          |
| 3 Eliopolis.   | 4 Aspona.         |
| 5 Berinopolis. | 6 Mizzi.          |
| 7 Cinx.        | 8 Anaftasiopolis. |

*Provincia Helleponti.*

- |                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| 1 Cyzici.       | 2 Germes.          |
| 3 Pamanij.      | 4 Oces.            |
| 5 Barcos.       | 6 Adrianotherarum. |
| 7 Lampfaci.     | 8 Abydi.           |
| 9 Dardani.      | 10 Ilij.           |
| 11 Troadis.     | 12 Pzonix.         |
| 13 Melitopolis. |                    |

*Provincia Lydia.*

- |                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Sardium.       | 2 Philadelphia.    |
| 3 Triopolis.     | 4 Thyatirorum.     |
| 5 Settorum.      | 6 Aurilliapolis.   |
| 7 Gordorum.      | 8 Troallozum.      |
| 9 Salorum.       | 10 Silandi.        |
| 11 Maonia.       | 12 Fani Apollinis. |
| 13 Hyrcanidis.   | 14 Mustina.        |
| 15 Arasti.       | 16 Apolloniadis.   |
| 17 Atraxia.      | 18 Baga.           |
| 19 Balandi.      | 20 Melotymoli.     |
| 21 Hierocæsarea. | 22 Dalla.          |
| 23 Stratonicea.  | 24 Cerafeorum.     |
| 25 Sattalorum.   | 26 Gabalorum.      |
| 27 Hermocapelia. |                    |

*Provincia Bithynia.*

- |                  |                          |
|------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Nicomedia.     | 2 Prusæ five Theopolis.  |
| 3 Præneti.       | 4 Elenopolis.            |
| 5 Bifilinopolis. | 6 Dacelyij.              |
| 7 Apolloniadis.  | 8 Adrianarum.            |
| 9 Cæsareæ.       | 10 Galli, five Lophorum. |
| 11 Daphnusiæ.    | 12 Eriſtes.              |

*Provincia ejusdem.*

Nicæa Mysia in Bithynia Civitas à Lyſimacho ad paludem Aſcaniam condita eſt. Prius Helicore dicta fuit; & à Græcis in admiratione habita propter fortunam & felicitatem. Cum fraude autem à Myſis capta eſſet, & viri partim deſerti ſunt, partim auferunt, & vicinas civitates inhabitârunt, & regio ipſorum penitus everſa eſt. Verum poſt Alexandri obitum à Lyſimacho condita eſt, & Nicæa nominata, de nomine Antipatri filia. Hac oriundus eſt Stoicus Philoſophus Apollo, Apolloniij, qui Dardano ſucceſſit, Diſcipulus: Item Lycon & Lycander Stoici ſimiliter Philoſophi: Nec non Hierax & Ilidorus, inſignes Grammatici.

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Nicæa.         | 2 Modrinæ, five Meli- |
| 3 Linoes.        | 4 Taij. [norum.       |
| 5 Gerduſervarum. | 6 Numericarum.        |
| 7 Maximianarum.  |                       |

*Provincia Pamphylia.*

- |                 |                           |
|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Sidæ.         | 2 Aſpendi.                |
| 3 Etrææ.        | 4 Onemna.                 |
| 5 Caſſorum.     | 6 Semneorum.              |
| 7 Coralliorum.  | 8 Coraciſſij. [anopolis.  |
| 9 Syethrorum.   | 10 Mylones, five Juſtini- |
| 11 Anamandorum. | 12 Dalifandi.             |
| 13 Iſborum.     | 14 Lybræ.                 |
| 15 Colybraſſi.  | 16 Manzorum.              |

*Provincia Armenia.*

- |              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| 1 Sebaſtææ.  | 2 Sebaſtopolis. |
| 3 Nicopolis. | 4 Satalorum.    |
| 5 Colonia.   | 6 Berifſes.     |

*Provincia Elenoponti.*

- |               |                         |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Amaſeæ.     | 2 Amiffi.               |
| 3 Sinopæ.     | 4 Ibororum.             |
| 5 Androporum. | 6 Zalichi, five Leonto- |
| 7 Zclorum.    | polis.                  |

*Provincia Armenia.*

- |               |               |
|---------------|---------------|
| 1 Melitinæ.   | 2 Arca.       |
| 3 Cucuſi.     | 4 Arabiſſi.   |
| 5 Ariarathes. | 6 Ceomanarum. |

*Provincia Cappadocia*

- |                            |                |
|----------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Tyanorum, five Chri-     | 2 Cybiſtrorum. |
| 3 Fauſtinopolis.[itopolis. | 4 Saſimorum.   |

*Provincia Paphlagonia.*

- |               |              |
|---------------|--------------|
| 1 Gangrarum.  | 2 Junopolis. |
| 3 Dadybrorum. | 4 Sorarum.   |

*Provincia Honoradiis.*

- |                 |                   |
|-----------------|-------------------|
| 1 Claudiapolis. | 2 Heracleæ Ponti. |
| 3 Prusiadis.    | 4 Tij.            |
| 5 Crateæ.       | 6 Adrianopolis.   |

*Provincia Polemoniæ.*

- |                |                 |
|----------------|-----------------|
| 1 Neocæſareæ.  | 2 Trapezantium. |
| 3 Ceroſantium. | 4 Polemonij.    |
| 5 Camanorum.   |                 |

*Provincia Galatia.*

- |                            |                 |
|----------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Piſinuntium.             | 2 Mericij.      |
| 3 Eudoxiadis.              | 4 Pitanniſſi.   |
| 5 Trocnadorum. [polis.     | 6 Germocolonia. |
| 7 Spaleæ, five Juſtiniano- | 8 Orciſti.      |

*Provincia Lycia.*

- |                 |                         |
|-----------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Myrorum.      | 2 Maſſærorum.           |
| 3 Telmeſi.      | 4 Limyrorum.            |
| 5 Araxes.       | 6 Aprillorum.           |
| 7 Tatlorum.     | 8 Arneorum.             |
| 9 Sidymorum.    | 10 Zenopolis.           |
| 11 Olympi.      | 12 Odorum.              |
| 13 Corydalarum. | 14 Canni.               |
| 15 Xanthi.      | 16 Acræſſi. [pol.       |
| 17 Marciænes.   | 18 Bobi, five Sophiano- |
| 19 Comatis.     | 20 Onundorum.           |
| 21 Phelli.      | 22 Candanorum.          |
| 23 Phaſſididis. | 24 Antipheſi.           |
| 25 Acaliſſi.    | 26 Rhodiapolis.         |
| 27 Acandorum.   | 28 Lebiſſi.             |
| 29 Eudociadis.  | 30 Paliotarum.          |
| 31 Comborum.    | 32 Patarorum.           |
| 33 Barburorum.  | 34 Neſſorum.            |
| 35 Cianeorum.   | 36 Melatorum.           |

*Provincia Caria.*

- |                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| 1 Stauropolis.  | 2 Cibyræ.              |
| 3 Sizorium.     | 4 Heracleæ Syalabica.  |
| 5 Apolloniadis. | 6 Heracleæ.            |
| 7 Lacymorum.    | 8 Taborum.             |
| 9 Larborum.     | 10 Antiochiæ Mæandri.  |
| 11 Tapaffarum.  | 12 Harpaſſarum.        |
| 13 Neapolis.    | 14 Orthyſiadis.        |
| 15 Anotetartæ.  | 16 Allabandorum.       |
| 17 Stratoniceæ. | 18 Alindorum.          |
| 19 Mylaſſarum.  | 20 Mezo.               |
| 21 Jaffi.       | 22 Barbiliij.          |
| 23 Alicarnaffi. | 24 Hylarimorum.        |
| 25 Cindorum.    | 26 Metaborum.          |
| 27 Mondi.       | 28 Hierij, ſeu Templi. |
| 29 Cindramorum. | 30 Ceramorum.          |
| 31 Promiſſi.    |                        |

*Provincia Phrygia Cappatiani.*

- |                     |                          |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Laodiceæ.         | 2 Tiberiopolis.          |
| 3 Azanorum.         | 4 Ancyroſynai.           |
| 5 Peltorum.         | 6 Appiæ.                 |
| 7 Acadorum.         | 8 Icriorum.              |
| 9 Iluzorum.         | 10 Tranopolis.           |
| 11 Sebaſtæ.         | 12 Eumeniæ. [ni vici.    |
| 13 Timeni therarum. | 14 Agathæ come, i.e. bo- |
| 15 Alinorum.        | 16 Tripolis.             |
| 17 Artanaſſi.       | 18 Trapezopolis.         |
| 19 Siblicæ.         |                          |

*Provincia*

*Provincia Phrygia Salutaris.*

- |                  |                |
|------------------|----------------|
| 1 Synadorum.     | 2 Doryllai.    |
| 3 Nacoleæ.       | 4 Medai.       |
| 5 Hipfi.         | 6 Promiffi.    |
| 7 Meri.          | 8 Sibindi.     |
| 9 Phytia.        | 10 Hierapolis. |
| 11 Eucarpia.     | 12 Lyfiadis.   |
| 13 Anguftopolis. | 14 Bryzi.      |
| 15 Oni.          | 16 Lycaonis.   |
| 17 Steftorij.    | 18 Cinaborij.  |
| 19 Cone.         | 20 Scordapia.  |
| 21 Nicopolis.    | Æroclorum.     |

*Provincia Lycaonia.*

- |                         |                 |
|-------------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Iconij.               | 2 Lyftorum.     |
| 3 Vafadorum.            | 4 Ambadorum.    |
| 5 Vomanodorum.          | 6 Laranodorum.  |
| 7 Beretæ.               | 8 Derbæ.        |
| 9 Hyde.                 | 10 Savatrorum.  |
| 11 Cani.                | [dociadis.      |
| 13 Galbanorum, five Eu- | 12 Berinopolis. |
| 15 Pertorum.            | 14 Iliftorum.   |

*Provincia Pifidia.*

- |                     |                           |
|---------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 Antiochia.        | 2 Sagalaffi.              |
| 3 Sozopolis.        | 4 Apameæ.                 |
| 5 Cibi.             | 6 Tyreni.                 |
| 7 Bareos.           | 8 Adrianopolis.           |
| 9 Limemorum.        | 10 Laodicææ combuftæ.     |
| 11 Seleuciæ ferreæ. | 12 Adadorum.              |
| 13 Zarzelorum.      | 14 Timbriadum.            |
| 15 Tymandi.         | 16 Conanes.               |
| 17 Mali.            | 18 Siniandi.              |
| 19 Tytiaffi.        | 20 Metropolis.            |
| 21 Papporum.        | 22 Parallæ, five Paralla. |
| 23 Mindevi.         |                           |

*Provincia Pamphylia.*

- |                       |                |
|-----------------------|----------------|
| 1 Pergæ, five Syllæi. | 2 Atraliæ.     |
| 3 Magydi.             | 4 Endociadis.  |
| 5 Telimiffi.          | 6 Ifindi.      |
| 7 Maximianopolis.     | 8 Leginorum.   |
| 9 Palæopolis.         | 10 Cremni.     |
| 11 Corydalorum.       | 12 Peltiniffi. |
| 13 Dicytanarorum.     | 14 Ariaffi.    |
| 15 Puglorum.          | 16 Adrianæ.    |
| 17 Sandidorum.        | 18 Barbæ.      |
| 19 Perbænorum.        | 20 Coi.        |

*Provincia Cappadocia.*

- |             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| 1 Moceffi.  | 2 Nazianzi. |
| 3 Colonia.  | 4 Parnaffi. |
| 5 Doarorum. |             |

*Provincia Lazica.*

- |                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Phafidis.             | 2 Rhodopolis. |
| 3 Ecclefia Abyffenorum. | 4 Petrorum.   |
| 5 Ecclefia Ziganeorum.  |               |

*Provincia Thracia.*

- |                  |                     |
|------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Philippopolis. | 2 Diocletianopolis. |
| 3 Diofpolis.     |                     |

*Provincia**Provincia Infularum Cycladum.*

- |          |            |
|----------|------------|
| 1 Rhodi. | 2 Sami.    |
| 3 Chij.  | 4 Coi.     |
| 5 Naxiæ. | 6 Theræ.   |
| 7 Pari.  | 8 Lethri.  |
| 9 Andri. | 10 Teni.   |
| 11 Meli. | 12 Pifynæ. |

*Provincia Æmimonti.*

- |                 |                 |
|-----------------|-----------------|
| 1 Adrianopolis. | 2 Mefembriæ.    |
| 3 Sozopolis.    | 4 Plutinopolis. |
| 5 Zoidorum.     |                 |

*Provincia ejusdem.*

- |                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| 1 Marcianopolis. | 2 Rhodoftoli. |
| 3 Tramarifci.    | 4 Noborum.    |
| 5 Zecedoporum.   | 6 Sarcaræ.    |

*Provincia ejusdem.*

- |                  |         |
|------------------|---------|
| 1 Trajanopolis.  | 2 Peri. |
| 3 Anaftafopolis. |         |

*Provincia Phrygia Capatiana.*

- |                 |                  |
|-----------------|------------------|
| 1 Hierapolis.   | 2 Metellopolis.  |
| 3 Dionyfopolis. | 4 Anaftafopolis. |
| 5 Antædorum.    | 6 Mofynorum.     |
| Marcianopolis.  | Rodoffoli.       |
| Tramarifcorum.  | Nomorum.         |
| Zecedeporum.    | Scaræ.           |

*Provincia Galatia Secundæ.*

- |             |               |
|-------------|---------------|
| 1 Amorig.   | 2 Philomelij. |
| 3 Docimij.  | 4 Clanei.     |
| 5 Polyboti. | 6 Piffiæ.     |

Avulsi funt autem & à Romana diœcefi Throno  
Constantinopolitano nunc Subjecti Metropolitæ, &  
qui fub ijs funt Epifcopi.

- |                 |                     |
|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1 Theffalonica. | 2 Syracufæ.         |
| 3 Corinthi.     | 4 Rhegij.           |
| 5 Nicopolis.    | 6 Athenarum.        |
| 7 Patrarum.     | 8 Novarum Patrarum. |

Hi adjecti funt Synodo Constantinopolitana, prop-  
terea quod Papa veteris Romæ fub gentibus deten-  
tus eft. Sicut & ab Orientali diœcefi avulfus eft  
Metropolita Seleuciæ, Hauriæ, & ipfe cum fuis vi-  
ginti quatuor Epifcopis fub Constantinopolitano  
agit.

*Provincia fub gloriofiffimo Eparcho Romæ, five Italia.**Provincia Urbicariæ Romæ.*

- |                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Britium.               | 2 Maceria.           |
| 3 Luna.                  | 4 Neapolis.          |
| 5 Garanta.               | 6 Vintimilium.       |
| 7 Genues.                | 8 Sipontus.          |
| 9 Ponturoma. [S. Lucian. | 10 Infule Centucele. |
| 11 Castrum Euoriz, ubi   | 12 Castrum Amalphes. |
| 13 Castrum Getteon.      | 14 Castrum Tiberias. |
| 15 Castrum Nepes.        | 16 Infule Comænicia. |
| 17 Castrum Mulium.       | 18 Castrum Campas.   |
| 19 Castrum Sorem.        | 20 Castrum Sufas.    |
| 21 Castrum Ilbas.        | 22 Castrum Anagnia.  |

*Provincia*

*Provincia Campanie.*

- |                          |                                       |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1 Neapolis.              | 2 Brettania.                          |
| 3 Pannonia.              | 4 Calabria.                           |
| 5 Venetia.               | 6 Mesina.                             |
| 7 Vicovarina.            | 8 Taurata.                            |
| 9 Apulia.                | 10 Castrum Opiterbetos.               |
| 11 Castrum Samnios.      | 12 Castrum Sufias.                    |
| 13 Castrum Regium.       | 14 Castrum Taurata.                   |
| 15 Castrum Sygnias.      | 16 Castrum Gradum.                    |
| 17 Castrum Patriarchias. | 18 Castrum Scylacium.                 |
| 19 Castrum Martyrium.    | 20 Castrum Ormuvera.                  |
| 21 Castrum Ortonos.      | 22 Castrum Oppiter <sup>bicum</sup> . |

*Insula Siciliae.*

- |               |                |
|---------------|----------------|
| 1 Syracusa.   | 2 Catana.      |
| 3 Terebenium. | 4 Sefena.      |
| 5 Cephalodum. | 6 Thermum.     |
| 7 Panormus.   | 8 Lilybæum.    |
| 9 Trocalis.   | 10 Acragantus. |
| 11 Tyndarum.  | 18 Carines.    |
| 13 Leontina.  | 14 Aleufis.    |
| 15 Gaudus.    | 16 Meleta.     |
| 17 Liparis.   | 18 Burcaufus.  |
| 19 Didymi.    | 20 Urica.      |
| 21 Onarea.    | 22 Basiludin.  |

*Provincia Calabriae.*

- |               |             |
|---------------|-------------|
| 1 Regium.     | 2 Locris.   |
| 3 Scylacias.  | 4 Cotronum. |
| 5 Constantia. | 6 Topæum.   |
| 7 Tauriana.   | 8 Bilbonum. |

*Provincia Annonarie.*

- |                       |                        |
|-----------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Ravenna.            | 2 Phanus.              |
| 3 Olcusa.             | 4 Polus.               |
| 5 Pecinus.            | 6 Pifaurum.            |
| 7 Tergetra.           | 8 Augustopolis.        |
| 9 Talbitau.           | 10 Castrum Terentinum. |
| 11 Castrum Sole rnos. | 12 Tulericum.          |
| 13 Castrum Sanga.     | 14 Castrum Nobo.       |
| 15 Castrum Eurenica.  | 16 Castrum Semania.    |
| 17 Vicimanto.         | 18 Castrum Vereles.    |
| 19 Castrum Tamia.     | 20 Castrum Varectelia. |
| 21 Castrum Samugia.   | 22 Castrum Sora.       |
| 23 Castrum Suagallia. | 24 Castrum Cifines.    |

*Provincia Emile (fort. Emilie.)*

- |                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Castrum Foropompus. | 2 Castrum Brizilium. |
| 3 Castrum Brinti.     |                      |

*Sub Gloriosissimo Eparcho Africae.*

*Provincia Bizacae.*

- |              |               |           |
|--------------|---------------|-----------|
| 1 Cartagena  | Proconfu-     | 2 Sybiba. |
| 3 Campafia.  | [laris.       | 4 Cileos. |
| 5 Junces.    | 6 Taleptes    |           |
| 7 Calsala.   | 8 Castellæ.   |           |
| 9 Pazana.    | 10 Mamida.    |           |
| 11 Madafuba. | 12 Colules.   |           |
| 13 Capfes.   | 14 Adramytto. |           |

*Provincia Numidia.*

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1 Calama.    | 2 Tebete.   |
| 3 Hippon.    | 4 Nuzidias. |
| 5 Castamaga. | 6 Bades.    |

- |                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| 7 Meleum.         | 8 Leradus.      |
| 9 Castrum Bederè. | 10 Seclæ.       |
| 11 Egerinesium.   | 12 Titeffin.    |
| 13 Bages.         | 14 Constantine. |
| 15 Sitiphnor.     |                 |

*Provincia Mauritania prima.*

- 1 Rhinocururum.

*Provincia Mauritania Secunda.*

- |                    |                         |
|--------------------|-------------------------|
| 1 Sephem.          | 2 Septem ad partem The- |
|                    | neff.                   |
| 3 Spanias.         | 4 Mesopotameni, ad par- |
|                    | tem Spaniæ.             |
| 5 Najurica Insula. | 6 Menyca, insula.       |
| 7 Insula Sardon.   | 8 Carallus, Metropolis. |
| 9 Tures.           | 10 Sanaphas.            |
| 11 Sines.          | 12 Sulces.              |
| 13 Phæfiana.       | 14 Chryfopolis.         |
| 15 Aristianes.     | 16 Limne.               |
| 17 Castrum Tutar.  |                         |

*In Egyptiaca Diœcesi.*

*Provincia Augustamnica prima.*

- |                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Pelusium, Metropolis. | 2 Sethroetes. |
| 3 Tanes.                | 4 Thmues.     |
| 5 Rhinocurura.          | 6 Ostracine.  |
| 7 Pentafchanon.         | 8 Casium.     |
| 9 Aphæum.               | 10 Hipheftus. |
| 11 Panephufus.          | 12 Geros.     |
| 13 Itageros.            | 14 Thenesus.  |

*Provincia Augustamnica Secunda.*

- |                       |             |
|-----------------------|-------------|
| 1 Leonto, Metropolis. | 2 Athrabes. |
| 3 Heliôs.             | 4 Bubastus. |
| 5 Carbethus.          | 6 Arabius.  |

*Provincia Egypti prima.*

- |                          |                     |
|--------------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Alexandria, sub duce   | 2 Hermopolis.       |
| 3 Milleos. [& Auguftali. | 4 Cofus.            |
| 5 Pfaneos, vicus.        | 6 Cotrideos, vicus. |
| 7 Sais.                  | 8 Leontopolis.      |
| 9 Naucratiæ.             | 10 Andronicus.      |
| 11 Zenonopolis.          | 12 Paphna.          |
| 13 Onuphis.              | 14 Taa.             |
| 15 Cleopatris.           | 16 Mareotes.        |
| 17 Manelaitarum.         | 18 Schedia.         |
| 19 Ternuthes.            | 20 Sondra.          |

*Provincia Egypti Secunda.*

- |                     |                   |
|---------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Cabafa.           | 2 Phragonis.      |
| 3 Pachnemonis.      | 4 Diofpolis.      |
| 5 Sebennyus.        | 6 Cæno.           |
| 7 Bufris.           | 8 Elearchia.      |
| 9 Regeon Paralus.   | 10 Vicus Parianæ. |
| 11 Vicus Rhimerium. | 12 Xoeos.         |

*Provincia Arcadia.*

- |                        |                    |
|------------------------|--------------------|
| 1 Oxyrinchus, Metropo- | 2 Heracleus.       |
| 3 Cæno.                | [lis. 4 Nilopolis. |
| 5 Arfinoetes.          | 6 Mempnelitus.     |
| Nilus habet ostia 7.   | 1 Alexandria.      |
| 2 Koliôiv.             | 3 Agni.            |
| 4 Parali.              | 5 Chafmatis.       |
| 6 Tamiathe.            | 7 Teneff.          |

*Provincia Thebaidis primæ.*

- |                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1 Antino, Metropolis. | 2 Hermopolis. |
| 3 Theodosiopolis.     | 4 Polycy.     |
| 5 Hypsele.            | 6 Apollonius. |
| 7 Anteij.             | 8 Panos.      |

*Provincia Thebaidis Secundæ.*

- |                          |                            |
|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 Ptolemias, Metropolis. | 2 Conto, five Justinianop. |
| 3 Diocletianopolis.      | 4 Diofpolis.               |
| 5 Tentyra.               | 6 Maximianopolis.          |
| 7 Thebais.               | 8 Laro.                    |
| 9 Jambon.                | 10 Hermonthes.             |
| 11 Apollonos.            | 12 Vicus Anasæ magnæ.      |
| 13 Thebaidis Superioris. | 14 Ibaos.                  |
| 15 Mathôn.               | 16 Trimuthon.              |
| 17 Erbôn.                |                            |

*Provincia Libyæ.*

- |                         |               |
|-------------------------|---------------|
| 1 Dranicon, metropolis. | 2 Paratonion. |
| 3 Tranzalensis.         | 4 Ammoniaca.  |
| 5 Antipyrgus.           | 6 Antiphron.  |
| 7 Ædonias.              | 8 Marmarices. |

*Provincia Libyæ Pentapolis.*

- |              |             |
|--------------|-------------|
| 1 Sozusa.    | 2 Cyrine.   |
| 3 Ptolemais. | 4 Teuchera. |
| 5 Adriane.   | 6 Beronica. |

*Provincia Tripolis.*

- |            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| 1 Tosibon. | 2 Leptis. |
| 3 Hyo n.   |           |

*In Orientali diæcesi.*

*Provincia Ciliciæ.*

- |                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Tarsus Metropolis. | 2 Pompejopolis. |
| 3 Sebaste.           | 4 Coricus.      |
| 5 Adana.             | 6 Augustopolis. |
| 7 Mallos.            | 8 Zephurium.    |

*Provincia Ciliciæ Secundæ.*

- |                          |                |
|--------------------------|----------------|
| 1 Anabarsus, Metropolis. | 2 Mopseuestia. |
| 3 Ægeia.                 | 4 Epiphania.   |
| 5 Eirenopolis.           | 6 Flavius.     |
| 7 Alexandria.            | 8 Cabissus.    |
| 9 Castabla.              | 10 Rhossus.    |

*Provincia Isauriæ.*

- |                         |                  |
|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1 Seleucia, Metropolis. | 2 Cilendres.     |
| 3 Anemorius.            | 4 Titipolis.     |
| 5 Lamus.                | 6 Antiochia.     |
| 7 Heliu Sebaste.        | 8 Cestra.        |
| 9 Selementes.           | 10 Jostape.      |
| 11 Diocæsaria.          | 12 Olya.         |
| 13 Hierapolis.          | 14 Dalifandus.   |
| 15 Claudiopolis.        | 16 Eirenopolis.  |
| 17 Germanicopolis.      | 18 Neapolis.     |
| 19 Zenonopolis.         | 20 Sbidæ.        |
| 21 Philadelpia.         | 22 Adraffus.     |
| 23 Meloe.               | 24 Domitiopolis. |
| 25 Nauzadeæ.            | 26 Cassorum.     |
| 27 Banæorum.            | 28 Golsi.        |
| 29 Coftradis.           |                  |

*Provincia Syriæ primæ.*

- |                          |            |
|--------------------------|------------|
| 1 Antiochia, ad Daphnen. | 2 Paltus.  |
| 3 thronus Patriarchalis. |            |
| 4 Seleucia.              | 4 Berrhæa. |
| 5 Chalcis.               |            |

*Provincia Syriæ Secundæ.*

- |                      |                 |
|----------------------|-----------------|
| 1 Apamea Metropolis. | 2 Arethusa.     |
| 3 Epiphania.         | 4 Lariffa.      |
| 5 Mariamne.          | 6 Seleucobelus. |
| 7 Rhaphaneæ.         |                 |

*Provincia Euphratissæ & Hagiopolis.*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Hierapolis.                                   | 2 Cyrus five Hagiopolis.   |
| 3 Samofata.                                     | 4 Doliche.   |
| 5 Germanicia.                                   | 6 Zeuma.   |
| 7 Perrhe.                                       | 8 Europus.   |
| 9 Nicopolis.                                    | 10 Schenarchia.  |
| 11 Cæsaria, ubi in exilio erat Sanctus Sergius. | 12 Sergiopolis, five Anastasiopolis, quæ hodie Rattapha dicitur, ubi sanctus Sergius Martyrium passus est. |
| 13 Orimon.                                      | 14 Santon.   |

*Provincia Theodoriadis.*

- |                         |            |
|-------------------------|------------|
| 1 Laodicea, Metropolis. | 2 Balanca. |
| 3 Gabala.               |            |

*Provincia Ofoines.*

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Ædeffa, Metropolis. | 2 Caræ.                  |
| 3 Constantia.         | 4 Theodosiopolis.        |
| 5 Batnæ.              | 6 Callinicus, five Leon- |
| 7 Novavalentia.       | 8 Birtion. Ctopolis.     |
| 9 Monichilla.         | 10 Therimachon.          |
| 11 Moniauga.          | 12 Macarta.              |
| 12 Marcopolis.        | 14 Anastasia.            |
| 13 Hemerius.          | 16 Circiia.              |

Hucusque est complementum Mesopotamiæ.  
Et Persis incipit.

*Provincia Mesopotamiæ Superioris, five Armeniæ quartæ.*

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1 Amida, Metropolis.  | 2 Martyropolis. 15 miliaribus ab hac urbe Tigris fluvius oritur. |
| 3 Daras, sex miliaribus ab hac urbe sunt confinia terminique Persidis, & Assyriæ. | 4 Castrum Riscephas.   |
| 5 Castrum Turandios.  | 6 Castrum Mardes.  |
| 7 Castrum Lornes.   | 8 Castrum Ripton.  |
| 9 Castrum Isphrios.   | 10 Castrum Tzauras.  |
| 11 Castrum Audastion.   | 12 Castrum Amarnes.  |
| 13 Castrum Tzinobias.   | 14 Castr. Intzietorum.   |
| 15 Castrum Banebelorum.   | 16 Castrum Chaddorum.  |
| 17 Castrum Æfuduos.   | 18 Castr. Masphronas.  |
| 19 Castrum Basilicum.   | 20 Castr. Spelon & Odclorum.                                     |
| 21 Castrum Bijubaithas.   | 22 Castr. Manassarorum.  |
| 23 Castr. Phirhachabreas.   | 24 Castr. Sireon Chiphas.  |
| 25 Castrum Calonos.   | 26 Castr. Bibafarorum.   |
| 27 Castrum Tzauras.   | 28 Castr. Birtion.   |
| 29 Castrum Attachas.  | 30 Castr. Aphuborum.   |

*Climatis Arzamines.*

- 31 Castr. Arimachorum. 32 Castr. Florianarum.  
33 Castrum Daphnudin. 34 Castr. Baluos.  
35 Castr. Samochartorum.

Hic finitur Mesopotamia; estque Taurus & Clau-  
fura Balalesorum. Et incipit pars Septentrionalis,  
magna Armenia. Incolunt autem montem Tauri,  
proximè ad idem clima, duo populi nominati, unus  
quidem Ichthomaitæ, alter autem Nasumitæ. Et  
est mons præcellus, Barathcen dictus, in quo Arca  
Noë aquis delata imposita in verticem ejus montis,  
estque id notum omnibus istas partes incolentibus  
usque ad hodiernum diem.

*Provincia Armeniæ alterius.*

- |                       |                          |
|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| 1 Dademon nunc metro- | 2 Arsamufaton.           |
| 3 Polichne. polis.    | 4 Chofanorum.            |
| 5 Chofomachorum.      | 6 Citharizarum.          |
| 7 Castr. Marticerum.  | 8 Castrum Bajuloor.      |
| 9 Castrum Polior.     | 10 Castrum Ardon.        |
| 11 Clima Sophines.    | 12 Regio sub eodem cli-  |
|                       | mate dicta Jalimba-      |
|                       | num, unde ortum habu-    |
|                       | it Basilius, qui præsen- |
|                       | tem librum elaboravit.   |
| 13 Clima Anzetines.   | 14 Clima Digefines.      |
| 15 Clima Garines.     | 16 Clima Orziacines.     |
| 17 Clima Bilabitenes. | 18 Clima Astianices.     |
| 19 Clima Mamuzurum.   |                          |

*Provincia Phœniciæ Maritimæ.*

- |                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 1 Tyrus, Metropolis. | 2 Sidon.            |
| 3 Ptolemais.         | 4 Berytus.          |
| 5 Biblus.            | 6 Tripolis.         |
| 7 Arcæ.              | 8 Orthosias.        |
| 9 Botrys.            | 10 Vicus Gegarta.   |
| 11 Arados.           | 12 Anarados.        |
| 13 Paneas.           | 14 Ganastij Saltus. |
| 15 Vicus Politianus. | 16 Vicus Trieris.   |

*Provincia Phœniciæ Libanisiæ.*

- |                           |                      |
|---------------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Emiffa, Metropolis.     | 2 Laodicea.          |
| 3 Heliopolis.             | 4 Abilla.            |
| 5 Damafcus. [nopolis.     | 6 Clima Jabrudorum.  |
| 7 Evarius, five Justinia- | 8 Talmyna.           |
| 9 Clia Maglydorum.        | 10 Saltum Gonæticum. |
| 11 Salamias.              | 12 Clima Orientale.  |

*Provincia Palæstinæ primæ.*

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1 Ælia, Hierosolymorum.    | 2 Cæsaria, Metropolis. |
| 3 Dora. [sancta Civitas.   | 4 Antipatris.          |
| 5 Diofpolis, five Georgio- | 6 Jamnia.              |
| 7 Nicopolis. [polis.       | 8 Onus.                |
| 9 Sozusa.                  | 10 Joppe.              |
| 11 Afcalon.                | 12 Gaza.               |
| 13 Rhaphia.                | 14 Anthedon.           |
| 15 Diocletianopolis.       | 16 Eleutheropolis.     |
| 17 Neapolis.               | 18 Sebaste.            |
| 19 Regio Apathûs.          | 20 Regio Jericho.      |
| 21 Regio Libiæ.            | 22 Regio Gadara.       |
| 23 Azotus Maritima.        | 24 Azotus Hippinis.    |
| 25 Acomazon.               | 26 Bittymos.           |

- 27 Tricomias. [num. 28 Toxus. [ve Barfamon.  
29 Saltum Constantinia- 30 Saltum Geraticum, fi-

*Provincia Palæstinæ Secundæ.*

- |                   |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1 Scythopolis.    | 2 Gadara.         |
| 3 Pellæ.          | 4 Abila.          |
| 5 Capetomas.      | 6 Diocæsarea.     |
| 7 Maximianopolis. | 8 Gabæ.           |
| 9 Tiberias.       | 10 Hippos.        |
| 11 Helenopolis.   | 12 Clima Gælanes. |
| 13 Tetracomia.    | 14 Comenais.      |

*Provincia Palæstinæ Tertiæ.*

- |                     |                       |
|---------------------|-----------------------|
| 1 Petræ Metropolis. | 2 Augustopolis.       |
| 3 Arindela.         | 4 Charagmuda.         |
| 5 Areopolis.        | 6 Mapis.              |
| 7 Elufa.            | 8 Zoara.              |
| 9 Birosabon.        | 10 Elas.              |
| 11 Pentacomia.      | 12 Mamopora.          |
| 13 Metrocomia.      | 14 Saltum Hieraticum. |

*Provincia Arabiæ.*

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1 Bosfra, Metropolis.    | 2 Adraffus.                              |
| 3 Dia.                   | 4 Medaba.                                |
| 5 Geruffa.               | 6 Neua.                                  |
| 7 Philadelpia.           | 8 Esbus.                                 |
| 9 Neapolis.              | 10 Philippopolis.                        |
| 11 Phenurus.             | 12 Constantinia.                         |
| 13 Dionysias.            | 14 Pentacomia.                           |
| 15 Tricomia.             | 16 Canothas.                             |
| 17 Saltum.               | 18 Bataneos.                             |
| 19 Exacomia.             | 20 Enacomia.                             |
| 21 Vicus Gonias.         | 22 Vicus Cherus.                         |
| 23 Vicus Stanes.         | 24 Vicus Caberæ.                         |
| 25 Vicus Coreathæ.       | 26 Vicus Bilbanûs.                       |
| 27 Vicus Caprorum.       | 28 Vicus Pyrgoaretarum.                  |
| 29 Vicus Setnes.         | 30 Vicus Ariacharum.                     |
| 31 Neotes.               | 32 Clima Orientalium &<br>Occidentalium. |
| 33 Vicus Ariathæ Saxofa. | 34 Vicus Bebdamus.                       |

*Provincia Armeniæ Magnæ.*

Sciendum est, quòd hæc autocephala est, throno  
Apostolico non Subjecta; sed propter Sanctum Gre-  
gorium Armeniæ honorata, habens urbes & castra  
200. Similiter Provincia Cypri manfit, per seip-  
sam habens potestatem, propterea quòd in ea in-  
ventus fuit Sanctus Apostolus Barnabas ad pectus ha-  
bens Evangelium secundum Marcum. Sunt autem  
in ea hæ civitates.

- |                          |  |
|--------------------------|--|
| 1 Constantinia, Metropo- | 2 Ciriium.   |
| 3 Amathus. [lis.         | 4 Curium.  |
| 5 Paphus.                | 6 Arsenæ.  |
| 7 Soli.                  | 8 Lapithus, quæ natus est<br>Georgius Cyprius, qui<br>librum scripsit ex quo<br>hæc sumpta sunt. |
| 9 Cyrenia.               | 10 Tamafus.  |
| 11 Cythri.               | 12 Trimithus.  |
| 13 Carpasin.             |  |



# ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM INDEX CHRONOLOGICUS.

<i>Pontifex.</i>	<i>in- car- pit an.</i>	<i>Pontificatum tenuit.</i>	<i>Pontifex.</i>	<i>in- car- pit an.</i>	<i>Pontificatum tenuit.</i>
1 S. Petrus	43	an. 24. mens. 5. dies 10.	<i>Tertius antipapa Eulalius Archidiaconus.</i>		
2 S. Linus	67	an. 11. mens. 2. dies 23.	44 S. Celestinus I.	423	an. 8. mens. 3. dies 3.
3 S. Cletus	78	an. 12. mens. 7. dies 2.	45 S. Sixtus III.	432	an. 7. mens. 11.
4 S. Clemens I.	91	an. 9. mens. 6. dies 6.	46 S. Leo I. M.	440	an. 20. mens. 11.
5 S. Anaclelus	101	an. 9. mens. 3. dies 10.	47 S. Hilarius	461	an. 5. mens. 9. dies 29.
6 S. Evaristus	110	an. 9. mens. 3.	48 S. Simplicius	467	an. 15. mens. 5. dies 10.
7 S. Alexander I.	119	an. 10. mens. 5. dies 20.	49 S. Felix II. al. III.	483	an. 8. mens. 11. dies 22.
8 S. Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. mens. 10. dies 8.	50 S. Gelafius I.	492	an. 4. mens. 8. dies 19.
9 S. Telephorus	140	an. 11. mens. 8. dies 29.	51 S. Anastasius II.	496	an. 1. mens. 11. dies 23.
10 S. Hyginus	152	an. 3. dies 28.	52 S. Symmachus	498	an. 15. mens. 7. dies 27.
11 S. Pius I.	156	an. 9. mens. 5. dies 27.	<i>Quartus antipapa Laurentius Archidiaconus.</i>		
12 S. Anicetus	165	an. 7. mens. 8. dies 24.	53 S. Hormisdas	514	an. 9. dies 10.
13 S. Soter	173	an. 3. mens. 11. dies 21.	54 S. Joannes I.	523	an. 2. mens. 9. dies 14.
14 S. Eleutherus	177	an. 15. dies 23.	55 S. Felix III. al. IV.	527	an. 3. mens. 2. dies 14.
15 S. Victor I.	192	an. 9. mens. 1. dies 28.	56 S. Bonifacius II.	530	an. 2. dies 2.
16 S. Zephyrinus.	201	an. 18. dies 18.	<i>Quintus antipapa Dioscorus, adversus Bonifacium.</i>		
17 S. Callistus I.	219	an. 5. mens. 1. dies 12.	57 Joannes II. Mercu- rius	532	an. 2. mens. 8.
18 S. Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. mens. 7. dies 4.	58 S. Agapetus I.	535	m. 10. & d. 14. aut 18.
19 S. Pontianus	231	an. 4. dies 6.	59 S. Silverius	536	an. 4.
20 S. Anterus	235	mens. 1.	60 Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6. al. dant d. 18.
21 S. Fabianus	236	an. 15. dies 5.	61 S. Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. mens. 10. dies 18.
22 S. Cornelius.	251	an. 2. mens. 4. dies 17.	62 S. Joannes III. Ca- tellinus	559	an. 12. mens. 11. dies 16.
<i>Primus antipapa Novatianus hæreticus.</i>			63 S. Benedictus I. Bonosius	573	an. 4. mens. 2. dies 15.
23 S. Lucius I.	253	an. unum mens. 4.	64 Pelagius II.	577	an. 12. mens. 2. dies 27.
24 S. Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. mens. 3. dies 22.	65 S. Gregorius I. M.	590	an. 13. mens. 6. dies 10.
25 S. Sixtus II.	257	mens. 11. dies 13.	66 Sabinianus	604	mens. 3. dies 19.
26 S. Dionysius	258	an. 12. mens. 3. dies 14.	67 Bonifacius III.	606	mens. 8. dies 23.
27 S. Felix I.	270	an. 4. mens. 4. dies 29.	68 Bonifacius IV.	607	an. 6. mens. 8. dies 20.
28 S. Eutychianus.	275	an. 8. mens. 6. dies 4.	69 Deus dedit	614	an. 2. mens. 11. dies 26.
29 S. Cajus	283	an. 12. mens. 4. dies 5.	70 Bonifacius V.	617	an. 7. mens. 10. dies 1.
30 S. Mareellinus	296	an. 7. mens. 11. dies 26.	71 Honorius I.	626	an. 12. mens. 4. dies 27.
31 S. Marecellus I.	304	an. 4. mens. 1. dies 25.	72 Severinus	539	mens. 2. dies 4.
32 S. Eusebius	309	an. 2. mens. 8. dies 21.	73 Joannes IV.	539	an. 1. mens. 9. dies 6.
33 S. Melchisedes	311	an. 2. mens. 2. dies 7.	74 Theodorus	641	an. 7. mens. 5. dies 20.
34 S. Silvester I.	314	an. 21. mens. 11.	75 S. Martinus I.	649	an. 5. mens. 4. dies 10.
35 S. Marcus	336	mens. 8. dies 22.	76 Eugenius I.	655	m. 5. aut 6. addunt d. 23.
36 S. Julius	336	an. 15. mens. 5. dies 17.	77 Vitalianus	655	an. 13. mens. 4. dies 27.
37 Liberius	352	an. 15. mens. 4. dies 2.	78 Adeodatus	669	an. 7. mens. 2. dies 17.
S. Felix II. a quibus- dam dictus	366	an. 1. mens. 3. dies 3.	79 Donus	676	an. 1. mens. 5. dies 10.
38 S. Damasus I.	367	an. 17. mens. 2. dies 27.	80 S. Agurho	578	an. 3. mens. 6. dies 25.
<i>Secundus antipapa Ursicinus qui &amp; Ursinus.</i>			81 S. Leo II.	583	mens. 10. dies 14.
39 S. Siricius	385	an. 13. mens. 1. dies 14.	82 S. Benedictus II.	584	mens. 8. dies 17.
40 S. Anastasius I.	398	an. 4. mens. 1. dies 13.	83 Joannes V.	685	an. 1. dies 11.
41 S. Innocentius I.	402	an. 15. mens. 2. dies 10.			
42 S. Zosimus	417	an. 1. mens. 4. dies 7.			
43 S. Bonifacius I.	418	an. 4. mens. 9. dies 28.			

Pontifex.	inception.	Pontificatum tenuit.
84 Cono	686	mensis 11. dies 23.
<i>Schisma electis Petro &amp; Theodoro.</i>		
85 S. Sergius I.	687	an. 13. mens. 8. dies 14.
<i>Schisma electis Theodoro &amp; Paschale.</i>		
86 Joannes VI.	701	an. 3. mens. 2. dies 12.
87 Joannes VII.	705	an. 2. mens. 7. dies 17.
88 Sifinnius	708	dies 20.
89 Constantinus	708	an. 6. mens. 1. dies 2.
90 S. Gregorius II.	714	an. 16. mens. 8. dies 20.
91 Gregorius III.	731	an. 10. mens. 9. dies 12.
92 S. Zacharias	714	an. 10. mens. 3. dies 10.
93 Stephanus II.	752	dies 4.
94 Stephanus III.	752	an. 5. dies 10.
95 Paulus I.	757	an. 10. mens. 1.

*Schisma ob Theophylactum Archiepiscopum.*

96 Stephanus III.	1768	an. 3. mens. 5. dies 28.
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*Constantinus Antipapa frater Totonis Nepesini ducis.*

97 Hadrianus I.	772	an. 23. mens. 10. d. 17.
98 Leo III.	795	an. 20. mens. 5. d. 17.
99 Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. mens. 7. d. 3.
100 Paschalis I.	817	an. 7. mens. 3. d. 16.
101 Eugenius II.	824	an. 3. mens. 2. d. 23.

*Zimifinus schismati occasionem dedit.*

102 Valentinus.	827	dies 40.
103 Gregorius IV.	827	an. 15. mens. 4.
104 Sergius II.	844	an. 3. mens. 1. dies 2.

*Joannes Diaconus turbas concitavit adversus Sergium.*

105 Leo IV.	847	an. 8. mens. 3. dies 5.
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*Hic insulse inseritur à quibusdam Joannes papissa.*

106 Benedictus III.	855	an. 2. m. 6. d. 10.
107 S. Nicolaus I. M.	858	an. 9. m. 6. d. 20.
108 Hadrianus II.	867	an. 4. m. 10. d. 17.
109 Joannes VIII.	872	an. 10. diem 1.
110 Marinus I. seu Martinus II.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
111 Hadrianus III.	884	an. 1. m. 3. d. 19.
112 Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & dies aliquot.
113 Formosus.	890	an. 6. m. 6.

*Sergius & Bonifacius VI. turbas eient.*

114 Stephanus VI.	896	an. 3. aut 4.
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*Romanus Gallesinus per vim intrusus.*

115 Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.
116 Joannes IX.	901	an. 3. dies 15.
117 Benedictus VI.	905	per aliquot mens.
118 Leo V.	906	dies 40.
119 Christophorus.	906	mensis septem.
120 Sergius III.	907	an. 3. m. 4.
121 Anastasius III.	910	an. 2. d. 20.
122 Lando.	912	aliquot m.
123 Joannes X.	913	an. 15.
124 Leo VI.	928	m. 6. d. 15.
125 Stephanus VII.	929	an. 1. dies 15.
126 Joannes XI.	931	an. 4. m. 10.

Pontifex.	inception.	Pontificatum tenuit.
127 Leo VII.	936	an. 3. mens. 6.
128 Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
129 Marinus II. seu Martinus III.	943	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
130 Agapetus II.	946	an. 9. m. 7. d. 19.
131 Joannes XII.	955	an. 9. aut 10.

963 Leo VIII. antipapa ab Othone subrogatus.

132 Benedictus V.	964	un. circ. an.
133 Joannes XIII.	965	an. 6. m. 11. d. 5.
134 Domes II.	972	m. 3.
135 Benedictus VI.]	972	an. 1. m. 3. d. aliquot.

974 Bonifacius VII. sive Franco antipapa an. 1. m. 1.

136 Benedictus VII.	975	annos novem.
137 Joannes XIV.	984	an. 1. & aliquot mens.
138 Joannes XV.	985	an. 10. m. 4. dies 12.
139 Gregorius V.	996	an. 2. m. 8. d. 6.

Joannes XVI. antipapa, factione Crescentij.

140 Silvester II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.
141 Joannes XVII.	1003	m. 5.
142 Joannes XVIII.	1003	an. 5. m. 7. d. 28.
143 Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. d. 13.
144 Benedictus VIII.	1012	an. ferè 12.

1013 Gregorius antipapa ab Imp. rejicitur.

145 Joannes XIX.	1024	an. 9. m. 8.
146 Benedictus IX.	1034	an. 10.

1043 Silvester III. & Joannes XX. archiepisc. Romanæ Ecclesiæ, antipapa.

147 Gregorius VI.	1044	an. 2. m. 8.
148 Clemens II.	1046	m. 9.
149 Damascus II.	1048	dies 23.
150 S. Leo IX.	1049	an. 5. m. 2. d. 7.
151 Victor II.]	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
152 Stephanus IX.	1057	octo ferme mens.
153 Nicolaus II.	1059	an. 2. m. 6.

Joannes Mincius dictus Benedictus X. antipapa.

154 Alexander II.	1061	annos 11. m. 6. d. 22.
Anselmus.		

Cadalones antipapa dictus Honorius II.

155 S. Gregorius VII.]	1073	annos 12. m. 1. d. 3.
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1080 Clemens III. Guibertus Ravennas, antipapa.

156 Victor III.	1086	mens. ferè 10.
157 Urbanus II. Odo.	1087	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
158 Paschalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. d. 4.

Mortuo Guiberto tres antipapæ brevi tempore.

159 Gelasius II.	1118	an. 1. d. 4.
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Mauricius Burdinus Archiepisc. Bracarenfis, antipapa.

160 Callistus II.	1119	an. 5. m. 10. d. 13.
161 Honorius II.	1124	an. 5. m. 1. d. 17.

Pontifex.	inca- pit an.	Pontificatum tenuit.	Pontifex.	inca- pit an.	Pontificatum tenuit.
<i>Callistus III. Theobaldus cedit Honorio.</i>					
162 Innocentius II.	1130	an. 13. m. 7. d. 10.	1378 Robertus Genevensis, dictus Clemens VII.	antipapa.	
1130 Petrus Leonis, Anacletus II. antipapa.					
Gregorius, dictus Victor III. antipapa.					
163 Celestinus II.	1143	m. 5. d. 13.	201 Bonifacius IX.	1389	an. 14. m. 11.
164 Lucius II.	1144	m. 11. d. 14.	1394 Benedictus XIII. Petrus de Luna antipapa.		
165 Eugenius III.	1145	an. 8. m. 4. d. 13.	202 Innocentius VI.	1404	an. 2. d. 22.
166 Anastasius IV.	1153	an. 1. m. 4. d. 24.	203 Gregorius XII.	1406	an. 2. m. 6. d. 14.
167 Hadrianus IV.	1154	an. 4. m. 8. d. 29.	204 Alexander V.	1409	m. 10. d. 8.
168 Alexander III.	1159	an. 21. m. 11. d. 21.	205 Joannes 23.	1410	an. 5. d. 15.
<i>Octavianus, dictus Victor IV. antipapa.</i>					
<i>Guido Cremenfis, dictus Paschalis III. antipapa.</i>					
<i>Joannes Abbas, dictus Callistus III. antipapa.</i>					
169 Lucius III.	1181	an. 4. m. 2. d. 18.	<i>Vacat sedes Romana an. 2. m. 5. d. 10.</i>		
170 Urbanus III.	1185	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.	206 Martinus V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.
171 Gregorius VIII.	1187	duos ferè menses.	1424 Egidius antipapa, dictus Clemens VIII.		
172 Clemens III.	1188	an. 3. m. 2. d. 10.	207 Eugenius IV.	1431	an. 15. m. 11. d. 20.
173 Celestinus III.	1191	an. 6. m. 8. d. 28.	1439 Amedeus Sabaudie Dux Felix V. antipapa.		
174 Innocentius III.	1199	an. 18. m. 6. d. 9.	208 Nicolaus V.	1447	an. 8. d. 19.
175 Honorius III.	1216	an. 10. m. 8.	209 Callistus III.	1455	an. 3. m. 5. d. 29.
176 Gregorius IX.	1227	an. 14. m. 5. d. 3.	210 Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
177 Celestinus IV.	1241	dies 18.	211 Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
178 Innocentius IV.	1243	an. 11. m. 5. d. 14.	212 Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
179 Alexander IV.	1254	an. 6. m. 5. d. 4.	213 Innocent. VIII.	1484	an. 7. m. 10. d. 27.
180 Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.	214 Alexander VI.	1492	an. 11. d. 8.
181 Clemens IV.	1265	an. 3. m. 9. d. 25.	215 Pius III.	1503	d. 26.
<i>Vacavit sedes annos 2. m. 9. dies 2. seu mens. 30</i>					
182 Gregorius X.	1271	an. 4. m. 4. d. 10.	216 Julius II.	1503	an. 9. m. 3. d. 21.
183 Innocentius V.	1276	m. 5. d. 5.	217 Leo X.	1513	an. 8. m. 8. d. 20.
184 Hadrianus V.	1276	d. 39.	218 Hadrianus VI.	1522	an. 1. m. 8. d. 6.
185 Joannes XXI.	1276	m. 8. d. 8.	219 Clemens VII.	1523	an. 10. m. 10. d. 7.
186 Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. d. 2.	220 Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. d. 18.
187 Martinus IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.	221 Julius III.	1550	an. 5. m. 1. d. 16.
188 Honorius IV.	1285	an. 2. diem 1.	222 Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
189 Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. d. 14.	223 Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. d. 24.
<i>Vacat sedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 2.</i>					
190 S. Celestinus V.	1294	abdicat post 5. m. d. 8.	224 Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
191 Bonifacius VIII.	1294	an. 8. m. 9. d. 18.	225 Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m. 3. d. 24.
192 Benedictus XI.	1303	m. 8. d. 17.	226 Gregorius XIII.	1572	an. 12. m. 10. d. 29.
193 Clemens V.	1305	an. 8. m. 10. d. 16.	227 Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. d. 3.
<i>Vacat sedes annos duos, m. 3. d. 17.</i>					
194 Joannes XXII.	1316	an. 18. m. 3. d. 28.	228 Urbanus VII.	1590	d. 13.
195 Benedictus XII.	1334	an. 7. m. 4. d. 6.	229 Gregorius XIV.	1590	m. 10 d 10.
196 Clemens VI.	1342	an. 10. m. 6. d. 29.	230 Innocentius IX.	1591	m. 2.
197 Innocentius VI.	1352	an. 9. m. 8. d. 20.	231 Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
198 Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.	232 Leo XI.	1605	dies 27.
199 Gregorius XI.	1371	an. 7. m. 2. d. 24.	233 Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m. 8. d. 12.
200 Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.	234 Gregorius XV.	1621	an. 2. m. 5.
			235 Urbanus VIII.	1623	an. 20. m. 11. d. 22.
			236 Innocent. X.	1644	an. 10. m. 3. d. 22.
			237 Alexander VII.	1655	an. 12. m. 1. d. 15.
			238 Clemens IX.	1667	an. 2. m. 5. d. 19.
			239 Clemens X.	1670	an. 6. m. 2. d. 22.
			240 Innocentius XI.	1676	Hodie Pontific. tenet.

# ROMANORUM PONTIFICUM INDEX ALPHABETICUS.

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lxxvii.	Adeodatus.	671	ann. 7. m. 2. d. 17.
lviii.	Agapetus I.	531	m. 10. d. 14. aut 18.
cxix.	Agapetus II.	946	an. 9. m. 7. d. 19.
lxxx.	Agatho.	678	an. 3. m. 6. d. 25.
vii.	Alexander I.	119	an. 10. m. 5. d. 20.
cliv.	Alexander II.	1061	an. 11. d. 22.
clxviii.	Alexander III.	1159	an. 21. m. 11. d. 21.
clxxx.	Alexander IV.	1254	an. 6. m. 5. d. 4.
cciv.	Alexander V.	1409	m. 10. d. 8.
ccxiv.	Alexander VI.	1492	an. 11. d. 8.
ccxxxvii.	Alexander VII.	1655	an. 12. m. 1. d. 15.
v.	Anacletus I.	101	an. 9. m. 3. d. 10.

*Anacletus II. seu Petrus Leonis, antipapa. 1130.*

xl.	Anastasius I.	398	an. 4. m. 1. d. 13.
li.	Anastasius II.	496	an. 4. m. 11. d. 23.
cxvi.	Anastasius III.	910	an. 2. m. 2.
cxvii.	Anastasius IV.	1153	an. 1. m. 4. d. 24.
xii.	Anicetus.	265	an. 7. m. 8. d. 24.
xx.	Antarus.	235	m. 1.

## B

lxiii.	Benedictus I.	573	an. 4. m. 2. d. 15.
lxxxii.	Benedict. II.	684	mensis 8. d. 17.
cvi.	Benedict. III.	855	an. 2. m. 6. d. 10.
cxvii.	Benedict. IV.	905	per aliquot menses.
cxviii.	Benedict. V.	964	an. 1. circiter.
cxv.	Benedict. VI.	972	an. 1. m. 3. d. aliquot
cxvii.	Benedict. VII.	975	an. 9.
cxviii.	Benedict. VIII.	1013	an. feré 12.
cxlvi.	Benedict. IX.	1034	an. 10. m. aliquot.

*Benedictus X. seu Joannes Mincius, antipapa. 1059*

cxvii.	Benedictus XI.	1303	mensis 8. d. 17.
cxv.	Benedict. XII.	1334	an. 7. m. 4. d. 6.

*Benedictus XIII. antipapa, Petrus de Luna dictus, 1394*

lxiii.	Bonifacius I.	418	an. 4. m. 9. d. 28.
lvi.	Bonifacius II.	530	an. 2. d. 2.
lxvii.	Bonifacius III.	606	m. 8. d. 23.
lxviii.	Bonifacius IV.	607	an. 6. m. 8. d. 13.
lxx.	Bonifacius V.	617	an. 7. m. 10. d. 1.

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*Bonifacius VI. 897.*

*Bonifacius VII. Franco antipapa, 974.*

cxci.	Bonifacius VIII.	1294	an. 8. m. 9. d. 18.
cci.	Bonifacius IX.	1389	an. 14. m. 11.

## C

xliv.	Cælestinus I.	427	an. 8. m. 5. d. 3.
clxiii.	Cælestinus II.	114	m. 5. d. 13.
clxxiii.	Cælestinus III.	1191	an. 6. m. 8. d. 28.
clxxvii.	Cælestinus IV.	1241	d. 18.
cxo.	Cælestinus V.	1294	m. 5. d. 8.
xxix.	Cajus.	283	an. 12. m. 4. d. 5.
xvii.	Callistus I.	219	an. 5. m. 1. d. 12.
clx.	Callistus II.	1119	an. 5. m. 10. d. 13.
ccix.	Callistus III.	1455	an. 3. m. 5. d. 29.

*Callistus sive Theobaldus. 1124.*

*Callistus III. seu Joannes Abbas Stranensis, antipapa, 1262.*

cxix.	Christophorus.	906	m. 7.
iv.	Clemens I.	91	an. 9. m. 6. d. 6.
cxlviii.	Clemens II.	1046	m. 9.
clxxii.	Clemens III.	1188	an. 3. m. 2. d. 10.
clxxxi.	Clemens IV.	1265	an. 3. m. 9. d. 2.
cxclii.	Clemens V.	1305	an. 8. m. 10. d. 16.
cxevi.	Clemens VI.	1342	an. 10. m. 6. d. 29.
ccix.	Clemens VII.	1503	an. 10. m. 10. d. 7.
ccxxxi.	Clemens VIII.	1592	an. 13. m. 1. d. 3.
ccxxxviii.	Clemens IX.	1667	an. 2. m. 5. d. 19.
ccxxxix.	Clemens X.	1670	an. 6. m. 2. d. 22.

*Clemens III antipapa seu Guibertus Ravennæ archiep. 1080.*

*Clemens VII. Robertus Gebemesis episc. antipapa. 1378.*

*Clemens VIII. Agidius antipapa Panischoles, 1424.*

iii.	Cletus.	78	an. 12. m. 7. d. 2.
lxxxiv.	Cono.	686	m. 11. d. 23.
lxxxix.	Constantinus.	708	an. 6. m. 1. d. 2.

*Constantinus antipapa, 768.*

xxii.	Cornelius.	251	an. 2. m. 4. d. 17.
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## D

xxxvii.	Damasus I.	267	an. 17. m. 2. d. 27.
cxlix.	Damasus II.	1048	d. 23.

Ordo suc- cessionis.	Nomen Pontificis.	Ann. conf.	Tempus Pontificatus.	Ordo suc- cessionis.	Nomen Pontificis.	Ann. conf.	Tempus Pontificatus.
lxix.	Deusdedit	614	an. 2. m. 11. dies 26.	clxxxviii.	Honorius IV.	1285	an. 2. & d. 1.
xxvi.	Dionysius	258	an. 12. m. 3. d. 14.				

*Dioscorus antipapa quintus 530.*

lxxix.	Donnus I.	676	an. 1. mens. 5. d. 10.
cxxxiv.	Donnus II.	972	mens. 3.

## E

xiv.	Elcutherus	177	annos 15. dies 23.
vi.	Evaristus	110	an. 9. menses 3.
lxxvi.	Eugenius I.	655	m. 5. aut 6. ad. d. 23.
ci.	Eugenius II.	824	an. 3. m. 2. d. 23.
clxv.	Eugenius III.	1145	an. 8. m. 4. d. 13.
ccvii.	Eugenius IV.	1431	an. 15. m. 11. d. 20.

*Eulalius antipapa tertius, 418.*

xxxii.	Eusebius	309	an. 2. m. 8. d. 21.
xxviii.	Eutychianus	275	an. 8. m. 6. d. 4.

## F

xxi.	Fabianus	236	an. 15. dies 5.
xxvii.	Felix I.	270	an. 4. m. 4. d. 29.

*Felix cum Liberio 356.*

xlx.	Felix II.	483	an. 8. m. 11. dies 22.
lv.	Felix III.	526	an. 3. m. 3. dies 14.

*Felix IV. Amedeus, dux Sabaudia, antipapa, 1439.*

cxi.	Formosus	890	annos 6. menses 6.
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## G

I.	Gelasius I.	492	an. 4. m. 8. dies 19.
clxix.	Gelasius II.	1118	annum 1. dies 4.
lxxv.	Gregorius I.	590	an. 13. m. 6. dies 10.
xc.	Gregorius II.	714	an. 16. m. 8. dies 20.
xc.	Gregorius III.	731	an. 10. m. 9. d. 12.
cciii.	Gregorius IV.	827	an. 15. m. 14.
cxxxix.	Gregorius V.	996	an. 2. m. 8. dies 6.
clxvii.	Gregorius VI.	1044	an. 2. m. 8.
clv.	Gregorius VII.	1073	an. 12. m. 1. d. 3.
clxxi.	Gregorius VIII.	1187	duos ferè menses.
clxxvi.	Gregorius IX.	1227	an. 14. m. 5. d. 3.
clxxxii.	Gregorius X.	1271	an. 4. m. 4. d. 10.
ccxc.	Gregorius XI.	1371	an. 7. m. 2. d. 24.
cciii.	Gregorius XII.	1406	an. 2. m. 6. d. 14.
ccxxvi.	Gregorius XIII.	1572	an. 12. m. 10. d. 29.
ccxxix.	Gregorius XIV.	1590	menses 10. dies 10.
ccxxxiv.	Gregorius XV.	1621	an. 2. menses 5.

*Gregorius antipapa, 1013.*

## II

xvii.	Hadrianus I.	772	an. 23. m. 10. d. 17.
cviii.	Hadrianus II.	867	an. 4. m. 10. d. 17.
cx.	Hadrianus III.	884	an. 1. m. 3. d. 19.
clxvii.	Hadrianus IV.	1154	an. 4. m. 8. d. 39.
clxxxiv.	Hadrianus V.	1276	dies 39.
ccxviii.	Hadrianus VI.	1522	an. 1. m. 8. d. 6.
xlvi.	Hilarius	461	an. 5. m. 9. d. 29.
lxxi.	Honorius I.	626	an. 12. m. 4. d. 27.
clxi.	Honorius II.	1124	an. 5. m. 1. d. 17.
clxxv.	Honorius III.	1216	an. 10. m. 8.

*Honorius II. seu Cadalon, antipapa, 1062.*

liii.	Hormisdas	514	annos 9. dies 10.
x.	Hyginus	152	an. 3. d. 28.

## I

xli.	Innocentius I.	402	an. 15. m. 2. d. 10.
clxii.	Innocentius II.	1130	an. 13. m. 7. d. 10.
clxxiv.	Innocentius III.	1199	an. 18. m. 6. d. 9.
clxxviii.	Innocentius IV.	1243	an. 11. m. 5. d. 14.
clxxxiii.	Innocentius V.	1276	menses 5. dies 5.
cxcvii.	Innocentius VI.	1352	an. 9. m. 8. d. 20.
ccii.	Innocentius VII.	1404	an. 2. dies 22.
ccxiii.	Innocent VIII.	1484	an. 7. m. 10. d. 27.
ccxxx.	Innocent IX.	1591	menses 2.
ccxxxvi.	Innocentius X.	1644	an. 10. m. 3. d. 22.
liv.	Joannes I.	523	an. 2. m. 9. d. 14.
lvii.	Joannes II.	532	an. 2. menses 8.
lxii.	Joannes III.	559	an. 12. m. 11. d. 16.
lxxiii.	Joannes IV.	640	an. 1. m. 9. d. 6.
lxxxiii.	Joannes V.	685	annum 1. dies 11.
lxxxvi.	Joannes VI.	701	an. 3. m. 2. dies 12.
lxxxvii.	Joannes VII.	705	an. 2. m. 7. dies 17.
cix.	Joannes VIII.	872	an. 10. diem unum.
cxvi.	Joannes IX.	901	an. 3. dies 15.
cxliii.	Joannes X.	913	annos 15.
cxxvi.	Joannes XI.	931	an. 4. menses 10.
cxviii.	Joannes XII.	955	annos 9. aut 10.
cxviii.	Joannes XIII.	965	an. 6. m. 11. d. 5.
cxviii.	Joannes XIV.	984	an. 1. & aliquot m.
cxviii.	Joannes XV.	985	an. 10. m. 4. dies 12.

*Joannes XVI. antipapa.*

cxli.	Joannes XVII.	1003	menses 5.
cxlii.	Joannes XVIII.	1003	an. 5. m. 7. d. 28.
cxlv.	Joannes XIX.	1024	annos 9. menses 8.

*Joannes XX. antipapa 1043, idèque omnis.*

clxxxv.	Joannes XXI.	1276	menses 8. dies 8.
cxciv.	Joannes XXII.	1316	an. 18. m. 3. dies 28.
ccv.	Joan. XXIII.	1410	an. 2. dies 15.

*Joannes diaconus antipapa, 844.*

xxxvi.	Julius I.	336	an. 15. m. 5. d. 17.
ccxvi.	Julius II.	1503	an. 9. m. 3. d. 21.
ccxxi.	Julius III.	1550	an. 5. m. 1. d. 16.

## L

cxxii.	Lando	912	aliquot menses.
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*Laurentius antipapa quartus, 498.*

xlvi.	Leo I.	440	an. 20. m. 11.
lxxx.	Leo II.	683	m. 10. d. 14.
xcviii.	Leo III.	795	an. 20. m. 5. d. 17.
cv.	Leo IV.	847	an. 8. m. 3. d. 5.
cxviii.	Leo V.	906	dies 40.
ccxiv.	Leo VI.	928	menses 6. dies 15.
ccxvii.	Leo VII.	938	annos 3. menses 6.

*Leo VIII. ab Othone intrusus 962.*

cl.	Leo IX.	1049	an. 5. m. 2. d. 7.
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ccxvii.

Ordo successio- nis.	Nomen Pontificis.	Ann. conf.	Tempus Pontificatus.
ccxvii.	Leo X.	1513	an. 8. d. 20.
ccxxxii.	Leo XI.	1605	d. 27.
xxxvii.	Liberius.	352	an. 15. m. 4. d. 2.
ii.	Linus.	67	an. 11. m. 2. d. 23.
xxiii.	Lucius I.	253	an. 1. m. 4.
clxiv.	Lucius II.	1144	m. 11. d. 14.
clxix.	Lucius III.	1181	an. 4. m. 2. d. 18.

M

xxx.	Marcellinus.	296	an. 7. m. 11. d. 26.
xxxi.	Marcellus I.	304	an. 4. m. 1. d. 25.
ccxxii.	Marcellus II.	1555	d. 21.
xxxv.	Marcus.	336	an. 8. d. 22.
cx.	Marinus I.	882	an. 1. d. 20.
ccxix.	Marinus II.	942	an. 3. m. 4. d. 13.
lxxv.	Martinus I.	649	an. 5. m. 4. d. 10.
clxxxvii.	Martin. dict. IV.	1281	an. 4. m. 1. d. 7.
ccvi.	Martin. dict. V.	1417	an. 13. m. 3. d. 12.

N

cvii.	Nicolaus I.	858	an. 9. menf. 6. d. 20.
cliii.	Nicolaus II.	1059	annos 2. menfes 6.
clxxxvi.	Nicolaus III.	1277	an. 2. m. 9. dies 2.
clxxx.	Nicolaus IV.	1287	an. 4. m. 1. dies 14.
ccviii.	Nicolaus V.	1447	annos 8. dies 19.

Novatianus antipapa primus 251.

P

c.	Paschalis I.	817	an. 7. m. 3. dies 16.
clviii.	Paschalis II.	1099	an. 18. m. 5. dies 4.

Paschalis antipapa, 687.

Paschalis III. seu Guido Cremonfis, antipapa, 1160.

xcv.	Paulus I.	757	annos 10. menf. 10.
ccxi.	Paulus II.	1464	an. 6. m. 10. d. 26.
ccxx.	Paulus III.	1534	an. 15. dies 18.
ccxiii.	Paulus IV.	1555	an. 4. m. 2. dies 24.
ccxxxiii.	Paulus V.	1605	an. 15. m. 8. d. 12.
lxi.	Pelagius I.	555	an. 3. m. 10. d. 18.
lxiv.	Pelagius II.	577	an. 12. m. 2. d. 27.
i.	S. Petrus.	43	an. 24. m. 5. d. 10.

Petrus antipapa, 686.

xi.	Pius I.	156	an. 9. m. 5. dies 27.
ccx.	Pius II.	1458	an. 5. m. 11. d. 27.
ccxv.	Pius III.	1503	dies 26.
ccxxiv.	Pius IV.	1559	an. 5. m. 11. d. 15.
ccxxv.	Pius V.	1566	an. 6. m. 3. d. 24.
xix.	Pontianus	231	annos 4. dies 6.

R

Romanus Galefinius antipapa.

S

lxvi.	Sabinianus	604	menfes 5. dies 19.
lxxxv.	Sergius I.	687	an. 13. m. 8. d. 14.
civ.	Sergius II.	844	an. 3. m. 1. dies 2.
cx.	Sergius III.	907	an. 13. menfes 4.
cxliii.	Sergius IV.	1009	an. 2. m. 8. dies 13.

Ordo successio- nis.	Nomen Pontificis.	Ann. conf.	Tempus Pontificatus.
lxxii.	Severinus	640	an. 2. d. 4.
lix.	Silverius	536	annos 4.
xxiv.	Silvester I.	314	an. 21. m. 11.
cxl.	Silvester II.	999	an. 4. m. 2. aut 3.

Sergius antipapa, 890.

Silvester III. antipapa, 1043.

xlvi.	Simplicius	467	an. 15. m. 5. d. 10.
xxxix.	Siricius	385	an. 13. m. 8. d. 14.
lxxxviii.	Sifinnius	708	dies 20.
viii.	Sixtus I.	130	an. 9. m. 10. d. 8.
xxv.	Sixtus II.	257	an. 11. d. 13.
xdv.	Sixtus III.	432	an. 7. m. 18.
ccxvii.	Sixtus IV.	1471	an. 13. d. 5.
ccxxvii.	Sixtus V.	1585	an. 5. m. 4. dies 3.
xiii.	Soter	173	an. 3. m. 11. d. 28.
xxiv.	Stephanus I.	255	an. 2. m. 3. d. 22.
xciii.	Steph. omit. folit.	752	d. 4.
xciv.	Stephanus II.	752	an. 5. d. 20.
xcvi.	Stephanus III.	768	an. 3. m. 5. d. 12.
xcix.	Stephanus IV.	816	an. 1. m. 7. d. 3.
cxii.	Stephanus V.	885	an. 6. & d. aliquot.
cciv.	Stephanus VI.	897	an. 3. aut 4.
ccxv.	Stephanus VII.	929	an. 2. m. 1. d. 15.
ccxxviii.	Stephanus VIII.	939	an. 3. m. 4. d. 5.
clii.	Stephanus IX.	1057	octo fore menfes.
lii.	Symmachus.	498	an. 15. m. 7. d. 27.

T

ix.	Telephorus	140	an. 11. m. 8. d. 29.
lxxiv.	Theodorus I.	642	an. 7. m. 5. d. 20.
cxv.	Theodorus II.	901	dies 20.

Theodorus antipapa 686 & 687.

Theophylactus antipapa 757.

V

clii.	Valentinus	827	dies 40.
xv.	Victor I.	192	an. 9. m. 1. d. 28.
cli.	Victor II.	1054	an. 2. m. 6.
clvi.	Victor III.	1086	menfes ferè 10.

Victor III. seu Gregorius, antipapa 1140.

Victor IV. Othavianus antipapa 1159.

lx.	Vigilius	540	an. 15. m. 6.
lxxviii.	Vitalianus	656	an. 13. m. 4. d. 27.
xviii.	Urbanus I.	224	an. 6. m. 7. d. 4.
clvii.	Urbanus II.	1088	an. 11. m. 4. d. 18.
clxx.	Urbanus III.	1188	an. 1. m. 10. d. 25.
clxxx.	Urbanus IV.	1261	an. 3. m. 1. d. 4.
ccxviii.	Urbanus V.	1362	an. 8. m. 1. d. 23.
cc.	Urbanus VI.	1378	an. 11. m. 6. d. 6.
ccxxviii.	Urbanus VII.	1590	dies 13.
ccxxv.	Urbanus VIII.	1623	an. 20. m. 11. d. 22.

Ursicinus sive Ursinus antipapa, 367.

Z

xcii.	Zacharias	741	an. 10. m. 3. d. 10.
xvi.	Zephyrinus	201	an. 18. d. 18.

Zinifinus antipapa, 824.

xlfi.	Zosimus	417	an. 1. m. 4. d. 7.
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E

# IMPERATORES ROMANI.

<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Ejus Anno 42. natus est Christus.</i>	<i>Nomen.</i>	<i>Init. impe- rii.</i>	<i>Tempus Imperii.</i>
<i>Init. impe- rii.</i>	<i>Tempus Imperii.</i>			
1 Augustus		40 Diocletianus	284	an. prope 20.
2 Tiberius	14 an. 22. m. 6.	41 Maximianus ejus collega	284	an. 18.
3 C. Caligula	37 an. 3. m. 10. d. 8.	42 Constantius Chlo- rus	304	an. 2. m. 3. d. 25.
4 Claudius	41 an. 13. m. 8. d. 20.	43 Galerius Maximia- nus ejus collega	304	an. septem.
5 Nero	54 an. 13. m. 7. d. 28.	44 Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
6 Galba	68 m. 7. d. 7.	45 Constantius cum fratribus Constanti- no & Constante, tum solus.	337	an. 25. m. 1. d. 13.
7 Orho	69 m. 3. d. 5.	46 Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
8 Vitellius	69 m. octo d. 5.	47 Jovianus	363	7. m. d. 22.
9 Vespasianus	69 an. 10. minus diebus sex.	48 Valentinianus Se- nior	364	an. 11. m. 8. d. 22.
10 Titus	79 an. 2. m. 2. d. 20.	49 Gratianus	375	an. 7. m. 9. d. 12.
11 Domitianus	81 an. 15. d. 6.	50 Valentinianus Ju- nior.	383	an. 8. m. 8. d. 21.
12 Nerva	96 an. 1. m. 4. d. 11.	51 Theodosius M.	392	an. 2. m. 6.
13 Trajanus	98 an. 19. m. 6. d. 15.	52 Honorius	395	an. 28. m. 7.
14 Hadrianus	117 an. 20. m. 11.	53 Valentinianus III.	425	an. circ. 30.
15 Antoninus Pius	138 an. 22. m. 6.	54 Petronius Maxi- mus	455	d. 77.
16 Marcus Aurelius Ant.	161 an. 19. d. 10.	55 Eparchius Avitus	455	an. 1. m. sex.
17 Lucius Verus	161 an. 9.	56 Julius Majorianus	457	an. 4. m. 4. d. 2.
18 Commodus	180 an. 12. m. 9. d. 14.	57 Libius Severus.	461	an. 3. m. 8. d. 27.
19 Helvius Pertinax	193 m. 2. d. 26.			
20 Didius Julianus	193 m. 2. d. 5.			
21 Severus	193 an. 17. m. 8. d. 3.			
22 Caracalla	211 an. 6. m. 2. d. 5.			
23 Macrinus cum Dia- dumeno filio	217 m. 2.			
24 Alagabalus seu He- liogabalus	218 an. 3. m. 9. d. 4.			
25 Alexander Severus	222 an. 13. d. 19.			
26 Maximinus	235 an. 2. & aliquot m.			
27 Maximus Pupienus & Balbinus	238 m. 9. aut 10.			
28 Gordianus	238 an. 5. aut 6.			
29 Philippus cum filio	244 an. 5. & m.			
30 Decius	249 an. circ. 3.			
31 Gallus Treb. cum Volusiano	251 an. 2. m. 4.			
32 Valerianus cum Gal- lieno	254 an. circ. 3.			
33 Gallienus solus	260 an. circ. 8.			

*Circa ea tempora exorti sunt triginta propemodum Tyranni.*

34 Claudius II.	268 an. ferme 2.
35 Aurelianus	260 an. 4. ferme m. 4.
36 Tacitus	275 m. sex d. 20.
37 Florianus	276 m. duos aut tres.
38 Probus	276 an. sex. m. 4.
39 Carus cum filiis Carino & Numeri- ano.	282 an. 2.

*465 Interregnum duorum circiter annorum.*

58 Flavius Anthemius	467 an. 4. m. 11.
59 Anicius Olybrius	472 m. 6. aut 7.
60 Flavius Glycerius	473 an. 1. m. 3.
61 Julius Nepos	474 an. 1. m. 3.
62 Augustulus	475 m. 10.

## *Reges Ostrogothorum in Italia.*

1 Odoacer	476 an. 16. m. 6. d. 13.
2 Theodoricus	493 an. 33. m. 6.
3 Athalaricus	526 an. 7. m. 8.
4 Theodatus	534 an. 3. m. 9.
5 Vitiges	537 an. 4.
6 Hildebaldus, aliis Theobaldus	540 an. 1.

Nomen.	Init. Imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
7 Eraricus	542	m. 5.
8 Totila	542	an. 10.
9 Tera	552	an. 1.

## Reges Longobardorum in Italia.

1 Alboinus	571	an. 3. m. 6.
2 Clephis	574	an. 1. m. 6.

*Interregnum annorum 10.*

3 Autharis	581	an. 11.
4 Agilulfus	592	an. 25.
5 Adelvaldus	616	an. 10.
6 Arioaldus	626	an. 12.
7 Rotharis	638	an. 15. m. 4.
8 Rodoaldus	653	an. 5. m. 7.
9 Aripertus	657	an. 5. m.
10 Grimoaldus	663	an. 9.
11 Garibaldus	677	m. 3.
12 Pertaricus	673	an. 17.
13 Cunibertus	689	an. 12.
14 Luitbertus	701	m. 8.
15 Raginbertus	701	m. 3.
16 Aripertus	702	an. 11.
17 Alprandus	712	m. 3.
18 Luitprandus	713	an. 31. m. 7.
19 Hildebrandus	744	m. 5.
20 Rachis	744	an. 5. m. 6.
21 Aitulfus	750	an. 7.
22 Desiderius	756	an. 18.

Nomen.	Init. Imperii.	Tempus Imperii.
25 Otho IV.	1208	an. 10.
26 Fridericus II.	1218	an. 33.

*Imperium vacat.*

27 Rodolph. I. Harf-purgensis	1273	an. 18.
28 Adolfs Naffavius	1292	an. fex. m. 6.
29 Albertus I. Auftriacus	1292	an. 9. m. 9.
30 Henricus Lutzemburgensis	1308	an. 14. m. circiter 10.
31 Fredericus III.	1314	an. 15.
32 Ludovicus Bavarus	1314	an. 32. m. 11.
33 Carolus IV. Bohemus	1346	an. 32. m. 7.
34 Venceslaus	1378	an. 21. m. ferè 6.
35 Rupertus Bavarus	1400	an. 9. m. 8.
36 Sigismundus	1411	an. 26.
37 Albertus II. Auftriacus	1438	an. 1. m. 7.
38 Fredericus IV.	1440	an. 53. m. 4.
39 Maximilianus I.	1493	an. 25. m. 5.
40 Carolus V.	1519	an. 38. m. 2. d. 10.
41 Ferdinandus I.	1558	an. ferè 6.
42 Maximilianus II.	1564	an. 12. m. 2. d. 17.
43 Rodulfus II.	1576	an. 35. m. 3.
44 Matthias	1612	an. 6. m. 9.
45 Ferdinandus II.	1619	an. 18. & m. 4.
46 Ferdinandus III.	1637	an. 21. m. 5. d. 10.
47 Leopoldus Ignatius	1658	hodie imperans.

## Imperatores Orientis.

### Imperium Occidentis Restitutum.

1 Carolus M.	800	an. 13. m. 1. d. 5.
2 Ludovicus Pius	814	an. 26. m. 4. d. 3.
3 Lotharius	840	an. 15.
4 Ludovicus II.	855	an. 20.
5 Carolus II.	875	an. 1. m. 9. d. 14.
6 Ludovicus Balbus	878	an. 4.
7 Carolus III. Cras-fus.	881	an. ferè 7.
8 Arnulfus	887	an. ferè 12.
9 Ludovicus III. ultimi- mus ex stirpe Caro- li M.	896	an. 12.
10 Conradus	912	an. 7.
11 Henricus I.	919	an. 17.
12 Otho I.	936	an. 36. m. 10. d. 6.
13 Otho II.	973	an. 10. m. 7. d. 2.
14 Otho III.	983	an. 17. m. 1. d. 2.
15 S. Henricus II.	1001	an. 23. m. 5. d. 16.
16 Conradus II.	1024	an. 14. m. 10. d. 22.
17 Henricus III.	1039	an. 17. m. 4.
18 Henricus IV.	1056	an. 49. m. 10.
19 Henricus V.	1106	an. 18. m. 9. d. 15.
20 Lotharius II.	1125	an. 13. d. 18.
21 Conradus III.	1139	an. 12. m. 10. d. 15.
22 Fredericus I. Æno- barbus	1152	an. 37. m. 3. d. 7.
23 Henricus VI. Asper	1190	an. 8. m. 2. d. 22.
24 Philippus	1198	an. 10. m. 3.

1 Constantinus M.	306	an. 30. m. 9. d. 27.
2 Constantius	337	an. 25. m. 5. d. 13.
3 Julianus Apostata	361	an. 1. m. 7. d. 27.
4 Jovianus	363	m. 7. d. 22.
5 Valens	364	an. 14. m. 4. d. 9.
6 Theodosius	379	an. ferè 16.
7 Arcadius	395	an. 13.
8 Theodosius Junior	408	an. 42. m. 2. d. 28.
9 Marcianus	450	an. 6. & ferme 6. m.
10 Leo Macesles cum Leone Zenonis fi- lio	457	an. 17. & m. 9.
11 Zeno Ifaurus	474	an. 17. m. 6.
12 Anastasius I.	491	an. 27. m. 3.
13 Iustinus I.	518	an. 8. m. 8. d. 23.
14 Justinianus I.	527	an. 39. m. 7. d. 23.
15 Iustinus II.	566	an. 11. & ferme 11. m.
16 Tiberius Constan- tinus	578	an. 3. & 10. circ. m.
17 Mauricius	582	an. 20. m. 3. d. 13.
18 Phocas	602	an. 7. m. 10. d. 18.
19 Heraclius	610	an. 30. m. 5. d. 7.
20 Constantinus	641	dies 103.
21 Heraclionas	641	m. ferè 6.
22 Conftans	641	an. 26. m. 8. d. 15.
23 Constantinus Pogo- natus	668	an. 16.
24 Justinianus II. Rhinocmeus	685	an. 10.
25 Leontius Patricius	695	an. ferè 3.



# Imperatores Orientis.

Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.	Nomen.	Init. Impe- rii.	Tempus Imperii.
26 Tiberius Apſimarus	698	an. prope 7.	59 Romanus Diogenes	1068	an. 3. m. 8. d. 12.
27 Juſtinianus	705	an. ferme 6.	60 Michael VII. Du- cas Parapinacius	1071	an. 6. m. 6.
28 Philippicus Bardas	711	an. .1 & m. 6.	61 Nicephorus Botani- aus	1078	an. 2. m. 11. d. 20.
29 Arremius, five A- nathafius II.	713	an. 2.	62 Alexius Comnenus	1081	an. 37. m. 4. d. 15.
30 Theodoſius Adra- myrenus	715	an. 1. m. 2.	63 Joannes Comn.	1118	an. 24. m. 7. d. 13.
31 Leo Conon Iſau- rus	717	an. 24. & ferè 3. m.	64 Manuel Comn.	1143	an. 37. m. 5. d. 23.
32 Conſtantius Copro- nymus	741	an. 24. m. 3.	65 Alexius Comnenus Junior	1180	an. 3. d. aliquot.
33 Leo IV. Chazarus	775	an. ferè 5.	66 Andronicus Comnè- nus	1183	an. 1. m. 11. d. 10.
34 Conſtantinus cum matre Irene	780	an. 16.	67 Iſaac Angelus	1185	an. 9. m. 7. d. 29.
35 Irene ſola	797	an. 5. m. 2. d. 16.	68 Alexiſ Angelus	1195	an. 8. m. 3. d. 10.
36 Nicephorus Logo- theta.	802	an. 8. m. 8. d. 27.	69 Alexiſ Angelus Jun.	1203	m. 5. d. aliquot.
37 Michael Rangabe	811	an. circ. 2.	70 Alexius Ducas Mur- ſuphulus	1204	m. 2. d. 16.
38 Leo V. Armenus	813	an. 7. m. 5. d. 14.	71 Theodorus Lafcaris Nicææ	1204	an. 18.
39 Michael II. Balbu- Phryx	820	an. 8. m. 9. d. aliquot.	72 Joannes Ducas Ba- tatzes	1222	an. 33.
40 Theophilus	829	an. 12. m. 3. d. 20.	73 Theodorus Junior Lafcaris	1255	an. circ. 4.
41 Michael III.	842	an. 25. m. 8.	74 Joannes Lafcaris	1258	exiguo tempore
42 Baſilius Macedo	867	an. 18. m. 5.	75 Michael Palæolo- gus	1259	an. 24. m. 2. d. 20.
43 Leo VI. Sapiens	886	an. 25. m. 3. d. 12.	76 Andronicus Palæo- logus	1283	an. 45. m. 6.
44 Alexander	911	an. 11. d. 27.	77 Andronicus junior ſolus	1327	an. ferme 15.
45 Conſtantinus Por- phyrogenitus	912	an. 48. m. 5.	78 Joannes Cantacuze- nus	1341	an. 14.
46 Romanus	959	an. 3. m. 4.	79 Joannes Palæolo- gus	1355	an. 27.
47 Nicephorus Phocas	963	an. 6. m. 3. d. 26.	80 Manuel Palæolo- gus	1384	an. 36.
48 Joannes Trimifices	969	an. 5. m. 11. d. 10.	81 Joan. Palæologus II.	1412	an. 23. m. 3. d. 10.
49 Baſilius II. cum fra- tre Conſtantino Por- phyrogenito junio- re	975	an. 50.	82 Conſtantinus Palæ- ologus Draconēs	1441	an. 4. m. ferè 8.
50 Conſtantinus idem ſolus	975	an. 3.	Mabometo II. Turcarum Principe capta Conſtan- tinopolis.	1453	
51 Romanus Argyro- pulus	1028	an. 5. m. 6.			
52 Michael IV. Paph- lago	1034	an. 7. m. 8. aut 9.			
53 Michael V. Cala- phates	1041	m. 4. d. 5.			
54 Conſtantinus Mo- nomachus	1042	an. 12. m. 5. d. 20.			
55 Theodora Soror Zoes	1054	an. .... m. 8. d. 20.			
56 Michael VI. Strati- oticus	1056	an. 1. d. 10.			
57 Iſaac Comnenus	1057	an. 2. m. 3.			
58 Conſtantinus Du- cas.	1059	an. 7. m. 6.			

## Franci Orientis Imperatores:

1 Balduinus	1204	an. 2.
2 Henricus	1206	an. 10. m. 9. d. 22.
3 Petrus de Cortina- co	1217	exiguo tempore
4 Robertus	1224	an. 10.
5 Balduinus	1239	an. 22.
6 Philippus	1273	per aliquot annos.

F I N I S.



A MAP of the Eastern Parts  
of the  
**ROMAN EMPIRE,**  
Adapted to *Ecclesiastical Histories* of  
**EUSEBIUS, SOCRATES & EUAGRIUS.**

By the  
Honourable Robert Nelson  
this MAP is a Token of my Extraordinary Gratitude  
for his Extraordinary Zeal in promoting  
the Glory of GOD & Salvation of Mankind.  
My humble Thanks & Devotion being a Sign for which  
is humbly Dedicated  
by me  
EDWARD WELLS D.D.



# THE FIRST BOOK

OF THE

## Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

### CHAPTER I.

*The Subject of this Work.*

**T**HE Successions of the Holy Apostles, together with the Series of times continued from our Saviour to our age, and how many and great things are said to have been done, agreeable to the Subject of an Ecclesiastical History, and who have eminently governed and presided over the Church, especially in the most famous

(a) I cannot approve of *Christophorus's* translation, who renders the word [*παροικία*] *Provinces*. Neither am I pleased with the amendment of *Carterius*, or whoever it was that translated it [Churches.] Indeed *παροικία* signifies a Church amongst Christian Writers, and particularly in our *Eusebius*, not in one place. The original of which signification came from hence, as I judge; because the Church is as it were, *παροικία*, a Stranger or Sojourner in the earth; but its country and freedom is in heaven. Hence we often meet with this phrase in our *Eusebius*, *ἐκκλησία παροικῶν ἐν ἐσσηνῶν*, Book 4. and B. 4. Chap. 23. And *Clement*, in his Epistle to the Corinthians, writes thus; *ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν παροικίᾳ ὡς ἡμεῖς*. But in this place of *Eusebius* we must not translate this word [*παροικία*] Churches. For then the same word must be repeated twice in the same clause, thus — *We have governed and presided over the Church especially in the most famous Churches*. I should rather translate it [*Cities or Seats*] or, with *Rufinus*, in celebrated localities, in the most famous places. Sometimes this word is taken for the whole Diocese, as it occurs in *Eusebius* in very many places; and in several other Authors: sometimes it is taken in a more strict sense, not for the whole Diocese, but for one particular Church: So *Apolonius* in his Book against the *Catapbrygians*, whose Words *Eusebius* quotes Chap. 18. B. 5. In both these senses the word is used amongst the Latins. See *Jac. Sermonius* in his notes on the last Epistle of *Sedonius*. Valef. See *J. G's* Notes on *Ridley's* view of the Civil Law. p. 152. Edit. Oxford, 1634.

besides all this, the Martyrdoms that have happened in our own times, together with the merciful and benign assistance of our Saviour graciously exhibited towards every one: These things, I say, I determining to publish in writings, will not take my entrance from any other place, than from the very (b) Incarnation of our Lord and Saviour Jesus, who is the Christ of God. But truly even in the beginning we must modestly crave pardon; for we confess ingenuously, it is far beyond our strength to finish what we design and promise perfectly and completely, so as to omit nothing. For we taking this argument in hand first, adventure to tread a solitary and untrodden way, praying that God may be our guide, and the power of our Lord our present help and aid; but we can no where find so much as the bare steps of any men who have passed the same path before us: excepting only some small shews and tokens divers here and there have left us, particular declarations of the times they lived in, holding forth as it were Torches a far off, and lifting up their voices from on high, and calling as out of a Watch-tower to direct us what way we ought to go, and how without error or danger to order our discourse. Whatsoever things therefore we think will be expedient for this present argument, these we carefully chusing, as they are here and there by them mentioned, and culling and gathering the commodious and fit are sentences of former Writers, as it were flowers out of Wisdoms Meadows, we will endeavour by an Historical narration to compact the same into one body, resting well contented to preserve from oblivion the Successions, although not of all, yet of the most famous Apostles of our Saviour in those Churches which

is taken in a larger sense, and comprehends the whole Life of Christ among Men. *Nicephorus* therefore (B. 1. Chap. 2.) has rightly used, instead of this phrase here in *Eusebius*, this [*τοῦ ἐν σαρκὶ κατεσθαι*] word, in his dissertation *adversus Tryphon*. p. 331. *Clement* in the 6. of his *Stromata*. And *Irenaeus*, Lib. 1. Cap. 10. calls the passion of Christ, *ἡ ἐν σαρκὶ*. So *Chrysostom* in his second Homily on *Matt.* and *Gryll*, in his 6. B. against *Julian*, pag. 213. and *Origen*, in the beginning of his 11. Tome of his Commentaries on *John*. Valef.

B

then



(f) *Valefius*, that either the unbegotten and immutable (f) person or nature of God Almighty should transform himself into the likeness of man, and so by an appearance in a bodily shape deceive the eyes of the beholders; or that the Scripture should feign such things falsely; then that God and Lord, who judgeth the whole earth, and executeth judgment, appearing in the shape of man, who else can

he be call'd, (for it is not lawful to say it of the first Author of all things) but only his pre-existent Word? Of whom also it is said in the Psalms, *Hesent forth his Word and healed them, and delivered them from their destructions.* The same *Moses* plainly calleth Lord, next after the Father, saying, *The Lord rained brimstone and fire from the Lord out of heaven upon Sodom and Gomorrah.* The same doth the Divine Scripture call God, appearing again unto *Jacob* in the figure of a man, and saying unto *Jacob*, *Thy name shall be no more called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name, because thou hast prevailed with God.* At which time *Jacob* named that place the Vision of God, saying, *For I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.* Moreover, neither is it lawful once to furnish that the apparitions of God in the Scripture may be attributed to the inferior Angels and Ministers of God: for neither doth the Scripture, if at any time any of them appeared unto men, conceal the same; expressly saying, not that God, or the Lord, but that Angels spake; which may easily be confirm'd by innumerable testimonies. This same also doth *Jesús* the Successor of *Moses* term Chief Captain of the great power of the Lord, as Prince of Celestial Angels, and Arch-Angels, and all supernatural Powers, and as being the Power and Wisdom of the Father, and to whom the second place in the rule and government of all things is committed, when as he beheld them in no other form or figure than of Man. For thus it is written; *And it hapned when *Joshua* was in Jericho, he lifted up his eyes, and beheld a man standing over against him, having a naked sword in his hand. And *Joshua* coming unto him said, Art thou on our side, or on our adversaries? And he said unto him, As Chief Captain of the Hosts of the Lord I am now come hither. And *Joshua* fell on his face to the earth, and said unto him, Lord, what commandest thou thy servant? And the Captain of the Lords host said unto *Joshua*, Loose thy shoe from off thy foot; for the place where thou standest is an holy place. By these words thou may'st by an attentive consideration perceive, that this person did not differ (g) from him who deliver'd his Oracles*

as *Eusebius* would here prove, that he who appeared to *Joshua* the Son of *Nun*, and called himself the Captain of the Hosts of the Lord, was the same that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush. Now he concludes this from hence, because this Captain of the Lord's Host used the same Words to *Joshua*, that God did to *Moses* in the Bush. So, before *Eusebius*, supposed *Justin Martyr*, in his *Disputat. adversus Tryphon*, and others, as *Theodoret* witnesseth, in his questions on the Book of *Joshua*. But the rest of the Fathers thought this Captain of the Hosts of the Lord was not the Son of God, but rather *Michael* the Arch-Angel. In the most ancient *Mar. M. S.* there is at these words, a Scholion put, which I thought good here to translate. But the Church, O holy *Eusebius*, thinks otherwise concerning this, and not as thou dost. For him that appeared to *Moses* in the Bush, the Church concludes to be God; but him that appeared to *Moses*'s successor in *Jericho*, to whom the presidency over the *Hebrews* was allotted, who had his sword drawn, and commanded *Joshua* to put off his shoe, him, I say, the Church supposeth to be *Michael* the Arch-Angel: And it's manifest that it thinks righter than thou. Whence is this gathered? God,

that appeared in the Bush in the form of Fire, being asked by his servant *Moses*, who he was, most evidently declared this unto him, That he was God. But he that appeared to *Joshua*, in no wise styles himself God, but calls himself God's chief Captain. But this Dignity being inferior to the supreme Power and Divinity, and being not Regal, but belonging to a General, as one would say ..... The rest, by reason of the great age of the *M. S.* could not be read, which indeed is great pity. For it is both amply elegant Scholion, and also written by the hand of that very Antiquary who wrote out the *M. S.* that is, by a most learned and ancient hand. *Valef.*

to *Moses*. For of him also the Scripture speaketh the same words; *When the Lord saw that that he Exod. 3. came for to see, God called to him out of the midst of the bush, and said, *Moses*, *Moses*; and he answered, what is it? And he said, come not nigh hither; put thy shoes off thy feet for the place where thou standest is holy ground. And he said unto him, I am the God of thy fathers; the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob.* Now that there is a certain Essence living and subsisting before the foundations of the world were laid, which ministered unto the Father and the God of all the creation of all creatures, termed the Word, and the Wisdom of God; beside the before produc'd demonstrations, Wisdom herself, in her proper person by *Solomon* plainly speaking and delivering her mysteries after this manner, is to be heard: *I Will Prov. 8. have fix'd a Tabernacle: Council, Knowledge and Understanding I have by calling allured unto me. Through me Kings do reign, and Princes decree justice. Through me Princes bear rule on earth. To this she addeth, The Lord himself solemnized me the beginning of his 22, 23, &c. ways, for the accomplishing of his works; I have been ordained before the foundations of the world were laid, and from the beginning; or ever the earth was made, before the well-springs flowed out, before the foundations of the mountains were firmly set, and before all hills, began to be me. When he spread and prepared the heavens, I was present with him; and when he bound in due order the depths under heaven I was by, composing all things; I was she in whom he duly delighted; rejoicing continually before his face, when he rejoiced at the perfect finishing of the world. That therefore the Word of God subsisted before all things, and that to some he appear'd, tho' not to all men; let thus much suffice at this time to have been by us briefly deliver'd. (b) (b) *The Mar. Med. and Frib. MSS.* begin the third Chapter at these words, to which agrees the Edit. of *Robert Stephens*. But in that I saw the title of the third Chapter did not agree with this place. I judg'd it should be placed lower; which also *Christophorus* did. *Valef.**

Now for what cause he was not preach'd of old unto all men, and unto all nations as now he is, thus it shall evidently appear: That ancient Generation of men was not able to receive the most wise and most excellent Doctrine of *Christ*. For immediately in the very beginning, after that primitive happy state of life, the first man, being careless of the commandment of God, fell into this mortal and frail life, and chang'd this cursed earth for those heavenly delights and pleasures of old. And his posterity, when they had replenish'd this world, appear'd far worse, one or two excepted; they gave admision to certain savage and brutish manners, and led a life not worthy to be call'd life: And moreover they busied not their minds to erect either City or Common-wealth, nor to profit in *Arts* or *Sciences*. They had not amongst them so much as the name either of *Laws* or *Statutes*, or moreover of *Virtue*, or *Philosophy*; but wandering in deserts, they lived like wild and fierce Savages: they corrupted their natural understanding, and the seeds of reason and gentleness fowle in man's mind, with their excessive wilful malice, yielding up themselves wholly to all abominable wickedness: some-

times they defiled one anothers bodies, sometimes they shed one anothers blood, and sometimes they spared not to devour one anothers flesh, yea they audaciously undertook to wage war with God, and attempted those Gigantick combats so much talk'd of, determining in their

ruined and tainted with old customs, figures, and signs of a kind of mystical Sabbath, and Circumcision, and Introductions unto other intelligible contemplations, but not the perfect and plain initiation into the sacred Doctrines. But when the Law, famous among them, was publish'd abroad, and diffused, like a most sweet odour amongst all men, and thereby many of the

*Gentiles* then had their (n) minds and manners civiliz'd by Law-makers and Philosophers every where, and their rude and brutish savageness chang'd into a meek and mild temper and behaviour, so that there ensued perfect peace and friendship and mutual commerce amongst them; then at the last to all men, and to the *Gentiles* throughout all the world, as it were now prepared and fitted to receive the knowledge of the Father, the same person again, the Schoolmaster of Virtue, his Father's Minister in all goodness, the Divine and Celestial Word of God manifested himself about the beginning of the Roman Empire, in human shape, for bodily substance nothing differing from our nature, and therein wrought and suffer'd such things as were consonant with the Oracles of the Prophets, who foresaw'd there should come into the world such a one as should be both Man and God, a mighty Worker of miracles, an Instructor of the *Gentiles* in the worship of his Father; and withal they foretold his Miraculous Birth, his New Doctrine, his wonderful Works, more over the manner also of his death, his resurrection from the dead, and last of all, his glorious and divine return into Heaven. The Prophet *Daniel* therefore by the Divine Spirit beholding his Kingdom that shall be in the latter age of the world, having been mov'd by the power of that Divine Spirit, hath thus more after the manner of man, and to man's capacity describ'd the vision of God.

For I beheld (saith he) until the Thrones were placed, Dan. 7. 9. and the Ancient of days sat therein: his garments were as the white snow, the hairs of his head as pure wool; his throne a flame of fire, his wheels burning fire. A fiery stream issued before his face. Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: The judgement was set, and the Books were opened. And afterwards, I beheld, (saith he) and behold, one coming in the clouds like the Son of Man; and he came unto the Ancient of days, and he was brought before him: and to him was given Principality and Honour, and Rule; and all People, Tribes, and Tongues shall serve him: his

Power

(i) It's strange, that in the Translation of this place both *Masculus* and *Christophorus* occurred. *Εσχαριζεν* (which is the term here us'd) in Greek signifies, to make a Fortification, or to build against a place; See *Harpocration*, in the word *εσχαριζεν*. But it's ridiculous to believe, that Men arriv'd to that degree of madness, as by building Rampires to attempt to scale Heaven, and to turn out God from thence; which yet *Eusebius* seems by this place to have believed. There are the letters of the Poets, who by this title would set forth the pride of Men of that Age, and their contempt of God. Indeed Holy Writ mentions the Giants, but it says nothing of this sort concerning them; and it testifies that that Tower was built, not by the Giants, but by the Sons and Posterity of Noah, after the Flood. *Vale!*

(k) The term in the Original is [*εσχαριζεν*] and it signifies *Fortification*; it is the same in *Robert Stephens* Edit. But *Eusebius* says it should be [*εσχαριζεν*] which he translates (*topos*) i. e. a foolish heaviness, for he says he, it is written in the *Euk*, and *Savil*, M. SS.

(l) I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote it thus [*εσχαριζεν* & οὐκ εστιν, i. e. the Pre-existent Wisdom of God] as it is in our *four* M. SS. *Maz*, *Med*, *Euk*, and *Savil*, and not [*εσχαριζεν*], i. e. the first produced, &c. for this term agrees better with *Eusebius*'s meaning, seeing that he had a little above quoted that place out of the *Proverbs* (Chap. 8. v. 22.) The Lord himself [said] I was, &c. Indeed, the Ancient Divines, and especially those who wrote before the times of the Nicene Council, by the word [*εσχαριζεν*] understood, not only a Creation which is made of nothing, but, all Production in general, as well that which was from all eternity, as that which is produced in time. Hence it is, that *Helio* wrote a Book *οὐκ εστιν εἰς γενεαν γενεας* [as we shall see at the 4th Book of this History. But if we should here read [*εσχαριζεν*], there would be an unmet repetition, which is called a Tautology, thus [*οὐκ εστιν εἰς γενεαν γενεας*], &c. Besides, [*εσχαριζεν*] is an unmet term to express the Divine Generation. *Vale!*

(m) Nice the *Hebrews* had now added themselves to the worship of God, He, by the Prophet *Moses*, deliv'ring this place ver'd unto them, as unto a multitude, yet (n) confirmed, as if it had been spoken by *Eusebius* in praise of the Jews: But the words of *Eusebius* have a clean contrary meaning. For he says, that the Jews being corrupted by the contagion of their former life, God thought it best to prescribe them legal Ceremonies, and to deliver them as it were certain Signs and Symbols of more secret Mysteries, as being yet ignorant, and accustomed to the Superstition of the *Aethiops*. *Chrysostome*, on *Matthew*, says the same 'Εδιδασκην, from whence the Discipline here used comes, signifies in Greek, to be corrected, and from a military discipline to fall into a luxurious and dissolute course of life. From whence [*εσχαριζεν* & οὐκ εστιν εἰς γενεαν γενεας] is a phrase taken from intemperate Men, who observe no rule in meat and drink, nor in their whole course of life. This word occurs often in the Writings of *Dion Cassius*. *Vale!*

(n) Translators understood not this place, as it appears from their Version of it. The meaning of *Eusebius* here is this. He attributes not so much to the Law-makers and Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, as if that old Savageness and Inhumanity of Men were by little and little brought to be more tractable and gentle by their Precepts and Institutes. But he imputes the reason hereof to the Law of *Moses*; which, being known to the whole World, at length reclaimed and civilized the manners of all

For the Law-makers and Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, having derived all their best precepts from that Law, as from a fountain, insisted there afterwards into the minds of their Auditors: whereby Men being polished, were rendered fit to receive the knowledge of the Evangelical Law. For the Mosaic Law was previous and the forerunner to the Evangelical, and prepared the way to Christ's Preaching. This place therefore is to be thus written [*Τοις παλαιοις οὐκ εστιν εἰς γενεαν γενεας* τὸ θεῖον εἰς αὐτοὺς παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τοὺς ἐννοούμενους] which is plainly written in the *Maz*, *Med*, *Euk*, and *Savil*, M. SS. and not, as it is in *Robert Stephens*'s Edit. thus [*εσχαριζεν* & οὐκ εστιν εἰς γενεαν γενεας]. Undoubtedly, unless it be thus written, the sentence will be incoherent. For to what shall the Particle [*εἰς*] be referred, which is put in the beginning of the Period? There is also another difficulty in this place of *Eusebius*, that is, what is meant by these words [*εἰς αὐτοὺς*]. For *Eusebius* says [*οὐκ εστιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ τοις παλαιοις*], &c. as before. Which Words, as to me it seems, were put in, that *Eusebius* might shew, that whatever was say'd by the Law-makers and Philosophers of the *Gentiles*, they borrow'd it all from the *Hebrews*. And thus *Kusinus* understood this place, and thus plainly appears from his Translation. *Eusebius* discourses largely concerning this Point in his Book, *De Preparatione*, where he shews that the *Greek* Philosophers stole many things out of the Books of *Moses*. *Vale!*

Power is an everlasting Power which shall not pass, and his Kingdom shall never be destroyed. These things can manifestly be referred to none other than to our Saviour, the Word that was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, term'd the Son of Man by reason of his Incarnation in the latter times. But because we have

(a) He means his Books of the Evangelical Demonstration, of which ten are now extant. Moreover, this Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius ought to be so much the more esteemed by us, because he wrote it after almost all his other Works. Valef.

## C H A P. III.

That the very name of Jesus, and also that of Christ was from the Beginning both known and honour'd among the Divine Prophets.

(a) In the (a) NOW that the name both of Jesus, and also of Christ, was of old honour'd among the Prophets below'd of God, it is now an opportune time to declare. First of all Moses, knowing the name of Christ to be most especially venerable and glorious, when he delivered Types and Symbols of heavenly things, and mystical forms, agreeable to

Exod. 25. the Divine Oracle that said to him, See thou do all things after the fashion that was shewed thee in the Mount, the man whom he entitl'd (as much as he lawfully might) the High-Priest of God, the same he stitl'd Christ: and thus to the dignity of High-Priesthood, which excell'd in his judgment all other prerogatives among men, he for honour and glory put to the name of Christ. So then he deem'd Christ to be a certain Divine thing. The same Moses also, when being inspired by the Holy Ghost, he had well foreseen the name of Jesus, judg'd again the same worthy of singular prerogative. For this name of Jesus, which before Moses's time had never been named among men, Moses gave to him first, and to him alone, whom he knew very well by type again and figurative sign was to receive the Universal Principality after his death. His Successor therefore, before that time

not call'd Jesus, but by another name, to wit, (b) Aulfe, which his Parents had given him, he call'd Jesus, giving him this appellation as a singular title of honour far passing all Royal Diadems, because that same Jesus, the son of Nave bore the figure of our Saviour; who alone, after Moses, and the accomplishment of the

figurative service deliver'd by him, was to succeed in the Government of the true and most pure Religion. Thus to two men who surpass'd all people of that age in virtue and glory, one being then High-Priest, the other to be Chief Ruler after him, Moses gave the name of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as an ensign of the greatest honour. The Prophets also who came af-

ter, prophesied plainly of Christ by name, foretelling long before-hand the treacherous practice of the Jewish people against him, and the calling of the Gentiles by him, Both Jeremy saying thus, \*The Spirit before our face, Christ our Lord, is taken in their nets, of whom we spake, under the shadow of his wings: we shall be preserved alive among the Heathen: and David also, being very much perplexed, speaking thus, \*Why have the Gentiles raged, and the people imagin'd vain things? The Kings of the earth stood forth, and the Princes assembled: together in the same place against the Lord and against his Christ? whereunto afterwards he addeth in the person of Christ, The Lord said unto me, Thou art my Son; this day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I will give thee the Heathen for thine inheritance, and the ends of the earth for thy possession. The name of Christ therefore among the Hebrews hath not only honour'd those that were adorn'd with the High-Priesthood, being anointed with figurative and mystical oyl prepared on purpose, but Kings also, whom Prophets by the Divine appointment anointing, made figurative Christs; because they bore in themselves a resemblance of the Regal and Princely power of the only and true Christ, The Word of God, who governeth all things. And moreover we have learned that certain of the Prophets also by being anointed have typically become Christs. So that all these have a relation unto the true Christ, the Divine and Heavenly Word, the only High-Priest of the whole World, therefore only King of all the Creation, and the only chief Prophet of the Father among all the Prophets. The proof hereof is demonstrable; for none of them that of old were typically anointed, whether Priests, or Kings, or Prophets, ever obtain'd so great a measure of Divine power and virtue, as the Saviour and our Lord Jesus, the only and true Christ, hath shew'd. Indeed none of them, how famous soever they were among their own followers throughout many ages, by reason of their dignity and honour have caused by their being typically call'd Christ's, that such as were conform to them should be named Christians. Neither hath the honour of adoration been exhibited by their Subjects unto any of them, neither after the death of any of them have the minds of any been so much affected towards him, as to be ready to die for the maintenance of his honour: neither hath their been any so great stir and commotion among all the nations throughout the whole world for any of them. For the power of the figure and shadow was not of such efficacy in them, as the presence of the truth exhibited by our Saviour: Who tho' he received not from any the Ensigns and Badges of the High-Priesthood, nor indeed \*lineally descended according unto the flesh from the Priestly Race, nor was advanced by a guard of armed men unto his Kingdom, nor was made a Prophet after the manner of the ancient Prophets, nor obtained any pre-eminence, or prerogative among the Jews; yet for all this he was adorn'd (c) by the Father with all dignities, tho' not in Types and Symbols, yet in very truth. And altho' he obtain'd all these titles in another manner than those men did, whereof mention has been made yet hath he been more truly stitl'd Christ MS. Cothan they all. And he, as being the only and true Christ of God, hath by that truly venerable and sacred name of his filled the whole



## C H A P. IV.

That the Religion, by him declared to all Nations, is neither new nor strange.

(a) **L**ET these things therefore be necessarily placed by me herein the beginning of this History, lest any man should surmise our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ to be a person newly apparent, by reason of the late time of his being conversant in the flesh. Now also, lest any should deem his Doctrine to be new and strange, as deliver'd by a new-comer, and one who nothing differeth from the rest of men, come, let us also in short debate thereof. It is indeed most certain, when as the coming and presence of our Saviour Jesus Christ shone now fresh unto all men, that a people new we must confess, yet neither small, nor such as was scituate in some corner of the earth, but of all nations both the most populous and most religious, and upon this account inextinguishable and invincible, because aided continually by the assistance of God, at certain seasons pre-determin'd by the secret Providence of God, to us suddenly appear'd, being ennobled among all men by the title and name of *Christ*. This, one of the Prophets by the eye of the Divine Spirit foreseeing would come to pass, was astonish'd, in so much that he cried out, thus, \* *Who hath heard such things?* \* *I* *thi.* 66. Or *who hath spoken after this manner? Hath the earth travelling brought forth in one day? And hath a nation sprung up suddenly and at one time?* Also the same Prophet shews the very name that should be given, saying, \* *And they that serve me shall be called after a new name which shall be blessed upon* 2. *earth.* But altho', without controverſie we are but of late, and this new name of *Christians* hath been but lately known unto all nations; yet, that our life and manner of conversation, together with the rules of Religion, are not newly devised by our selves, but have been (as I may say) even from the original of mankind, instituted and observed by ancient godly men from those notions that nature had implanted in their minds, we will thus make evident. That the nation of the *Hebrews* is no new nation, but honour'd among all people for their antiquity, is well known to all. They have Books and Monuments in writing, containing the actions of ancient men, who were rare indeed, and few in number, yet excell'd in piety and righteousness, and all other kind of virtues. Whereof some flourish'd before the Flood, others after; as the sons and off-spring of *Nath*; (b) and moreover *Abraham*, in whom the children of the *Hebrews* do glory, as their chief Founder, and Forefather. Now if any one begining with *Abraham* and going upwards to the first man, does affirm that all those men who have glorious testimonials of their righteousness, were in reality tho' not by name *Christians*, he shall not err far from the truth: for whereas the name of *Christian* signifieth a man who thro' the Knowledge and Doctrine of *Christ* excelleth in modesty and righteousness, in patience of life

world with *Christians*: nor doth he deliver henceforth Types and Shadows unto his followers, but naked virtues and an heavenly life, accompanied with the undoubted doctrine of verity. And the ointment he receiv'd was not corporal, compounded of spices, but divine, by the Holy Ghost and by participation of the unbegotten Deity of the Father. The which thing again *Esay* declareth, when as in the person of *Christ* he breaketh out into these words; \* *The Spirit of the Lord is upon me, wherefore he hath anointed me to preach glad tidings unto the poor, he hath sent me to cure the contrite in heart, to preach deliverance unto the captives, and recovering of sight to the blind. And not only Esay, but David also*, directing his words to his person, saith, \* *Thy throne, O God, lasteth for ever and ever: the sceptre of thy kingdom is a right sceptre. Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity: Wherefore God, even thy God, hath anointed thee with the oil of gladness above thy fellows.*

In which Text the Word of God in the first verse termeth *Christ* God, the second honoureth him with a Royal Sceptre: thence descending by degrees, after the mention of his Divine and Royal Power; in the third place he sheweth him to have been *Christ*, anointed not with oil of corporal substance, but of divine, that is of gladness: whereby he signifieth his prerogative and surpassing excellency above them, which with corporal and typical oyl had of old been anointed. And in another place the same *David* speaketh of him thus, saying,

† *The Lord said unto my Lord, sit thou on my right hand until I make thine enemies thy footstool.* And, *Out of my Womb before the Day-star have I begotten thee: The Lord sware and will not repent, thou art a Priest for ever after the Order of Melchisedec.* This

*Melchisedec* in the sacred Scriptures is brought in the Priest of the most High God; but neither was he consecrated by any oyl prepared of man for that purpose, nor by succession of kindred had he attain'd unto the Priesthood among the *Hebrews*: wherefore our Saviour, according unto his Order, and not according to them who receiv'd signs and shadows, is publish'd, and that with addition of an oath, *Christ* and (d) *Priest*. Wherefore also the Sacred History neither mentions him to be corporally anointed among the *Jews*, nor born of the Priestly Tribe, but of God himself before the Day-star, that is, having his Essence before the structure of the world, immortal, possessing a Priesthood that never perisheth by reason of age, but lasteth world without end. But this is a great and an apparent argument of his Incorporeal and Divine (e) power, that he alone, of all men that hitherto were, is by all men throughout the whole world called *Christ*; is preach'd and confess'd by the common consent and testimony of all, and by this name every where celebrated among the *Grecians* and *Barbarians*: and that hitherto among all his followers throughout the world, He hath been both honour'd as King, had in admiration above a Prophet, and also glorified as the true and only High-Priest of God; and above all this, that he is worship'd even as God, in as much as he is the Eternal Word of God, and subsisted before all Worlds,

(f) receiving majestic honour from the Father: but this moreover is most of all to be marvel'd at, that we who are dedicated unto him, honour him not with voices only and noise of words, but with all entire affection of the mind, so that we prefer the confession of him before our own lives.

(d) Or, Chief-Priest. For so the *Mag.* *Mich.* *Fut.* and *Savil.* MSS. read it. *Valef.*

(e) Or, Anointing, for some Copies have it written [Χριστιανισμ.] *Valef.*

(f) That is, from all eternity. *Valef.*

(b) Some Translators (as *Mug.* *Calvin*, and *Dr. Hamner*, as appears by his Version, and marginal Note thereto) supposed that [εὐρα] i. e. *Star*, which the word here used in the Original, and is a *Greek* *Aldebrun* was a proper name, and a corruption of *Tarah* the name of the father of *Abraham*, of whom mention is made *Gen.* 11. But this is a great mistake: For *Tarah*, the father of *Abraham*, was not one of those whom God loved, as it may be plainly collected from Sacred Scripture: Neither did our *English* think so, as appears by his own words, when he says, a little after this, in this Chapter, concerning *Abraham*, that he left the Superstition of his fathers. We have therefore translated these words [εὐρα] and moreover. *Valef.*

and virtuous fortitude, and in profession of sincere piety towards the One and the Only God who is above all; they were no less studious about all this than we are. They cared not therefore for corporal Circumcision; no more do we; nor for the observation of Sabbaths; no more do we; nor for abstinence from certain meats, and distinction of other things, which *Moses* first instituted and delivered to be typically observed; no more do *Christians* regard such matters now. But they of old evidently knew the very *Christ* of God. For that he appeared to *Abraham*, gave answers to *Isaac*, talk'd with *Jacob*, convers'd with *Moses*, and afterwards with the Prophets, we have shew'd before. Hence thou may'st find those Darlings of God honour'd with the name of *Christ*, according unto that saying of them, \* See that ye touch not my *Christ*, neither deal perversely with my Prophets. It is manifest therefore, that the service of God, which was instituted by the godly of old about the time of *Abraham*, and published of late unto all the *Gentiles* by the Doctrine of *Christ*, ought to be accounted the first, the eldest, and the ancientest of all. But if they say that *Abraham* a long time after receiv'd the commandment of Circumcision; yet before the receipt thereof he is said to have been justified by his faith; the Scripture speaking thus, \* *Abraham* believed God, and it was imputed unto him for righteousness. And he being such a one already before Circumcision, the Oracle from God, who manifested himself unto him, even *Christ* himself, the Word of God before hand hath utter'd this unto him in these words, concerning those who in future ages should be justified after the

\* Psal. 105. 15. *Christ*, that is, anointed.

\* Gen. 15. 6. *Christ*, that is, anointed.

\* Gen. 11. 3. *Christ*, that is, anointed.

\* Gen. 18. 18. *Christ*, that is, anointed.

same manner with himself, saying thus; \* And all the Tribes of the earth shall be blessed in thee: And that he should be a great and a populous nation, and all the nations on the earth should be blessed in him. And we may by consideration easily perceive that this is fulfilled in us. For he, through faith in *Christ* the Word of God, who appear'd unto him, was justified; when having left the superfluities of his fathers, and the error of his former life, he confess'd one only God who is over all, and worship'd him with virtuous works, and not with the ceremonious service of the Law deliver'd afterwards by *Moses*. Unto him, being such a one, it was said that, In him shall all the Tribes of the earth and all nations be blessed. The very same manner of Religion which *Abraham* follow'd, is found at this present among *Christians* alone throughout the world, practis'd by them in works which are far more evident than words. What then hindr'd but that we may henceforth confess, that one and the same way of living, and the same kind of Religion is common to us, who have our name from *Christ*, with them who of old sincerely served God and were so dear to him. It plainly appears therefore that that perfect and exact Rule of Religion, which hath been deliver'd unto us by the Doctrine of *Christ*, is neither new nor strange, but (if we ought to speak the truth) the first, the only, and the true one. And of these matters let thus much suffice.

## CHAP. V.

Of the times of our Saviour's Manifestation unto Men.

*Augustinus* BUT, after this preparation wherein by way of Preface we have laid down such things as are fit to utter in the Ecclesiastical History we

design, it now remaineth that we take the first step as it were of our journey from the appearance of our Saviour in the flesh; calling upon God, the Father of the Word, and upon *Jesus Christ* himself, of whom we treat, our Saviour and Lord, the Heavenly Word of God, that he will be our help and fellow-labourer in the declaration of the truth. It was now therefore (a) the two and fortieth year of the Reign of *Augustus*, the eighth and twentieth year after the subduing of Egypt, and the death of *Antiochus* and *Cleopatra*, in whom the Rule of the *Ptolemies* in Egypt ceased, when our Saviour and Lord *Jesus Christ* at the time of the first (b) taxing, which was when (c) *Cyrenius* was Governor of Syria, was born in Bethlehem of Judea, wherein agreeable to the Prophecies, that went before *Isaiah* him. Which taxing under *Cyrenius*, *Flavius Josephus*, a most famous Historiographer among the *Hebrews*, maketh mention of; adding thereto There another History concerning the Sect of the fore

year wherein *Christ* was born. *Eusebius* does not where expressly mention the day. It was the common opinion of the Western Church that he was born on the 7. Kalend. January: But the Eastern Church thought otherwise, that he was born on the 8. Id. January (i.e. on the 6th day Jan.) Vales. The learned have found so great difficulty in assigning the day of our Saviour's birth, that *Salvianus* said, *Dei est non hominis definire*; i.e. God only, not Man was able expressly to declare it. It had been much better for these Men to content themselves with the tradition of the Church, rather than by such an elaborate unfruitful search to entangle the truth. For the celebration of this Festival, many testimonies may be produced out of *Origen*, *Cyprian* and *Chrysostom*, each of these Fathers deducing it from the practice of the first antiquity; and *St. Augustine* makes it a Character of a son of the Church to solemnize the Festivals of it, and this (principally and by name) of the Nativity. To which may be added that the Author of the *Confession* (Conf. Lib. 4. c. 13.) saith, *Deus est qui nos nasciturus est*, *et quoniam deus nasciturus est*, i.e. Keep the day of the feast, and first the day of *Christ*'s Birth. So that the Religion of this day, non est nuper, neque novitia, i.e. not modern, nor newly begun, though *Salvianus* said so. And for the particular day, the 25th of December, whereon this Festival is by us solemnized, (not to mention other testimonies which might be produced to this purpose) in *Joseph the Egyptian's Arabic* Codex of the *Consuls* (a M. S. in the Archives of the publick Library of Oxford, of the gift of Sir Thomas Roe) this day as well as this Feast is affirmed to stand by Apostolical Canon. The words of which, as it is transcribed by Mr. Gregory, are in *English* these, *Allo that you constitute an anniversary feast at the Nativity of our Lord Christ, on the day on which he was born, and that was the five and twentieth of the first Canon* (i.e. of December). For this the principal of all the Feasts, &c. See Mr. Gregory's Works, Chap. 34. Dr. Hammond on the Festivals of the Church, and the Learned *Selden's* Tract of *Christmas-Day*, for further satisfaction.

(b) It is by learned Men affirmed, particularly by *St. Cassianus* in Bar. p. 104. (and is most probable) that this decree of Taxing (or enrolling every Person, according to their Families and Estates) was an effect of *Augustus* his curiosity (and neither of his desire to enrich his Treasury, nor to reform the excesses of those before him) and this over-ruled by God's special Providence, that this Emperor might serve to be instrumental to the conserving the record of the Birth of *Christ*, whose Name and his Mothers, as well as *Joseph's*, were now enrolled. And this is an evidence of the nature of this *Augustus*, that it was not a Tax, for that would not have belonged to women and infants, but to the possessors only. See Dr. Hammond on Luk. 2. v. 1.

(c) There is a great disagreement amongst the Learned about this enrolment and valuation of Men's Persons and Estates, whether it was done once, or twice. Some say there were two, both made by the same *Cyrenius*, (or *Quirinus*), and both mentioned by *St. Luke*: The first he speaks of Chap. 2. of his Gospel; which was made a little before our Saviour's Birth, about the latter end of the Reign of *Herod the great*, *Sentius Saturninus* being then President of Syria; this, say these Men, *St. Luke* calls *quinta* *Augusti*, the first Taxing, to difference it from that other mentioned by him, *Alia* s. 27. And whereas *St. Luke* says, *Cyrenius* at that time had been over Syria; these words are to be taken in a looser, nor stricter sense; not that *Cyrenius* was then the standing Governour there under the Romans, but was sent by the Emperor particularly on this occasion, to take an Inventory of this part of the Empire: For it is confess'd that *Sentius Saturninus* was then the President of Syria. The other Taxing, mentioned in the *Alia*, was made ten years after this, after the banishment of *Archelaus*, and about the insurrection of *Judas of Galilee* (or *Gaulanites*). This is the opinion of *Salvianus*, *Petauinus*, *Cassianus*, and *Hammond*. On the other hand, *Valesius* (and with him, as he thinks, agrees our *Eusebius* in this Chapter), says there was but one Taxing, (which may be supposed to have been begun at the latter end of *Herod the Great's* Reign, about the time of *Christ's* Birth, and was not

perhaps finish'd till ten years after, when *Cyrenius* was President of *Syria*, after the Banishment of *Archelaus*; his Reasons are these: *Josephus* mentions but one: After this Enrolment once made why should it be repeated, and that by the same person? For if he had done it equally and exactly, what need of a new one? If not, another person ought rather to be sent who might do it better: What had a Roman Magistrate to do with any thing of Government in *Judea* whilst *Herod* lived, who in all right was King there, and was so acknowledged by the Roman Senate? Lastly, about the time of *Christ's* Birth *Scribonius* and *Panys* were Procurators in *Syria*, and not *Cyrenius*: I shall not take upon me to determine this Difference; the Reader has here the Sum of the Arguments on both sides, and is left to his liberty to be sway'd by which Party he pleases.

*Augustus*.

\* Act. 5.

(d) This

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Indeed,

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deposition

there

could be

no reason

why *Judas*

should sit

up the

people of

the *Jews*

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For no

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Mens

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could be

made by a

Roman

Mag-

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there,

where a

King, that

was a Friend

and an Ally

of the *Romans*, govern'd;

neither was

*Judea* in any

danger to be

brought into

Servitude by

Strangers, as

long, as it

obey'd a *Jew*,

that is a King

of their own

Nation. *Valef.*

*Galileans*, which sprang up about the same time, where of amongst us also *Luke* in the *Acts* of the *Apistles* maketh mention, saying thus, \* After this man rose up one (d) *Judas* of *Galilee* in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him: he also himself perished, and all, even as many as obey'd him were dispersed. The same indeed *Josephus* before-mention'd in his *Eighteenth Book of Antiquities*, doth agree in and confirm thus, word for word: \* *Cyrenius* one of the number of the *Roman* Senators, a man who had born all Offices, and by all the degrees of Honour had climb'd at length to the Consulship, and who was greatly renown'd in other respects, came with a few men into *Syria*, being sent on purpose by *Cæsar*, as Judge of the nation, and to take the valuation of their Estates. And a little after, he faith, *Judas Gaulanites*, a man of the City named *Gamala*, having taken unto him one *Sadduceus* a *Pharisee*, earnestly sollicit-ed the People to Rebellion: Both of them affirming, that the Taxing of this Tribute inferr'd nothing but manifest servitude, and exhorting the whole Nation to maintain their liberty. And in his *Second Book of the Wars* of the *Jews*, he writeth thus of the same person: At that time a certain *Galilean*, by name *Judas*, stirr'd up the People of that Region to Defection, upbraiding them for paying tribute so tamely to the *Romans*; and, having God their Sovereign, for suffering mortal Men to be their Masters. So far *Josephus*.

was a Friend and an Ally of the *Romans*, govern'd; neither was *Judea* in any danger to be brought into Servitude by Strangers, as long, as it obey'd a *Jew*, that is a King of their own Nation. *Valef.*

## C II A P. VI.

That in his Time, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, the Prince of the Jewish Nation who before by Succession had held the Principality, succeeded, and that Herod, the first of the Aliens, became their King.

NOW at that time, when *Herod*, the first of them, who by descent was a Foreigner, had obtain'd the Rule over the Jewish Nation, the Prophecy written by *Moses* was fulfill'd, which said, \* That there shall not want a Prince in *Judea*, neither a Leader fail of his Loyns, until he come for whom it is reserved. Whom he declares to be the expectation of the Gentiles. Indeed the things of that Prophetic hung unaccomplish'd all the time that it was lawful for the *Jews* to live under Princes of their own Nation: who taking their beginning as high as *Moses* himself, continued down their Reign even to the Empire of *Augustus*: under whom *Herod* the first (a) Foreigner had the Government of the *Jews* granted him by the *Romans*; who, as *Josephus* declares, was

\* Gen. 49. 10.

(a) *Josephus* Scalliger, in his *Animad-*

versions upon *Eusebius's* *Chronicon*, has sufficiently made it evident, that *Herod* was no Foreigner. *Josephus*, in his 20. Book of *Antiquit.* Chap. 6. calls *Herod* τὸν Ἰσραηλῆα, i. e. a *Jew* as of his Lineage. *Valef.*

by his father's side an *Idumean*; by his mother's *Augustus* an *Arabian*. But, as *Africanus*, one of the vulgar sort of Writers, says, they who have been more accurate about his Pedigree, say he was the son of *Antipater*, who was the son of one *Herod* an *Alcalonite*, who was one of the servants which minister'd in the Temple of *Apollo*. This *Antipater* being taken by *Idumean* thieves while he was yet a child, remain'd a long time among them, because his father being one of a mean estate was not able to redeem him. And being brought up after their manner of breeding, became at length very familiarly acquainted with *Hyrcanus* the High-Priest of the *Jews*. This very man's son was that *Herod* who liv'd in the time of our Saviour. When therefore the Principality of the *Jews* was come into the hands of this Alien, then was the expadation of the Gentiles even at the doors, according unto that prophecy: for then the Line of their native Princes and Governours was broken off, which had been drawn down by a continual succession from *Moses* himself until that time. For before they were taken Captives and carried into *Babylon*, Kings, reign'd over them, beginning from *Saul*, who was the first, and from *David*. Before their Kings Princes bore rule over them, whom they call'd Judges, beginning their Government after *Moses*, and his successor \* *Jefus*. After their return from *Babylon* there was not amongst them any form of Government, an Aristocracy together with an Oligarchy, the best ruling, and they but few in number. For the High-Priests had held that preeminence under *Pompey* the Roman Captain coming upon them by main force, besieg'd and ransack'd *Jerusalem*, polluted the holy places, by entering into the Sanctuaries of the Temple, and sent Prisoner to *Rome* the High-Priest, whose name was *Aristobolus* with his sons, who by succession from his Progenitors had continued unto that time both Prince and Priest; and committed the Office of High-Priesthood unto his brother *Hyrcanus*, and from that time forth made the whole Jewish Nation become tributary to the *Romans*. And indeed not long after, *Hyrcanus*, the last of those to whom the High-Priesthood by succession befall, being taken prisoner by the *Parthians*, *Herod* the first Foreigner, as I said before, had the Government of the Jewish Nation deliver'd to him by the Roman Senate and the Emperor *Augustus*. Under whom, whenas the presence of *Christ* was apparent, the long-look-for Salvation of the Gentiles was accomplish'd, and their calling consequently follow'd, according to the predictions of the Prophets. Since which time the Princes and Rulers of *Judea* (those I mean who were of Jewish extraction) ceasing, straightway the series and course of the High-Priesthood, which among them by order of succession after the decease of the former, was always, as it was meet, wont to fall unto the next of blood, was confounded. Hereof thou hast *Josephus* a witness worthy of credit, declaring how that *Herod*, after that he was intrusted with the rule over the *Jews* by the *Romans*, assign'd 'em no more High-Priests of the ancient priestly Race, but conferr'd that honour upon certain obscure persons; and how that the same course which *Herod* had taken in constituting High-Priests, was follow'd by his son *Archelaus*, and after by the *Romans* who succeeded him in the Government of *Judea*. The said *Josephus* declareth, how that *Herod* first shut up under his own Privy-seal the Holy Robe of the High-Priest, not permitting

the

Augustus.

the High Priest to keep it any longer in their own custody; and that after him *Archelaus*, and after *Archelaus* the *Romans* did the same. And let these things be spoken by us to evidence the truth of another prophesie, which by the coming of our Saviour *Christ Jesus* was accomplish'd. For most plainly and exprefly of all other, the Holy Scripture in *Daniel* describing the number of certain weeks unto *Christ* the Ruler (whereof we have in another (b) place intreated) foretelleth, that after the accomplishment of those weeks the *Jewish* anointing should be abolish'd. And this is plainly prov'd to have been fulfill'd at the time when our Saviour *Jesus Christ* came in the flesh. And let these things necessarily before-observ'd by us for the proof of the truth of the times.

(b) He means his Books of Evangelical Demonstration. For in the 8th Book of that work

he Treats of *Daniel's* weeks, which he affirms were compleated at our Saviour's coming, according to the opinion of *Africans*. Valef.

## C H A P. VII.

Of the Disagreement Supposed to be among the Gospelists about the Genealogy of Christ.

**B**UT in as much as *Matthew* and *Luke*, committing the Gospel to writing, have differently delivered unto us the Genealogy of *Christ*, and are thought by many to disagree very much among themselves, so that almost every one of the faithful through ignorance of the truth, hath ambitiously striven to comment upon those places; Come on, let us rehearse a certain History which is come to our hands concerning the premises, the which *Africans* (whom we mention'd a little before) hath set down in an Epistle written to *Aristides* about the Concordance of the Genealogy of *Christ* in the Gospels; and having indeed (a) blamed the opinions of others, as wrested and false, he delivereth the History that he himself had met withal, in these very words: 'For seeing that the names of kindred in *Israel* were numbred either after the line of nature, or after the rule of the law; after the order of nature, as by succession of natural seed, after that of the law, as when any one begetteth a son in the name of his brother who deceased without issue: for because a perspicuous hope of the Resurrection was not yet granted them, they shadow'd out in some sort the promise to come with this kind of mortal resurrection, that the name of the deceased might continue and never be quite blotted out. Because therefore, of them that are reckon'd in this Genealogy, some succeeded their fathers as natural sons, but others received their name whence they receiv'd not their nature; mention is made of both; as well of them who were truly fathers, as of them who were titular only, and as fathers. Thus neither of the Gospels is found false, the one drawing the Pedigree by the natural, the other by the legal line. For the race both of *Solomon*, and that also of *Nathan*, are so wrapp'd and twist'd together, by reviving of persons deceased without issue, by (b) second marriages, and by raising up of seed, that not without cause the same men are supposed to have had divers fathers, where-

(a) Or, Having evidenced to be false; for so it is in the King's M. S. Valef.

(b) The chief cause of confounding of Families was, when the woman, having had children by a former husband, basted to remarry, and bore children by her latter also. After which, let us suppose the son, begotten by her first husband, to have married a wife, and afterwards to have died without issue. Then, if his brother by the mother side marry his widow, and beget children of her, in these children there will be a confounding of families; in so much that by nature they may be called this Man's, and have one name, but by Law the others, and bear another name. Valef.

of some were only nominative, others fathers indeed. Thus the account in both Gospels is true, and is brought down to *Joseph* accurately and exactly, tho' by a various and different line. And, that what I say may plainly appear, I will recite the

(c) Or, The succession; So Robert Stephens Edit, and the King's M. S. Valef.

(as \* *Matthew* doth) from *David* by *Solomon*, *Matthew* 1. 16.

who begat *Jacob* the father of *Joseph*: but if from *Nathan* the son of *David*, according unto \* *Luke* 3.

\* *Luke*, then the third in like manner from the 23, 24. and will be (d) *Melechi*, whose son was *Heli* the father of *Joseph*. For *Joseph* was the son of *Heli*, the son of *Melechi*. *Joseph* therefore being as it were the mark we shoot at, we must shew how each person is term'd his father, as well *Jacob* who directeth his pedigree from *Solomon*, as *Heli* who descended from *Nathan*; and besides, how, in the first place, these two, *Jacob* and *Heli*, were brethren; then, in the next place, how their fathers *Matthan* and *Melechi*, born of divers kindreds, may be made appear to be grand-fathers to *Joseph*. Now therefore thus it was; *Matthan* and *Melechi* marrying one after the other the same wife, begat children who were brethren by the mother; the law not forbidding a widow, either dismiss'd from her husband, or after the death of her husband, to be married to another man. First, therefore *Matthan*, descending from *Solomon*, begat *Jacob* of *Esba*; for that is said to be the woman's name.

After the death of *Matthan*, *Melechi*, who descended from *Nathan*, being of the same tribe, but of another race, (as we said before) took this widow to his wife, and begat *Heli* his son. Thus shall we find *Jacob* and *Heli*, tho' of a different race, yet by the same mother to have been brethren. One of whom, namely *Jacob*, after *Heli* his brother was deceased without issue, married his wife, and begat on her the third, *Joseph*, by nature indeed and reason his own son; whereupon also it is written, And *Jacob* begat *Joseph*; but by the law he was the son of *Heli*: for *Jacob* being his brother raised up seed unto him. Wherefore neither is that Genealogy which concerneth him to lose its authority, the which indeed \* *Matthew* the Evangelist reciting, saith, And *Jacob* begat *Joseph*; but \* *Luke* on the other side, Which was the son, as it was supposed (for he added this withal) of *Joseph* which was the son of *Heli*, which was the son of *Melechi*. Nor could he more significantly and properly have express'd that way of generation according to the law. Therefore in his recital of procreations of this sort, he passeth over in silence even to the end, the word of begetting, carrying the whole series of families step by step up as high as *Adam*, who was the son of God. Neither is this matter destitute of good proof, or rashly and hastily devised. For the kinsmen of our Saviour according to the flesh, either out of desire to make known the nobility of their Stock, or simply to tell the story, have very truly deliver'd even these things unto us; how that *Idumean* Thieves invading the City *Ascalon* in *Palæstina*, took captive together with other spoils out of the Temple of *Apollo*

\* *Matthew* 1. 16.  
\* *Luke* 3. 23, 24.

adjoining

*Augustus*, adjoining unto the walls, (e) *Antipater*, son to one *Herod*, that was Minister in that Temple. But, in that the Priest was not able to pay the ransom for his son, *Antipater* was brought up after the fashion of the *Idumeans*, and at length became very familiar with *Hyrcanus* the High Priest of *Judea*. He, being by *Hyrcanus* sent first Embassador unto *Pompey*, and having recover'd him the Kingdom free and entire, which his brother *Arifobulus* had in great part usurped, had the good hap himself to gain the title and office of (f) Procurator of *Palestine*, and liv'd in great prosperity. This *Antipater* being traiterously slain by some who envied his great felicity, *Herod* his son succeeded him, whom at last *Antonius* and *Augustus*, by decree of the Senate, constituted King over the *Jews*: whose sons were *Herod* and the other Tetrarchs. These things are common also among the *Greek Histories*. Now whereas unto that time the Genealogies not only of the *Hebrews*, but of them also who lineally descended from ancient Profelytes, as from *Abiur* the *Ammonite*, and *Ruth* the *Maoabite*, and those who came out of *Egypt* with the *Israelites* and mingled with them, were recorded among the ancient Monuments; *Herod* considering that the *Israelitish* Pedigrees would avail him nothing, and being prick'd in mind with the consciousness of his basefnefs

(f) *Antipater*, the Father of *Herod*, was Procurator of the whole Kingdom of *Juda* under *Pompey*, and managed all affairs, both Military, and Civil. *Therapion Josephus*, in his 14. B. calls him (sarcy & c. i. e. Procurator.) *Valef*.

(g) *Augustus*, by decree of the Senate, constituted King over the *Jews*: whose sons were *Herod* and the other Tetrarchs. These things are common also among the *Greek Histories*. Now whereas unto that time the Genealogies not only of the *Hebrews*, but of them also who lineally descended from ancient Profelytes, as from *Abiur* the *Ammonite*, and *Ruth* the *Maoabite*, and those who came out of *Egypt* with the *Israelites* and mingled with them, were recorded among the ancient Monuments; *Herod* considering that the *Israelitish* Pedigrees would avail him nothing, and being prick'd in mind with the consciousness of his basefnefs

(e) I judge this passage also to have little of certainty in it. For *Josephus*, in the book of his own life, mentioning the original and antiquity of his own race, fetches it from the public *Archives*. Therefore those public tables, which contained the originals of the *Jewish* families, were extant in *Josephus's* time. And so it's false to say that *Herod* burnt them. *Valef*.

(f) Two sorts of Men joined themselves with the Children of *Israel* when they went up out of *Egypt*. The one were native *Egyptians*, whom *Moses* (Exod. 12. 38.) calls *Am*, i. e. born in the land. The other sort were a mixt multitude, whom he there calls *Geri*, i. e. *strangers*. They were *extraneous* Persons, amongst the *Egyptians*, who took the land to Tillat a certain portion: The *Jews* were *Heb*, before they went up out of *Egypt*. Both these sorts of Men the sacred Scripture comprehends under the name of a mixt multitude (Exod. 12. 38.) *Valef*.

(g) *Cochaba* was a Village near *Decapolis*. *Valef*. (h) Many of the *Jews*, this day, still preferre their Pedigree, had private copies thereof, taken out of the public *Archives*; as we often see Gentlemen do at this day amongst us. *Valef*.

of birth, (g) burnt their ancient recorded Genealogies, supposing thereby to make himself to be thought to come of noble parentage, when none other, assisted by public Records, were able to bring their Pedigrees from the Patriarchs, or ancient Profelytes, or such as were called (h) *Georae*, strangers born, and mingled among the *Israelites*. Yet some few studious in this behalf having either kept in memory the names of their Ancestors, or copied them out of ancient Rolls, have got unto themselves their proper pedigrees, and glory much that they have preserved the remembrance of their ancient Nobility. Amongst whom were those men I mention'd before; who by reason of their near kindred with our Saviour, were called *Despoyms*. These travelling from *Nazareth* and (i) *Cochaba*, towns of the *Jews*, into other regions, plainly expounded the foretold Genealogy, partly out of the Book of their (k) *Epheemerides*, and partly out of their Memory, as far as they were able. However then the

private copies thereof, taken out of the public *Archives*; as we often see Gentlemen do at this day amongst us. *Valef*.

case stand, whether thus or otherwise, no man in his judgment, and in the judgment of any other ingenious person, can find a plainer exposition. Let us make much of this therefore, tho' we have (h) no proof to confirm it, seeing we cannot produce a better and a truer exposition. The Gospel indeed in all respects uttereth most true things. And about the end of the same Epistle he addeth these words; *Matthan* descended from *Solomon* begat *Jacob*. *Matthan* deceased, *Melchi* of the stock of *Nathan* on the same woman begat *Heli*. (m) So *Heli* and *Jeli* were brethren by the mother's side. *Heli* this way dying without issue, *Jacob* rais'd unto him of seed by begetting of *Joseph*, his own son by nature, but *Heli* his son by law. Thus was *Joseph* son to both. So far *Africanus*. Now the Genealogy of *Joseph* being thus recited, the Stock also of *Mary*, who was of the same Tribe together with him, is in effect made apparent. For by the Law of *Moses*, mingling of Tribes by marriage was forbidden. For the woman is commanded to be joyn'd in marriage to one of the same house and of the same family, that so the inheritance of the kindred might not be removed from Tribe to Tribe. But of these matters let thus much suffice.

lawful for the Brother by the Mother's side to marry his Brother's Widow, and to beget Children of her, which were in the name and be accounted of the Family of his Brother. The Law (Deut. 25. 5.) speaks of the Brother that dwells in the same House, and that is of the same Stock: But the Brother by the Mother's side is not of the same House, nor of the same Stock: Seeing that the Stock, especially amongst the *Jews*, was deduced from the Father's Race. Secondly, it may be deliverly questioned, whether in reckoning up the Generations, there be any account had of the adoptive Fathers, *Obed*, who is mentioned in the Genealogy of *Christ*, is an eminent example hereto. For when *Maalon* was dead in the land of *Moab*, and *Ruth* left a Widow without Children, *Booz* the kinsman of *Maalon* (he that was a nearer kinsman than he giving up his right) took *Ruth* to Wife, whereby he might raise up Seed to *Maalon*. Yet *Obed* that was begotten of her, is by the Evangelists, and in the Book of *Ruth* not called the Son of *Maalon*, but the Son of *Booz*. *Valef*.

(m) In *Job* were brethren by the mother's side. *Heli* this way dying without issue, *Jacob* rais'd unto him of seed by begetting of *Joseph*, his own son by nature, but *Heli* his son by law. Thus was *Joseph* son to both. So far *Africanus*. Now the Genealogy of *Joseph* being thus recited, the Stock also of *Mary*, who was of the same Tribe together with him, is in effect made apparent. For by the Law of *Moses*, mingling of Tribes by marriage was forbidden. For the woman is commanded to be joyn'd in marriage to one of the same house and of the same family, that so the inheritance of the kindred might not be removed from Tribe to Tribe. But of these matters let thus much suffice.

whether it were

## C H A P. VIII.

Of *Herod's* Cruelty towards the Infants, and after how miserable a manner he ended his life.

NOW *Christ* being born in *Bethlehem* of *Judea* at the time before manifested, according to the Predictions of the Prophets, *Herod* upon an enquiry made by the \* wife men that came from the *East*, asking where he was that was born King of the *Jews*? For they said they had seen his Star, and had therefore made such a long journey with diligence, because they most ardently desired to worship him that was born, as God. *Herod*, *I say*, being not a little troubled, judging his Government to be in very imminent danger, demanded of the Doctors of the Law, then in the nation, where they expected *Christ* should be born. When he knew of the Prophecy of \* *Micah*, who foretold he was to be born in *Bethlehem*; by one express Edict he commands all the young children born in *Bethlehem* and in all the coasts thereof from two years old and under, according to the time which

he

Augustin.

he had diligently enquired of the Wise-men, to be slain. For he supposed, as it was very likely, that Jesus would be involved in the same calamity with them that were about his age. But his Parents having had notice of the whole matter by an Angel that appeared to them, convey'd the young child into Egypt, and so he escaped the King's bloody Plot. Thus much indeed the sacred writing of the Gospel sets forth. And now moreover it would be worth the while to see what immediately befel Herod upon account of his audacious wickedness acted towards Christ and those of the same age with him; how forthwith, without all delay, the Divine vengeance seized him whilst alive after such a manner, as to foreshew some beginnings of those torments which awaited him after this life. And how he clouded these prosperous successes of his reign, as he judges them to be, with domestick calamities following one upon another, with the murders of his wife and children, and others of his nearest relations and dearest friends, I shall not now be able particularly to recount, in as much as the rehearsal of this matter would far surpass even all the most savage cruelty of every Tragedy; which Josephus in his History has at large declared. But, how after his cruel plot form'd against our Saviour and the other infants, he was forthwith smitten from heaven with a disease, as with a scourge, whereof he died, it will not be unfit to understand from the Author himself, who in his \*seventeenth Book of Antiquities relates after how lamentable a manner he ended his life, writing word for word thus; 'But the disease of Herod grew yet more bitterly violent, God exacting this judgment of his enormities upon him. He had a gentle fever not expressing it self so much to the outward touch and feeling, as more grievously burning him within. Moreover, he had a vehemently strong appetite after meat, but nothing could suffice him; he had an ulcer of the intrails, with sharp confications especially of the Colick-gut, a phlegmatick and shining humour appear'd about his feet. Moreover, the disease had gotten about the lower belly, and more than that, there was a putrefaction of his genitals, and it bred worms; besides, he had a shortness of breath, which was also unfavoury; a troublesome flux of Rheum, which caused a perpetual difficulty of breathing. And the Patient having not strength to resist these things, there follow'd a convulsion of all the parts. It was said therefore by the Divines, and those who made it their business to give judgment of such things, that the hand of God was upon the King to punish him for his so oft repeated horrible offences." Thus much therefore the aforesaid Writer relates in the fore-mention'd Book. And in the Second (a) Book of his History he speaks of him after the same manner, in these words: 'After that he was taken with a disease, which seizing upon the whole state and habit of his body, tormented him exceedingly with several pains: He had a fever, but not of any acute kind, an insufferable itching over all his body, with continual tortures of the Colon: by the humours about his feet you would judge him to have been hydropical; besides this, a strange inflammation of the lower belly, and such a putrefaction of the genitals as bred worms: moreover, a shortness and difficulty of breathing, with a

\* Joseph.  
Antiq.  
B. 17. c. 8.

(a) These words of Josephus we meet with now in the 1. B. 21. c. of his History. But in the M. S. Copies of Josephus, the Books were otherwise divided than now they are. That division Eusebius followed, and therefore no alteration is here to be made. Valsg.

Augustin.

convulsion of all the parts. This moved those of that time who pretended to know the mind of God, to term these diseases a punishment inflicted on him from heaven. But altho' he struggled with so many distempers, yet he hoped to live and recover, and fought for remedy. Passing therefore over Jordan he made use of the hot-waters that are near Callirhoe. They fall into the lake Asphaltites, but are so sweet that they are potable. There, when his Physicians thought it good to bathe his whole body in warm oyl, being set into a bathing-vessel filled with oyl, he was so weakened all over his body, that he turn'd up his eyes as if he had been dead. But at the noise of his attendants outcries he came to himself again. After this, despairing of recovery, he gave order for the distribution of fifty (b) Drachms to every one of his common soldiers, but to his commanders and friends he gave great sums of money. From thence he return'd to Jericho; and being now grown very melancholy, he did as it were threaten death it self, and resolv'd upon the commission of a most horrible and villanous fact. For he commanded all the eminent personages that were in every town of Judea to be summon'd together and imprison'd in the Hippodrome.

Then calling for his sister Salome and her husband Alexander, I know, said he, the Jews will rejoice mightily at my death; but if you will obey my commands, I can make my self to be lamented by many, and obtain an honourable funeral: As soon as breath is out of my body do you, being guarded with soldiers, kill all these men whom I have imprison'd; so all Judea, yea every family shall, thro' against their wills, mourn army death. And a little after he says, and again when he was tortured, partly by want of sustenance, and partly by convulsions of his violent cough, being overcome with continual torments he resolv'd to hasten his own death. And having taken an apple, he ask'd for a knife, for his manner was to cut them himself when ever he eat them; then looking round lest there should be any one that might hinder him, he lifted up his right hand, as about to do violence to himself. Moreover, the same Writer relates farther, "how that a little before his death

he most wickedly commanded (c) another of his own sons, having slain (d) two of them before, to be put to death, and then soon after died in most exquisite torture.

And such was the end Herod made, suffering a due punishment for his cruelty towards the infants of Bethlehem, which he contrived on purpose to destroy our Saviour. After his death an Angel appeared to Joseph then in Egypt, and commanded him to take the young Child and his Mother and return into Judea, telling him they were dead who fought the young Child's life. To which \* the Evangelist farther 2. 22.

adds,

(b) The word δραχμή is deriv'd from δραχμή, that is, an handful, as containing so many pieces of Brass-money as would make an handful, to wit, six. This word from the Greeks came not only to the Romans, but, after the time of the Seleucids, to the Jews also; so Exr. 2. 69. 3. 10. 11. the Greek word with a very little alteration, rendered by the 72 δραχμαί, by us Drachms. Now four Attick Drachms make one ordinary Shekel (so I call it to distinguish it from that of the Sanctuary which was twice as much) an ordinary Shekel is two Shillings and Six pence in our Coin. So that according to this account, Herod's largess came to six pounds and five shillings a Man. Suid.

(c) Antipater who was beheaded by his father's command five days before his death. See Montague's AEs and Mon.

(d) Aristobulus and Alexander, who were strangled, at Samaria by his special command. Id.

*Augustus* adds, saying, *When he heard that Archelaus reign'd in Judea in the room of his Father Herod, he was afraid to go thither, notwithstanding being warned of God in a dream to turn aside into the parts of Galilee.*

## C H A P. IX.

Of the Times of Pilate.

*Tiberius.*

THE said Historian agrees also concerning the reign of *Archelaus* after the death of *Herod*, declaring the manner of it, how both by his Father's Testament, and also by the Decree of *Augustus* Caesar, he obtained the Kingdom of *Judea*: And how, when after ten years he was deposed from his Government, his brethren, *Philip* and *Herod* *Fauver*, and (*a*) *Lysanias* govern'd their Tetrarchies. The same Author, in the eighteenth Book of his Antiquities, makes it plainly appear, that *Pontius Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* in the twelfth year of the reign of *Tiberius* (who then was Emperor, succeeding *Augustus*, who had reigned fifty seven years) and continued to full ten years, almost as long as *Tiberius* lived. From whence their fiction is manifestly confuted, who of late have publish'd (*b*) Acts against our Saviour. In which chiefly the title or note of time, inscrib'd upon the said Acts, does evidently show the Authors thereof to be liars. For those things which these men have impudently feign'd concerning the salutary passion of our Lord, are said to have been done when *Tiberius* was Consul the fourth time, which fell out to be the seventh year of his reign. At which time it is certain *Pilate* was not come as Governour into *Judea*, if we may believe *Josephus*; who in his foresaid Book does expressly shew, that *Pilate* was made Procurator of *Judea* several places by *Tiberius*, in the twelfth year of his Reign.

wherein the sentences pronounced by the Judges. See *Calvin's* Lex. Jurid. the word *Alia*. These Acts of *Pilate* were counterfeited by the Enemies of Christianity, in the Persecution under *Maximinus*, as *Eusebius* affirms, Lib. 9. c. 5.

## C H A P. X.

Of the High-Priests among the Jews, in whose time Christ preach'd the Gospel.

AT this time therefore, namely in the fifteenth year of the reign of *Tiberius*, according to the \* the Evangelist, and the fourth of *Pilate's* Procuratorship of *Judea*, *Herod*, (*a*) *Lysanias* and *Philip* being Tetrarchs over the rest of *Judea*, our Lord and Saviour Jesus, the Christ of God, being about thirty years of age, was baptized by *John*, and then first began to preach the Gospel. And the sacred Scripture says, that he finish'd the whole

\* Luk. 3. 1, 2.

(a) know not why *Eusebius* put *Lysanias* in the middle between *Herod* and *Philip*, the sons of *Herod* the great. For *Luke*, whose words *Eusebius* does here profess that he follows, in that famous place concerning the Baptism of Christ, names *Lysanias* in the third place. Wherefore *Eusebius* should have observed the same order, especially because *Lysanias* was neither Son, nor Successor to *Herod*. *Eusebius* also seems to be reprovable here, in that after he had said *Pilate* was then Procurator of *Judea*, he adds, that the rest of *Judea* was governed by the Tetrarchs, *Herod*, *Philip*, and *Lysanias*. But *Lysanias* never had any part of *Judea*. For *Abila* was not a City of *Judea*, but of *Syria*. Yet *Eusebius* may be excused, if we say, that by *Judea* he understood the whole Dominion of *Herod the Great*: For it's manifest that he had the Tetrarchy of *Lysanias* given him by *Augustus*. For the Roman Emperors used to bestow these Tetrarchies on those Kings that were their Confederates and Friends, that they might thereby the more oblige them. It's strange that there is no mention of this *Lysanias*, of whom *St. Luke* speaks, either in *Josephus*, *Dion*, or the rest,

time of his preaching under *Ananias* and *Caiphas* being (*b*) High-Priests, meaning thereby that all his preaching was terminated within that space of time wherein they executed the High-Priest's Office. Altho' therefore he began when *Ananias* was High-Priest, and continued till *Caiphas* came on, yet there are scarce full four years contained within this space of time. For, since from the time now mention'd, the Laws and Sanctions about holy matters were almost abolish'd, the High-Priesthood also ceased to be for life and hereditary, neither was the worship of God rightly performed. But the Roman Governours made sometimes one, sometimes another High-Priest, none bearing that Office above a year. (*c*) *Josephus* indeed in his Book of Antiquities does relate, that from *Ananias* to *Caiphas* there were in one continued order four High-Priests. His words are these; '*Valerius Gratus* having put out *Ananias* from being High-Priest, made *Ismael* the son of (*d*) *Baphi* High-Priest; not long after he removed him, and made *Eleazar*, son of the High-Priest *Ananias*, High-Priest; within a year after he deprived him, and gave *Simon* the son of *Cambisus* the High-Priesthood. He, after he had held that honour not more than a year, had (*e*) *Josephus*, whose name also was *Caiphas*, for his Successor.' It is manifest therefore that the whole time of our Saviour's preaching was not complete four years, within which space of time there were as many High-Priests made, reckoning from *Ananias* his bearing that office, to *Caiphas* his promotion to it, (*f*) every of which bore the office one year. The Holy (*g*) Gospel therefore is right in noting *Caiphas* to be the High-Priest that same year in which our Lord's salutary passion hapned. From which authority of the Gospel also it is evident, that the time of Christ's preaching does not disagree with the account we have laid down. Now our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, not long after his beginning to preach, called twelve men, whom he named Apostles, giving to them in particular a title more honourable, and preferring them before the rest of his Disciples. Besides, he chose other seventy men, whom he sent two by two before his face, into every of those places and cities whither he himself would come.

not that there were two High-Priests at the same time, which is absurd and was never heard of; but that *Luke* means by these words, that in this fiftenth year of *Tiberius*, *Caiphas* was High-Priest, and *Ananias* was one that had born that Office very lately. (See Dr. Hammond's note on *Luke* chap. 3. v. 2. where he treats of this matter learnedly and largely.) Who ever had born the High-Priest's Office, those were called High-Priests during their lives, and took Tythes; So *Josephus* declares B. 2c. of Antiq. *Valer.*

(d) *Joseph*, Antiq. B. 18. chap. 4. *Eusebius* is here very much mistaken; for *Josephus* does not speak of the time times that *St. Luke* does; *Josephus* speaks of the first ten years of *Tiberius's* Reign, in which time *Valerius Gratus* was Procurator of *Judea*; but *Luke* speaks of *Tiberius's* second ten years, when *Pilate* was Governour of *Judea*, *Valer.*

(e) Or *Phabi*, as some Copies read it. *Valer.*

(f) Or *Josephus*, or, *Josephus*, as it is in the old Editions of *Rufinus*. *Valer.*

(g) *Eusebius* understands *Josephus*, so, as if *Josephus* had said, that those four High-Priests, *Ananias*, (*or* *Ananias*), *Ismael*, *Eleazar*, and *Simon* executed the High-Priesthood, each the space of one year. Indeed *Josephus* says this expressly of the two first; but not so of the two first. For he declares that *Ismael* indeed was put out a little after he was made High-Priest by *Valerius*; but *Josephus* is so far from making *Ananias* to have been High-Priest but one year, that from his words it is plainly gathered, he held the High-Priesthood three years at least. See *Josephus's* Antiq. B. 2c. chap. 8. *Valer.*

(h) He means *John* 11. 18. but the Evangelist does not say there, that he was made High-Priest that same year.

## C H A P.

Tiberius.

C H A P. XI.

What hath been testified concerning John the Baptist, and concerning Christ.

(a) I began the 11 chap. at these words; following the authority of the King's, and the Maz. and the Fukeitain M. SS. Valef.

(b) Josephus, in his 18 B. of Antiquit. 9 chap. says he was banish'd by Caius Celsar to Lions in France. Valef.

(a) THE sacred History of the Gospel also mentions the beheading of John the Baptist, by Herod Jun. to have been not long after this. To which also agrees Josephus, who both makes mention particularly of Herodias by name, and also expressly declares, how that Herod, having put away his former wife lawfully marry'd to him, took this woman his brother's wife by force from him being yet alive, and married her: she was the daughter of Aretas King of the Arabians: and that upon her account, Herod having slain John, went to war with Aretas, incensed at the disgrace of his daughter. In which war, he relates that Herod and his whole Army were vanquish'd in a Battel, and that these things befel him upon account of his cruelty towards John. The same Josephus does agree with the Evangelical History in the account it gives of this John, especially as to his confessing him to have been a most righteous Man and a Baptist. He says further, that Herod was depriv'd of his kingdom for the sake of this Herodias, and was together with her banish'd to (b) Vienna a City of Gallia. All this he relates in his 18th Book of Antiquities, where also he writes these very words concerning John: 'But some of the Jews judg'd Herod's Army to have been overthrown by God, he avenging justly on him the murder of John call'd the Baptist. For him Herod had slain, who was a good man, and one that exhorted the Jews to the exercise of virtue, commanding them to deal justly with one another, and to behave themselves piously towards God, and so to come to be baptized. For Baptism, said he, was then only well-pleasing to God, when it was used, not for the excusing of some certain offences, but in order to the cleansing of the body, the soul being before purified by righteousness. Now when many flock'd to him from every quarter (for they were strangely taken with hearing of such discourses) Herod fearing lest thro' the powerful persuasion of the man, his subjects should revolt, (for they seem'd ready to do any thing that he advis'd) judg'd it better to cut him off before any innovation hapned by him, than, after it was come to pass, and had greatly endangered his affairs, to repent he did not, when it was too late. Upon this very mistrust of Herod's, he being put into bonds, was sent to the aforesaid Castle of Machaberos and there slain. Thus far he concerning John. The same Author, in the same Book makes mention also of our Saviour in these words; 'About that time there was one Jesus, a wife man, if he may be call'd a man; for he wrought wonderful miracles, and taught all that with delight would embrace the truth. He had many followers, both Jews and Gentiles. This was he that was call'd Christ. Whom tho' he was accus'd by the chief men of our Nation, and Pilate condemn'd him to be crucified, yet those who at first loved him forbore not to worship him. For he appeared unto them alive on the third day, as the holy Prophets had predicted, who foretold these and many more wonderful things concerning him. And till this day that Set continues, which of Him are call'd Christians. Seeing

therefore that this Writer, being a Jew born and bred, has in his works recorded thus much of our Saviour and John the Baptist, what evasion can remain to the Forgers of those Acts against them, that they should not evidently be prov'd to be the most impudent of Men? But thus far of these Matters.

Tiberius.

C H A P. XII.

Concerning our Saviour's Disciples.

Moreover, the names of our Saviour's Apostles are to all apparently manifest in the Gospel, but as to the seventy disciples, a particular \* catalogue of them is no where extant. But Barnabas is said to have been one of them; of whom we have frequent mention both in the Acts of the Apostles, and also most especially in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. Soberness also, they say, was another of them, he that together with Paul wrote to the Corinthians. For so says Clemens in the fifth Book of his Institutions; where also he affirms Cephas (that Cephas of whom Paul speaks, † But when Cephas came to Antioch I withstood him to the face) a name sake of Peter's, to have been one of the seventy disciples. Matthias also, who was numbred with the Apostles in the room of the Traitor Judas, and the other who had the honour to be proposed in the same lot with him, are reported to be of the number of the Seventy. Thaddæus likewise, of whom I will by and by adjoin an History as it came to our hands, is reported to have been one of them. But he that shall attentively observe, will find, even from Paul's testimony alone, that our Saviour's disciples were more in number than Seventy. For he \* says, \* 1 Cor. 15. 5, 6, 7. Christ after his Resurrection was seen first of Cephas, then of the twelve, after that he was seen of above five hundred Brethren at once; of whom some were fall'n asleep, but the greatest part, he declares, were alive when he wrote these things. Then, says he, he appeared to James. (a) He is said to have been one of the Seventy disciples of our Saviour, and also one of the Lord's Brethren. Lastly, there being many more besides the twelve, who were called Apostles by way of imitation, of which sort Paul himself was one, he farther adds, saying, Then he was seen of all the Apostles. But so much of this. The fore-mentioned History concerning Thaddæus was thus: the first Bishop of Jerusalem, was not of the Number of the Twelve Apostles but of the Disciples of the Lord. Indeed Paul, in his first Epist. to the Corinthians, chap. 15. v. 7. seems to favour this opinion, where reckoning up those to whom Christ appeared after his death, after he hath nam'd the Twelve Apostles, and live hundred others, he adds, After that he was seen of James, &c. Valef.

(a) Many of the ancient writers affirm, that James the brother of our Lord, he that was Ordained

C H A P. XIII.

The History of the Prince of the Edessens.

THE Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being every where famous by reason of his wonderful power, by which he wrought Miracles, drew together an innumerable company even of foreigners, and inhabitants of Countreys far remote from Ju- (a) Or, dea, who were sick and troubled with all sorts of pains, hoping to be recovered. Therefore King (a) Agbarus, the then worthy pie. Valef.

\* Agbarus, i. e. called, is to be understood, as Valefius supposes.



Tiberius.

(b) Agbarus was a King of the Arabians, but he did not then hearken to his request, yet he vouchsafed to give him answer by his own Letter; wherein he promised to send one of his Disciples, who should both cure him, and also bring salvation to him, and his Relations and Friends. Soon after therefore this promise was exactly fulfill'd: For after his Resurrection from the dead, and Ascension into Heaven, Thomas, one of the Twelve Apostles, moved thereto by Divine Impulse, sent Thaddæus, chosen one of the Seventy Disciples of Christ, to Edessa, to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ. By whom all that which our Saviour had promised was fulfill'd. The written evidence of this matter we have taken out of the Office of Records within the princely City of Edessa, in which Agbarus then was Governour. For among the publick Records there, wherein the Antiquities of the City and the Acts of Agbarus are continu'd, are found these things, there preserved to our days. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the very words of the Letter, which we have taken out of the ancient Rolls, and faithfully translated out of the Syriack tongue in these words, thus;

*A Copy of the Letter written by King Agbarus to Julius, and sent to him to Jerusalem by Ananias the Courier.*

Agbarus Prince of Edessa, to Jesus the Good Saviour, who hath manifested himself within the Confines of Jerusalem, sendeth greeting. I have heard of thee, and of the cures wrought by thee without Herbs or Medicines; for, as it is reported, thou dost restore Sight to the Blind; thou makest the Lame to walk; thou cleansest the Leprous, and thou dost cast out Devils and unclean Spirits, and thou healest those that are tormented with Diseases of a long continuance, and thou dost raise the Dead. When I heard all this of thee, I was fully persuaded to believe one of these two things, either that thou art very God, and art come down from Heaven to do such things, or else the Son of God, and so performest them. Wherefore, I have now written to thee, beseeching thee to come to me, and cure my disease: for I have heard that the Jews murmur against thee, and contrive to do thee mischief. I have a City, a little one indeed, but it is beautiful, and capable of receiving us both. Thus wrote Agbarus, as then but a little enlightened from above. It is also worth while to hear the Answer of Jesus, return'd to him by the same Courier; short indeed it is, but it has much of power and efficacy in it: It was thus:

*The Answer of Jesus to Agbarus the King, sent by Ananias the Courier.*

Blessed art thou, Agbarus, who hast believ'd in me whom thou hast not seen. For it is written of me, that they which have seen me should not believe in me, that fo they which have not seen me may believe and be saved.

(c) Answat part of the Old Testament words occur I am yet to seek. Indeed, in the Gospel of St. John it is written, that our Lord said to Thomas after his Resurrection, John 20. 29. *Because thou hast not seen, and yet hast believed, blessed is thy faith.* This Epistle of Christ to King Agbarus, if it be genuine, preceded that Reprehension of the Apostle Thomas some years. Valef.

Tiberius.

But as concerning what thou writest about my coming to thee, know, that all things for which I am sent must be here by me fulfilled; which being finish'd, I shall be taken up and return to him that sent me: but after I am ascended, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall cure thy disemper, and give life to thee, and to them that are with thee." To this Letter there is this farther added in the Syriack Language: "After Jesus was ascended, Judas, called also (d) Thomas, sent

Thaddæus the (e) Apostle, who was one of the Seventy Disciples, to Agbarus. When he was come thither, he abode with Tobias the son of Tobias. As soon as it was heard that he was come, having manifested himself by the miracles he wrought; Agbarus was told, that the Apostle of Jesus was come thither according to his promise in his Letter. Now Thaddæus began to cure every disease and disemper

by the power of God to the wonder of all.

When Agbarus heard of the great and wonderful works wrought by him, and how in the name and by the power of Jesus Christ he cured diseases, he had some suspicion, that this was the person about whom Jesus wrote to him, saying, when I am taken up, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall heal thy disemper. Having therefore called for Tobias, with whom Thaddæus abode, I have heard, said he, that there is a certain powerful man come from Jerusalem, who lodges at thy house, that performs many cures in the name of Jesus. There is a stranger, Sir, replied he, come to my house who does many miracles: Bring him, said Agbarus, to me. Tobias went home to Thaddæus, and told him, Agbarus the Governour of this City having sent for me, commands me to bring thee to him, that thou mayst cure his disemper. Will go, replied Thaddæus, for it is chiefly upon his account that I am with power sent hither. Tobias therefore getting up early next morning, took Thaddæus along with him, and went to Agbarus. When he was come to Agbarus (his Nobles being present and standing round him) there appeared a wonderful sight in the face of the Apostle Thaddæus, as he came in to him, and he worship'd him. All that were present stood at that, for they saw nothing of the kind which appear'd only to Agbarus. When he ask'd Thaddæus, Art thou in truth a Disciple of Jesus the Son of God, who hast thus come to me, I will send thee one of my Disciples, who shall cure thy disemper, and give life to thee, and to all with thee? Thaddæus answered, Forasmuch as thou hast firmly believed in the Lord Jesus who sent me, therefore I am sent to thee, and if thy faith in him does still increase, according to thy belief thou shalt have the desires of thine heart fulfilled. Agbarus made him answer, I did so firmly believe in him, that I would have raised forces to have destroy'd the Jews who crucified him, had I not been inhibited from that purpose by the Roman Empire. Jesus Christ, replied Thaddæus, our Lord God fulfilled the will of his Father, and having finished

(d) Thomas indeed, that was one of the Twelve Apostles, was called Didymus; but that the same person was named Judas, is not, that I know, any where else to be found. Upon this account therefore this Story is deservedly to be suspected. Valef.

(e) Apostle here is to be taken in a large sense; (see Eusebius at the latter end of the foregoing Chapter;) after the same manner every Nation and City termed their Apostles, from whom they first received the truth of the Gospel. This name was not only given to the Twelve, but all their Disciples, Companions and Assistants, were generally called Apostles. Valef.

*Tiberius.* nished that, was taken up to his Father. *Agbarus* said unto him, I believed both in Him and in his Father. Therefore, said *Thaddæus*, I lay my hand on thee, in the name of the same Lord Jesus Christ: and having done so he was presently cured of the disease and distemper that he had. *Agbarus* wondered greatly when he saw that really accomplish'd which he had heard concerning Jesus, by his Disciple and Apostle *Thaddæus*, who without the help of Herbs or Medicines, restored him to his former soundness: and not only him, but one *Abdus* also, the son of *Abdus*, who had the Gout; he coming and falling down at *Thaddæus*'s feet, receiv'd a blessing by prayer and the laying on of his hands, and was healed. Many others also of the same City with them were cured by the Apostle, who wrought wonderful miracles and preached the word of God. After all this *Agbarus* spake thus, We ~~believe~~, *Thaddæus*, whatever thou dost, thou performest by the power of God, and therefore we greatly admire thee. But, we pray thee moreover, give us some farther account of the Advent of Jesus, how and after what manner it was; of his power also, and by what virtue he wrought those mighty works we have heard: I shall now be silent, replied *Thaddæus*, because I am sent to publish the word of God: but assemble all the men of thy City together to me to morrow, and I will preach the word of God to them, and will disperse the word of life among them, and expound the Advent of Jesus, after what manner it was, his Commission, and for what reason his Father sent him; the power of his works, the mysteries he declar'd to the world, by what power he wrought so great miracles, his new preaching, the slender and mean reputation he made himself of,

the despicableness of his outward man, how *Tiberius.* he humbled himself even unto death, how he lessen'd his Divinity, how many and great things he suffer'd of the Jews, how he was crucified, how he descended into Hell, and rent asunder that Inclosure never before fevered; how he rose again, and together with himself, raised those from the dead who had lain buried many ages; how he descended from Heaven alone, but ascended to his Father accompanied with a great multitude; how with glory he is set down at the right hand of God his Father in Heaven, and how he will come again with power and glory to judge both quick and dead. *Agbarus* therefore commanded the men of his City to come together very early and hear *Thaddæus* preach. After this he commanded, that gold and silver should be given to *Thaddæus*; but he refused it, saying, how shall we, who have left all that was our own, take any thing that is another's? These things were done in the <sup>(f)</sup> three <sup>(f)</sup> This hundredth and fortieth year. All this being translated word for word out of the Syriack tongue, and not unprofitable to be read, we have thought good to set down opportunely in this place.

the *Edessens*, falleth with the first year of the two hundredth and second Olympiad. For the *Edessens* number their years from the hundredth and seventeenth Olympiad, fixing their *Æra* upon the first year of *Selenus* his Reign in *Asia* (as *Eusebius* writes in his Chronicon) from which time to the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad, there are just three hundred and forty years. Now the beginning of the two hundredth and second Olympiad falleth with the fiftieth year of *Tiberius Cæsar*; in which year, as many of the Antients believed, our Blessed Saviour suffered and ascended. So that this account falls right, placing *Thaddæus* his coming to *Edessa*, and his curing King *Agbarus* on the same year, in which our Blessed Saviour suffered. Note, that the *Edessens* began their year, from the Autumnal Equinox, according to the custom of the *Syrians*, and almost all the *Eastern Nations*. Valef.

T H E  
S E C O N D B O O K  
Of the Ecclesiastical History  
O F  
E U S E B I U S P A M P H I L U S .

The P R E F A C E .

W HATsoever was necessary to be premised by way of Preface to Our Ecclesiastical History, both concerning the Divinity of the comfortable Word, the Antiquity of the Points of our Doctrine and Evangelical Polity; and also moreover concerning the Manifestation our Saviour lately made of himself, his Passion and the Election of the Apostles, we have treated of in the foregoing Book, and briefly summ'd up the Proofs thereof. Now therefore in this, we will diligently look into what followed upon his Ascension; partly from what we find noted in Holy Writ, and partly from other Records, which we will mention in due place.

C H A P. I.

Of those things which were instituted by the Apostles after the Ascension of Christ.

(a) At these words we began the first Chapter, following the Authority partly of *Rufinus*, partly of the King's, *Marci*, and *Fab. M. SS.* or, what goes before is a Preface. Valef.

(a) F I R S T of all therefore, *Matthias*, who, as before, has been manifested, was one of the Lord's Disciples, by lot was elected into the Apostleship of the Traitor *Judas*. Then, seven approved men were by prayer and imposition of the Apostles hands ordain'd

Deacons for the publick administration of the Churches affairs; of which number *Stephen* was one: who (b) immediately after his Ordination, (b) The as if he had been made Deacon only for this, year wherein was the first that, after the Lord, was slain by *Stephen* those very Jews that had been the Lord's mur-

dered Martyrdom is not agreed on by all: Some say it was the third year after Christ's passion, which was the last of *Tiberius*, so *Synellus*. Others say he was martyr'd on the 7th of the Calend. of *Jas*, that same year in which Christ suffered. So *Scaliger* says in his Excerpt. Chronolog. which he puts out with *Euseb.* Chronicon. p. 68. and this seems to have been the opinion of *Eusebius*, as appears from this place. Valef.

Tiberius, there's, who stoned him to death: And thus he, being the first of the worthy victorious Martyrs of Christ, gain'd a crown (c) answer'd to his name. Then James also, who was term'd the (d) brother

(d) That this James was not the Son of the B. Virgin, nor yet of Joseph by one Eschela a former wife; but of Mary the wife of Cleophas sister to the B. Virgin, may thus be made appear. We read Ps. 19. 25, that there stood by the Cross of Christ his Mother, and his Mother's sister Mary the wife of Cleophas, and Mary Magdalen: In the rest of the Evangelists we find at the same place (*Matth.* 27. 56.) *Mary Magdalen*, and *Mary* the mother of James and Joses; and again at the Sepulchre (*Matth.* 28. 1.) *Mary Magdalen* and the other Mary. Wherefore that other Mary by the conjunction of these Testimonies, appeareth to be the sister of the B. Virgin, to be the wife of Cleophas, and the mother of James and Joses; and consequently James and Joses the brethren of the Lord, were not the sons of Mary his mother, nor of Joseph by a former wife, but of the other Mary, and therefore called his brethren, according to the language of the Jews (*See Gen.* 13. 8. & 12. 4. & 29. 12.) because that other Mary was the sister of his mother. See Bishop Pearson on the Creed. p. 176. Edit. Lond. 1669.

the Just, John and Peter, which they delivered to the rest of the Apostles, and those to the Seventy Disciples, one of whom was Barnabas. But there were two James's; the one surnamed the Just, who was cast head-long from the Battlements of the Temple, and beaten to death with a Fuller's Club: The other was beheaded. Paul makes mention of this James the Just, writing thus: *Gal. 1. 19. \* Other of the Apostles saw I none save James the Lord's brother.* At this time also all that our Saviour had promised to the King of the *Ostrogoths* was fulfilled. For *Thormis*, moved thereto by Divine impulse, sent *Thaulens* to Edessa to be a Preacher and Evangelist of the Doctrine of Christ, as from a Record there found we have a little before manifested. He, when he was come thither, did in the name of Christ both cure *Agbarus*, and also astonish'd all the Inhabitants of the Country with the wonderfulness of his Miracles. And when he had sufficiently prepared them with such works, and brought them to an adoration of Christ's power, he made them Disciples of his wholesome Doctrine. From that very time until now the whole City of the *Edessens* has continued to be consecrated to Christ's name, enjoying no trivial evidences of our Saviour's graciousness towards them. And these things are said as from the History of the old Records. We will now return again to Holy Writ. After the Martyrdom of Stephen, when the first and forest persecution of the Church at Jerusalem by the Jews arose, all the Disciples of Christ, except the Twelve only, being scatter'd throughout *Judea* and *Samaria*, some of them travelling as far as *Phenice* and *Cyprus* and *Antioch*, as holy Scripture testifieth, were not able to be so bold as to communicate the word of Faith to the Gentiles, but preach'd

\* Acts. 8, to the Jews only. At that time \* Paul also unwilling then made havock of the Church, entring

into every house of the faithful, halling men and women, and committing them to prison. Moreover \* Philip, one of those who was ordain'd Deacon with Stephen, being one of them that were dispersed, went down to *Samaria*, and being full of the Divine Power, was the first that preach'd the Word to those Inhabitants. And the Grace of God did so effectually co-operate with him, that by his preaching he drew after him *Simon Magus* with many other men. This *Simon*, at that time very famous, did so far prevail with those whom he had deceiv'd by his imposture, that they thought him to be the Great Power of God. Then therefore this very person, being greatly amazed at the miracles Philip wrought by the power of God, craftily insinuated himself, and so far counterfeited a faith in Christ, that he was baptized. The same thing with admiration we see now done by the followers of his most filthy Sect, who creeping into the Church, as their Fore-father did, like some pestilent and leprous disease, do deeply corrupt all those into whom they are any way able to insinuate that pernicious and incurable poison which lies conceal'd within them. But many of them were cast out of the Church, as soon as their viciousness was discover'd: in like manner *Simon* himself being at length detected by Peter, was deservedly punish'd. Furthermore, when the wholesome preaching of the Gospel daily increased, Divine Providence brought out of the land of *Ethiopia* a man of great authority under the Queen of that Country; for those nations are according to their country fashion govern'd by a woman, who being the first of the Gentiles, that by Philip, warn'd of God by a vision, was made partaker of the mysteries of the Divine Word; was also the first fruits of the faithful throughout the world: returning into his own country, he is reported to have been the first publisher of the Knowledge of the Great God, and of the comfortable Advent of our Saviour in the flesh: and so by him was really fulfilled that prediction of the Prophet, \* *Ethiopia* \* *Phil.* 68. *shall stretch out her hand unto God.* At this time, 31. † Paul, that chosen vessel, was made an Apostle, † Acts 9. not of men, neither by men, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ, and God the Father, who raised him from the dead; being vouchsafed this calling by a vision, and a voice from heaven, which came to him at the Revelation thereof.

## CHAPTER II.

How Tiberius was affected at the Relation Pilate sent him of those things concerning Christ.

WHEN the wonderful Resurrection of our Saviour and his Ascension into Heaven was now divulg'd among all men; because it was of old customary that the Governours of Provinces should communicate to the Emperour every strange and unusual accident that hapned within their charge, that so nothing that was done might escape his knowledge; Pilate acquainted the Emperour Tiberius with the Resurrection of our Saviour Jesus Christ, now much talk'd of over all *Palestine*; giving him an account that he had also heard of many other miracles of his, and how that rising again after he had been dead, he was now by many believ'd to be God. And they say that Tiberius refer'd this matter to the Senate, but the relation was rejected by them; upon pretence, that they had not first approved of the matter,

Tiberius.  
\* Acts 9.  
3. &c.

*Tiberius.* matter; there being an old law among the *Romans*, that no one should be Deified but by the suffrage and decree of the Senate; but in reality, that the wholesome preaching of the Divine Doctrine might not stand in need of any human approbation or assistance. When therefore the Senate had rejected the Relation concerning our Saviour, *Tiberius* persisted in his former judgment, attempting nothing prejudicial to the Doctrine of Christ. This much

(a) *Tertullian* was by birth a *Carthaginian*; his father was a Centurion of the Proconsular-Office. He wrote many volumes in Latin, of which his Apology only was done into Greek, but by whom, it is uncertain: He flourished under *Severus* and *Antoninus Caracalla*. *Valef.*

(b) In our translation of this quotation out of *Tertullian*, we have followed the Original expression of the Author, according to *Rigaltius* his Edition of him: This Greek Translation being not fully expressive of the Author's mind, as *Philofius* thinks.

create no God, before he was approved by the Senate. *Marcus Aemilius* knows this concerning his God *Alburnus*. And this makes for our advantage, because among you Divinity is weigh'd by human approbation. If God please not man, he shall not be God. Man now must be propitious to God. *Tiberius* therefore, in whose time the Christian name made its entry into the world, communicated to the Senate the account he had received out of *Syria Palestine*, whereby the Truth of the Divinity of Christ was made apparent; which he confirm'd with his own Suffrage. But because the Senate had not approved of it, it was rejected: The Emperor persisted in his judgment, threatening the Accusers of the Christians with death. Which Opinion Divine Providence, according to his dispensation, instill'd into the mind of *Tiberius Cæsar*, that the Preaching of the Gospel then in its infancy, might without impediment spread over the whole world.

### C H A P. III.

How the Doctrine of Christ spread in a short time over the whole World.

AND thus by the co-operation of Divine Power, the comfortable Word of God, like the beams of the Sun, on a sudden enlighten'd the whole world, and presently agreeable to the Divine \* Scriptures, the sound of the heavenly Evangelists and Apostles went out into all lands, and their words went to the ends of the earth. And indeed in a short time there were throughout all Cities and Villages Churches gather'd, which like a Threshing-floor filled with corn, were throng'd with infinite multitudes. And they, who deriving their ignorance from their Ancestors and their errors of old, were enflam'd as to their Souls with the superstitious worship of Idols, as in an inveterate disease, being freed as it were from their cruel masters, and loosed from their heavy bonds by the power of Christ, and the preaching and miracles of his Disciples,

did with scorn reject the multitude of of Gods brought in by Devils, and acknowledged there was one only God the maker of all things; and him they worship'd with the Holy Rites of true Religion, by that divine and sober way of worship which our Saviour had spread among mankind. When therefore the Grace of God diffused it self into rest of the Nations; and *Cornelius* of the City (a) *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, in (a) It was the first place together with his whole household call'd Cæsarea in *Palestine* by a vision from Heaven and the ministry of *Peter*, embraced the Faith of Christ; and many others of the *Gentiles* at *Antioch* did the same, to whom the Disciples, dispers'd upon the Persecution that arose about *Stephen*, preach'd the word of God; the Church at *Antioch* now was increasing and prospering, in which many were gather'd together, both Prophets from *Jerusalem*, with whom were *Paul* and *Barnabas*, and besides, all other brethren, in number not a few: The appellation of (b) *Christians* then and there first sprang up, as from a pleasant and fertile soil: And *Agabus* also, one of the Prophets there present, foretold the Dearth that afterwards hapned; and (c) *Paul* and *Barnabas* were sent to relieve the Brethren by the Ministration.

*Reign*, *Tertullian* affirms in his Apology; the place quoted by *Eusebius* in the preceding Chapter. *Valef.*

(c) This journey of *Paul*'s to *Jerusalem* can no way fall upon the times of *Tiberius*. For *Luke* writes expressly in the *Acts*, chap. 11. v. 29, 30. that it happened about that time when *Herod Agrippa* was smitten by the Angel of the Lord: Which it is most certain, happened in *Claudius* his time. *Valef.*

### C H A P. IV.

How, after the Death of *Tiberius*, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King over the Jews, and punished *Herod* with perpetual Banishment.

BUT *Tiberius* having reigned about two and twenty years, died. *Caius* succeeding him in the Empire, presently gave (a) *Agrippa* the Kingdom of *Judea*, and made him King over the Tetrarchies both of *Philip* and *Lysanias*. About the Besides, not long after he gave him *Herod*'s Tetrarchy also, having condemned *Herod* to perpetual banishment, being together with *Herodias* his wife deservedly punished for divers enormities: (This was the *Herod* that was present at our Saviour's Passion.) *Josephus* is a witness of these things also. Moreover, in this Emperor's time *Philo* flourish'd, a man highly esteem'd of for his learning by many, not only among us, but also among foreigners. He was indeed by original extract an *Hebrew*, inferior to none of those that were illustrious in dignity at *Alexandria*. Moreover, what and how the great pains he bestow'd about Divine matters, and in the learning of his own nation, it is to all evidently manifest. Besides, how excellent was he was at *Philosophy* and *Human Learning*, it is needless to relate; for he is said to have excell'd all of his own time in the *Platonick* and *Pythagorean* *Philosophy* which he much affected. Of *Caius* the Emperor, *Caius* took from *Herod* his Tetrarchy of *Galilee*, and gave it to *Agrippa*. At length, after the death of *Caius*, *Claudius* confirm'd the Kingdom to *Agrippa* which *Caius* had given him, and gave him also *Judea* and *Samaria*, which his Grandfather *Herod* had. And so the whole Kingdom of *Herod* the great was pull'd off by *Agrippa*. See *Philo* in *Placem* & in *Legat*, ad *Caium* sub finem; and *Joseph*, Hist. B. 18. so that *Eusebius* is mistaken, in that he says, *Caius* made *Agrippa* King of *Judea*. *Valef.*

C 3

C H A P.

C. Caligula.

## CHAPTER V.

How Philo went on an Embassy to Caius upon the Jews account.

(a) There are now extant only two Books of Philo's concerning this Subject, the one entitled in *Flaccum*, the other de *Legatione ad Caium*; so that either *Egebius* forgot their number, or else they were heretofore divided into five Volumes; Neither can any one suspect the other three to be lost: For in those two, we now have, are contained all that happened to the Jews under Caius his Empire. Valef.

reasoning before Caius for the Laws and Customs of his own nation, he obtain'd nothing besides laughter and reproaches, and narrowly escaped the danger of being put to death. *Josephus* mentions all this in his eighteenth Book of *Antiquities*, writing thus much word for word: 'More-over, there hapning a sedition at Alexandria among the Jews that dwelt there, and the

(b) Philo says there were five Embassadors of the Jews sent to Rome; See his de *Legat. ad Caium sub finem*. These Embassadors were sent upon two accounts, first, the Jews complained that the Alexandrians denied their *Profeucha* by bringing the Emperor's Statues into them; and then, that the Alexandrians went about to deprive the Jews of their freedom of the City Alexandria. Valef.

jects of the Roman Empire built Temples and Altars to Caius, and at all points worship'd him as they did their Gods, the Jews only, said he, accounted it a vile thing to erect Statues to him, and to swear by his name. When *Apion* had urg'd these and many other vehement accusations against them, whereby he hoped, it was likely, to incense Caius, Philo chief of the Jewish Embassy, a man every way famous,

(c) So that the chief Magistrate among the Jews at Alexandria was called: He held his place as long as he lived; and at his death the Jews chose another into his room. See Philo in *Flaccum*. Valef.

him, commanding him to depart immediately from his presence. And the Emperor was so highly incensed, that none doubted but he would most severely punish the Jews. But Philo being much reviled went out, and, as they say, spake to the Jews that were about him to

(d) Philo's meaning here is, that Caius indeed was angry with the Jews as to appearance, and in words; but that in reality he did arm God, and set him in array against himself. For, in that Caius would have himself called god, he provoked God to take vengeance of him. *Antilegomenon* (whence the word here used is derived) is a military term, and signifies, to set an army in array against an enemy. Valef.

unto annex only so much as shall make it evidently plain to the Readers, that these miseries

straightway without any delay befel the Jews; C. Caligula, upon account of their enormous impieties committed against Christ. First of all therefore he relates, that in the Reign of Tiberius one *Sejanus* of the City of Rome, a person who then could do much with the Emperor, did use his utmost endeavour to destroy that whole nation; and that in *Judea*, *Pilate*, in whose time that horrible wickedness was most audaciously committed against our Saviour, attempting something about the Temple at Jerusalem which yet stood, contrary to the Customs and Ordinances of the Jews, rais'd vehement commotions among them.

## CHAPTER VI.

How great Miseries befel the Jews, after their audacious Wickedness committed against Christ.

HE relates further how, after the death of Tiberius, Caius assuming the Government, was every way sorely injurious towards many, but above all he most heavily annoy'd the whole Jewish nation, which in short we may understand from Philo's own (a) words, writing thus (a) Philo word for word: 'So great therefore was the extravagancy and pride of Caius's carriage towards all, but more especially towards the Jewish nation, which he bitterly hated, and appropriated to himself all their (b) *Profeucha*'s in the rest of the Cities, beginning with those at Alexandria, filling them with his own Images and Statues. For in that he suffered others to consecrate Statues to him, he seem'd in a manner to dedicate them to himself. And he changed and transform'd the Temple at Jerusalem, which hitherto had remain'd undefiled and dignified with all the privileges of a Sanctuary, and made it into a Temple dedicated to himself, causing it thence-forward to be called the Temple of CAIUS (c) JUNIOR JUPITER (d) CONSPICUOUS.' Moreover, the same Author, in his second Book which he entitl'd Of (e) *Virtues*, relates innumerable other calamities, such as are grievous beyond all expression, that befel the Jews dwelling at Alexandria, during the Government of the foresaid Caius. To whom *Josephus* agrees, who notes that those troubles with which the whole Jewish nation was molested, began even from the times of Pilate, and from those enormous facts committed against our Saviour. Let us therefore hear what he also declares in his second Book of the Jewish Wars, in these (f) words, 'Pilate being by Tiberius sent Procurator Bell. Ind. into Judea, brought into Jerusalem by night L. 2. c. 8. the veiled Images of Caesar, which are called

(b) The Jews had two sorts of places, besides their Temple, (which was for sacrifice) for religious duties; viz. their *Profeucha*, and Synagogues; the difference between them was this; the *Profeucha* was a Plot of ground encompassed with a wall or some other inclosure, and open above; the use of it was properly for Prayer; a Synagogue was a covered Edifice, where the Law and Prophecies were read and expounded, and the People instructed in divine Matters; besides, the Synagogues were within, the *Profeucha* without the Cities. They were in use before the Captivity, as may be gathered from *Isa. 24. 26. Psal. 74. 7. See Acts 16. 13. Mr. Mede.*

(c) So Caligula was called, to distinguish him from *Julius Caesar*, who was also called Caius, and was deified. Valef.

(d) *Επίφανης*, Conspicuous. *Valefius* translates it *præsens*; *præsentes dei sunt vel qui statim præsentes, vel qui cunctis videntur*. *Donat.* in *Ierem. Phorm.* That is, the Propitious or Conspicuous Gods were such, as were at hand, or such as were visible to the worshippers. Hence *Antiochus* King of Syria was called *Epiphanes* by his flatterers.

(e) *Valefius* thinks that by this Second Book of *Virtues*, must be understood Philo's Book in *Flaccum*; and his reason is, because Philo does no where else but in that Book, relate the calamities that befel the Jews of Alexandria.

(f) *Isa. 2. c. 8.* saying, 'Pilate being by Tiberius sent Procurator Bell. Ind. into Judea, brought into Jerusalem by night L. 2. c. 8. the veiled Images of Caesar, which are called

C<sub>4</sub> and

Claudius.

and having put him in bonds, would forthwith have put him to death, had he not been miraculously deliver'd out of prison by a Divine apparition, to wit, by an Angel coming to him by night; being dismiss'd for the ministration of preaching. All which hapned to Peter by the disposition of Divine Providence.

## C H A P. X.

How Agrippa, called also Herod, persecuting the Apostles, presently felt Divine Vengeance.

BUT the King's attempt to do violence to the Apostles remain'd not long unreveng'd; for a chustifing Minister of Divine Justice pursued him: He therefore, soon after his bloody plot against the Apostles, going down to *Cæsarea*, as it is related in the *Acts of the Apostles*, and being there upon the great festival-day dress'd in a white and royal garment, made an Oration to the people from his lofty throne; and when all the multitude gave a shout without acclamations at his Oration, as at the voice of God and not of Man, Sacred Writ declares that he was immediately smitten by an Angel, and was eaten up of worms and gave up the ghost. But the consent between Holy Writ and the History of *Josephus*, in the account given of this strange thing, is worthy of admiration. In which he, giving evident testimony to the truth in his nineteenth \* Book of *Antiquities* does plainly declare this wonderful thing in these words thus, 'The third year of his Reign over all *Judea* was now compleated; when he went to the City *Cæsarea*, heretofore call'd the Tower of *Sidon*. There he exhibited shows in honour of *Cæsar*, knowing that (a) Festival to have been instituted for the prosperity of him. Hereunto flock'd a great multitude of those who were honourable and excell'd in dignity, throughout that (b) whole Province. On the second day therefore of the shews, being cloth'd with Robes made all of silver admirably wrought, he entred the Theatre early in the morning. When the silver of his Robes, shining by reason of the beams of the rising-sun cast on them, made a wonderful glittering, striking those who stedfastly look'd on him with wonder and amazement, presently his Flatterers, some from one place, some from another, cry'd out with voices most pernicious to him, terming him God; and beseeching him to be propitious to them. Hitherto, said they, we have revered thee as a Man, but now we acknowledge thee to be above mortal nature. But the King neither rebuked them, nor rejected their impious flattery, presently after looking up heepty'd an (c) Angel sitting over his head; whom he forthwith understood to be the cause of mischief towards him, having (d) heretofore been the foreteller of his prosperity. A pain that pierced his very heart immediately seiz'd him. He had besides a gripping

all over his belly, which began with a vehement sharpness, and was continual and without intermission. Looking therefore upon his friends, I your God, says he, am now compelled to end my life; fatal necessity forthwith demonstrating the falshood of your boasting acclamations even now utter'd concerning me: I, who by you was stiled immortal, am now snatch'd away by death. But that destiny is to be born with which God hath decreed. We have in no wise liv'd ill and despicably, but in such splendor as was look'd upon to be most fortunate. When he had spoken these words, he was spent with the vehemency of his pain. Being therefore presently carried into the Palace, a rumour was immediately spread abroad that the King was in imminent danger of his life; straightway the whole multitude with their wives and children (e) sitting upon spread sackcloth, after their country fashion, made supplications to God for the King. Every place was fill'd with wailings and lamentations. But the King lying in an high Bed-chamber, look'd down upon them as they lay prostrate, and could not refrain weeping. At length having been for five days space continually tormented with pains of his belly, he died in the fifty fourth year of (f) his Age, and the seventh of his Reign. For first he reign'd four years under *Cæsar*, having govern'd the Tetrarchy of *Philip* three years; in the fourth he had *Herod's* Tetrarchy annex'd: the three last years of his Reign he pass'd under *Claudius Cæsar*. Thus far *Josephus*: wherein, as also in other passages, I much admire him, in that he agrees so exactly with the Holy Scripture. But if any one should think that there is some disagreement about the name of the King; both the time and the action do evidently shew that he was the same person: so that either his name was changed by some mistake of the Transcriber, or else this King had, as many others have, two names.

## C H A P. XI.

Of the Impositor Theudas, and his Associates.

BUT because Luke does moreover in the *Acts*, 4. *Acts* 5. bring in one *Gamaliel* (speaking in the consultation the *Jews* had about the Apostles, of (a) This one (a) Theudas that arose up in those days boasting Theudas himself to be some body, who was slain; and all, as *Josephus* many as obey'd him, were scatter'd: we also will adjoin the relation of *Josephus* concerning this very person. Who, in the Book before cited expressly declares thus much word for word: 'When was in *Fadus* was Procurator of *Judea*, a certain Impostor, by name Theudas, perwaded a multitude of people to take their Goods with them and to follow him to the River of *Jordan*: For he said that he was a Prophet, and that he would by his command, part the Waters of the River, the person

\* *Joseph.*  
Antiq. B.  
19. c. 7.

(a) This Festival was instituted first by *Herod* the great in honour of *Augustus*, in the 192 O. 1. mpiad, says *Josephus*, (Antiq. L. 16. c. 9.) at the City *Cæsarea*. *Agrippa* went to *Cæsarea* to celebrate it, in the 4 year of *Claudius*, at the beginning of the 2-6 Olympiad. *Vales*.

(b) He means Syria, or (which was part of it) *Phœnicia*; which was call'd the Province, to distinguish it from *Judea* where *Agrippa* then reign'd. Indeed *Luke* says expressly (*Acts* 12. 20.) that the principal Men of *Tyre* were then present, which *Tyre* was the chief City of *Phœnicia*. *Vales*.

(c) *Josephus* calls it: *de Sacerdotibus*, and *Omi*: See his words in the B. c. and chap. c. last cited.

(d) To wit, in the reign of *Tiberius*: When *Agrippa*, being in bonds, and leaning against a Tree, as he stood before the Palace of *Tiberius*, saw an Owl sitting over his Head. A German being by, one of his fellow-prisoners foretold this to portend great felicity to *Agrippa*. See the Story at large in *Joseph.* Antiq. B. 18. c. 8.

(e) This was the usual posture of the Hebrew mourners. See *Job* 2. 3. *Esaï*. 47. 5. *Lament*. 2. 10. *Jonah* 3. 63. &c. constant hereunto, the Reveries of the Medals both of *Tesepasian* and *Titus*, made for the memory and celebration of the conquest of *Judea*, were printed with a silent woman sitting on the ground, and leaning her back to a Palm-tree, with this inscription, *Judea Capta*, i. e. *Judea subdada*. Note here that the Reveries made to commit victories to memory were always written upon with some representation of proper respect to the place conquered. I know the posture of sitting is a ceremony of Roman lamentation too. But it was first us'd among the *Jews*, from whom the Romans learned it. Mr. *Gregory* of *Oxford*. Chap. 4. pag. 25. &c.

(f) This Man had two Sons, and three daughters; his sons were, *Agrippa* the younger mentioned *Acts* 25. and *Drusius* who died young. His daughters were, *Bernice*, *Mariamne* and *Drusilla*, which last married *Relix* the procurator of *Judea*, as we have it in the *Acts*: *Bernice* is also mentioned in the *Acts* coming in great pomp with her brother *Agrippa* to hear *Paul*. *Joseph.* Antiq.

*Claudius* river, and afford them an easy passage over. By such speeches he deceived many. But *Fadus* suffered them not to take the benefit of their madness, but sent out a body of horse against them, which falling on them at unawares, partly killed them, and partly took them prisoners. And having taken *Theudas* alive they beheaded him, and carried his head to Jerusalem." After this the same Writer makes mention of the Death which hapned in the Reign of *Claudius*, after this manner:—

being Governor of Syria. That *Theudas* in the *Acts* therefore must needs be some other Person, whom the Jews had recorded in their Writings, and from thence *Gamaliel* there recites the story, though we have no other record of it. This is the opinion of *Scaliger*, in *L. 6. de Emendat. Temp. and of Casaubon* in *Exercit. 2. c. 18.* and of *Dr. Hammond* in his notes on *Acts 5. 36.* *Valesius*, in his annotations, differs from all these learned Men, and says that by those words of *St. Luke* [after this man rose up *Judas* of Galilee] is meant, that *Judas* his insurrection was before that of *Theudas*; which exposition he confirms, by saying, that when ever we begin to reckon from the last, as nearest to us, (to he supposes *St. Luke* there does) we must necessarily place the last person first in such a reckoning, and the first last: So that notwithstanding *St. Luke* says [after this man rose up *Judas* of Galilee] yet *Judas* his insurrection was long before *Theudas*'s. This he illustrates by two examples of such an expression, one taken out of *Tertullian* in *Apolog. 2.* the other out of *Clement* *Alexandr. Lib. 7. Strom.* But then being not able to reconcile the time of *Theudas* his insurrection with the time *Josephus* places it in, to wit, in the time of *Fadus* his Procuratorship, he says *Josephus* was mistaken, placing it later than he should have done. For he will by no means allow two *Theudas*'s. Another way he has to make up this difference, that is, he thinks *St. Luke* in his expression used a Prolepsis, anticipating the insurrection of *Theudas* ten years, and makes *Gamaliel* speak that which was agreeable to his present purpose: And thus *Eusebius*, he thinks, understood *St. Luke*'s words. The Reader has here the opinion of both sides, and is left to his liberty to believe which he pleases.

## C H A P. XII.

Of Helena Queen of the Osdröenians.

(a) *Antiq. B. 20. c. 3.* *AT* that time there hapned to be a great Dearth throughout all *Judea*. When Queen *Helena*, buying Bread-corn in Egypt at a very dear price, distributed it to them that were in want. All which we find agreeable to what is related in the *Acts* of the *Apostles*; where we have this moreover, That the Disciples which dwelt at Antioch, every man according to his ability, determined to send relief unto the brethren which dwelt in *Judea*; which also they did, and sent it to the Elders by the hands of *Barnabas* and *Paul*. But of this *Helena*, which *Josephus* has mentioned, there is an illustrious Sepulchral-monument yet to be seen, standing in the Suburbs of Jerusalem, which is now called *Elia*; and she is said to have been Queen of the *Adiabeni*.

(b) There were three Pyramids standing, three furlongs from Jerusalem, where the bones of this *Helena* were buried, says *Joseph. Antiq. B. 20. c. 2.* he mentions them again in his 6 B. of the Jews Wars. *Jerom* mentions them in his Oration de Obi. B. *Paulus*, and says they were standing in his time. *Pausanias* (in *Arcadicis*) reckoning up the lately Sepulchres he had seen, admires two above all the rest, to wit, that of *Mausolus* in *Caria*, and this of *Helena* in *Judea*. This *Helena* had a Palace in Jerusalem, says *Josephus*, in the 6 B. of the Jews Wars. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XIII.

Of Simon Magus.

BUT the Faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ being now every where diffused among all men; that enemy of man's salvation, plotting to possess himself of the Royal City,

brings thither the fore-mentioned *Simon*. And, joining his enchantments to that man's craftiness, he made many that dwell at Rome his own by inducing them into error. This *Justin* evidences; a man very famous amongst the Professors of our Religion soon after the Apostles time; whose worth we will give account of in due place. Let us read what he has writ in

his (a) second Apology to *Antoninus* for our Doctrine, where he says thus: 'And after the ascension of our Lord into heaven, the Devils sent forth certain men who filled themselves with Gods: whom you were so far from persecuting, that you worship'd them. Amongst them there was one *Simon a Samaritan*, of the Village named *Gitton*, who in the Reign of *Claudius*, *Cesar*, having performed many magical wonders by the assistance and art of Devils within your City Rome, the Metropolis of the Empire, was accounted a God by you, to whom you dedicated an image, as to a God, in an Island of the River *Tiber*, between the two Bridges, with this Latin Inscription, (b) SIMONI DEO SANCTO, that is, to *Simon the Holy God*. Him almost all the Samaritans, and some of other nations, confess to be the great God, and worship him; as also one (c) *Helena*, at that time a constant companion of his, who heretofore was a Prostitute in the Stews of Tyre, a City of Phenicia; and her they term the prime Notion (or first Conception) from him. Thus far he: with whom agrees *Irenaeus* in his first Book against Heresies, wherein he sets forth the Life of this man, his impious and most impure Doctrine, which it would be superfluous here to relate; since any one that has a desire may fully understand from the foresaid Books of *Irenaeus*, wherein these things are accurately deliver'd, the original, the life, the grounds and reasons of the false opinions, and the endeavours and purposes not only of this *Simon*, but also of all other Arch-Heretics. We have heard that this *Simon* was indeed the chief Captain and first Author of all Heresie. From which time even to our age, those who are followers of his Heresie, altho' they pretend to have embraced throughout their whole lives, the Christian Religion renowned amongst all men for its modesty and sanctity; yet nevertheless they relapse to the superstitious worship of Devils, which they seem'd to have abandon'd, prostituting themselves before the Images and Pictures of *Simon* and his forementioned *Helena*, whom they worship with sweet perfumes, sacrifices and oblations. And those things which are transacted in secret amongst them, which, say they, do forthwith strike terror into the minds of those that at first hear them, and which (to use the terms of their own written Oracle) do make them tremble and shake by reason of astonishment, are in truth full of terror, amazement of mind, and outrageous

(a) This place of *Justin* is now to be found not in his first but in his second Apology. *Eusebius* in citing *Justin*'s Apologies follows not the order of our common Editions. For he always calls that the first which our Editions term the second; and that the second which they call the first: Of which more hereafter. *Vales.*

(b) The Learned have long since observed, that *Justin*, by reason of his unskillfulness in the Latin tongue, was here mistaken; thinking that the Image dedicated to *Simon Magus* was consecrated to *Simon Magus*. 'Tis certain, that image which *Justin* had seen in the Island of *Tiber*, was lately dug up, with this inscription upon it, *Simoni Sango Deo Fidio*. *Sanus* was a God among the *Sabini* that had the charge of bargains and contracts, whence he had the names of *Sangus* and *Fidius*. By him the Romans were wont to swear. Some Samaritans, no doubt, deceived *Justin*, making him believe this Image was dedicated to their *Simon Magus*. *Vales.*

(c) *G. Rufinus* calls her *Selene*. *Vales.*



*Claudius* ragious madnes: so that it is impossible not only to commit them to writing, but even for men of modesty to utter them through their lips, by reason of their excessive obscenity and uncleanness not to be named. For there is not, nor can there be invented any thing so impure, which their most lewd Sect does not far surpass; as deluding silly women laden with all manner of iniquity.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Of Peter the Apostle's Preaching at Rome.

**T**HE Devil, that hater of all goodness and most treacherous enemy of man's salvation, at this time produced this *Simon* the author and contriver of so much mischief, that he might be the great Antagonist of the Divine Apostles of our Saviour. But the Divine and Celestial Grace, which is always assistant to Ministers, by their appearance and presence soon quenched the flame, enkindled by the Devil, humbling and depressing by them all haughtiness and swelling pride that exalted it self against the knowledge of God. Wherefore, neither the devices of *Simon*, nor of any other which then were hatch'd, became any ways prevalent during the age of the Apostles. For the splendour of the truth vanquished and prevailed against all machinations; and the power of the Divine Word, which had newly enlighten'd mens minds from heaven, did both flourish upon earth, and also was conversant and did effectually co-operate with the Apostles. Straightway therefore the foresaid Impostor, having the eyes of his mind blinded by a divine and wonderful splendour and light, as soon as he was detected by the Apostle *Peter* in *Judea*, in what he had wickedly committed, took a great journey over-sea, and fled from the Eastern to the Western parts; concluding that he could no other way live freely, and according to his own mind. Arriving at *Rome*, by the help and assistance of a Devil (a) there lying in wait, he in a short time so far perfected his attempt, that the inhabitants of that City set up in large to him, and worship'd him as God. But all succeeded not long according to his mind. For soon after, in the Reign of *Claudius*, the benign and most endearing Providence of God brought *Peter*, that valiant and great Apostle, for courage chief of all the rest, to *Rome*, against this mighty destroyer of mankind, who, as a stout Leader of God, armed with celestial weapons, brought that precious merchandise of ineffable light from the East to those that dwell towards the West: declaring to them that Light and Doctrine comfortable to the soul, to wit, the publication of the kingdom of Heaven.

#### CHAP. XV.

Of the Gospel according to Mark.

**W**HEN therefore he had publish'd to them the Divine Word, immediately the power of *Simon* was extinct, and, together with the man (a) himself destroy'd. But so great a lustre of Piety enlighten'd the minds of them (a) From these words of *Eusebius* it is concluded that the death of *Simon Magus* happened at *Rome* in the time of *Claudius*: For *Eusebius* writeth that *Peter* came to *Rome* in *Claudius* his reign, and that presently after, *Simon's* magical arts were by his coming destroyed, together with the Author. Though there be others that say *Simon* was destroyed in *Nero's* time. Valef.

that were the hearers of *Peter*, that they thought it not sufficient barely to hear him once, nor were contented to have receiv'd the publication of the Doctrine of the Celestial Word by word of mouth and unwritten. Therefore they earnestly entreated *Mark*, *Peter's* follower, whose Gospel is at this day extant, that he would leave with them some written record of that Doctrine they had heard. Neither did they desist till they had prevailed with the man; and thus they gave (b) This the occasion of writing that Gospel, which is called place of the Gospel according to *Mark*. When the Apostle *Peter* understood by the Revelation of the Holy Spirit what was done, he was much delighted in his 6. B. that writing by his authority, that so thenceforward it should be read in the Churches. *Eusebius* in his Sixth Book of Institutions relates this passage. To whom the Bishop of *Hierapolis*, by name *Papian*, may be added as a witness. Furthermore, *Peter* mentions *Mark*, in his former Epistle, which, as they say, was written at *Rome*; *Peter* himself does intimate thus much (calling *Rome* by (c) a figure *Babylon*) in these words; \* The Church that is at *Babylon* elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth *Marcellus* my son. *Valef.* \* 1 Pet. 5. 13.

#### CHAP. XVI.

That *Mark* first preached the knowledge of Christ to the Egyptians.

**B**UT this *Mark* (a) going into *Egypt* is reported to have been the first publisher *him* in this there of the Gospel he had written, and to have settled Churches in the very City of *Alexandria*. And furthermore, that so great a multitude both of men and women, who there embraced the Faith of Christ, profess'd from the very beginning so severe and so philosophical a course of life, that *Philo* vouchsafed in his writings to relate their converse, their assemblies, their eating and drinking together, and their whole manner of living.

*Synellus* say he went in the third year of *C. Caligula*: it's the opinion of *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Alexandria*, that *Mark* went thither in the ninth year of *Claudius*. Valef.

#### CHAP. XVII.

What *Philo* relates of the Ascetics in *Egypt*.

**I**T is reported that this *Philo* in the times of *Claudius* came to be familiarly acquainted with *Peter* at *Rome*, who then preach'd the word of God there: neither is this unlikely. For that work of his, of which we speak, being by him elaborated a long time after, does manifestly contain all the Ecclesiastical Rules which are to this present observed amongst us. And seeing he describes evidently the lives of the (a) *Ascetics* amongst us, he does make it sufficiently perspicuous that he did not see, but also very much approve of and admire the Apostolical men of his time, who being, as it is probable, originally Jews, upon that account did then observe in a great measure the Judaical Rites and Customs. First of all therefore, in that Book his they who he intitled, *Of Contemplative Life*, or, *Suppliants*, having confessed that he would infer a retired, and more severe and strict sort of life: So they were called from that Philosophical term [*Asketes*] which signifies the exercise of virtue and abstinence: And any one that led such a life was called *asketes*, i.e. *Ascetic*. The Reader may have farther satisfaction in this matter in Bishop *Montague's* *Asks* & *Mons*, Chap. 7. where he will find this business discussed at large.

• nothing

*Claudius* says that the men were called (b) *Therapeutæ*, and the women that were conversant among them *Therapeutriæ*: And he adjoins the reason of that appellation, either because like Physicians they healed the minds of those that resorted to them, curing them of their vicious affections, or because they worship'd the Deity with a pure and sincere service and adoration. Further, whether *Philo* himself gave them this name, devising an appellation agreeable to the manners and dispositions of the men; or whether they were really so called from the beginning, the name of *Christians* having not yet been every where spread and diffused, it is not necessary positively to affirm or contend about it. But he attests that in the first place they part with their goods; saying, "that as soon as they be take themselves to this course of Philo sophizing they put over their wealth and possessions to their Relations. Then casting away all care of worldly matters, they leave the Cities, and make their abode in gardens and solitary places; well knowing, the conversing with men of a different and disagreeing persuasion to be unprofitable and hurtful." Which thing the *Christians* of that time seem to me to have instituted out of a generous and most fervent ardour of faith, endeavouring to emulate the Prophetical severe course of life. There-fore in the \* *Acts of the Apostles* (which contain 34:35, 36) nothing but the perfect truth) it is shewed, that all the Disciples of the Apostles selling their possessions and goods, divided the price among the brethren according as every one had need. that so there might not be any indigent person among them. For, as the Word says, *As many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prizes of the things that were sold and laid them down at the Apostles feet: and distribution was made unto every man according as he had need.* After *Philo* has attested the very same things with these, of the *Therapeutæ*, he adds thus much farther concerning them, word for word sayings,

"This (c) sort of men indeed is diffused far and wide over the whole world. For it was requisite that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* should be partakers of so excellent a benefit. *Egypt* especially is full of them, throughout all its divisions, but most of all about *Alexandria*: but from all places the principal of them retir'd themselves into a most commodious place above the Lake *Maria*, situate upon a little rising hill, excellently well feared both for wholeness of air and safe convenience of abiding, as into the Country of the *Therapeutæ*." Then, after he had described their houses, after what manner they were built, he speaks thus of the Churches they have in divers places. "In every house there is a Chapel they called a *Semaueum*, and *Monasterium*, in which alone by themselves they perform the mysteries of a holy life.

(c) *Philo's* Description of these *Therapeutæ* in these following words can no way agree with the *Christian* Professors in those times. For they were then few in number, neither did they look upon any Country as their own, besides the Heavenly Jerusalem. *Valef.*

"They bring in thither neither meat nor drink, nor any corporal provisions or necessities; but only the Law, and the Divine Oracles of the Prophets, and Hymns and such like, whereby knowledge and piety are increased and perfected." And a little after he says; "All the interval of time from Sun-rising to the Evening they spend in meditations of Philosophy: For reading the holy Scriptures, they philosophize after their Country way, and expound allegorically. For they suppose that the words are only Notes and Marks of some things of a mystical nature, which are to be explained (d) figuratively. They have writings of some ancient persons, who have been heretofore famous Leaders of their Sect, and have left them many monuments of that learning which consists in dark and secret expressions, which they using as original platforms, do imitate thereby that course of study." These certainly seem to be words of such a man as had heard some of our *Religion* expounding the Holy Scriptures. And it is very likely that the writings of those ancient persons, which he says they had, were the Gospels and Writings of the Apostles, and certain Expositions of the ancient Prophets, of which sort many are contained both in other Epistles of *Paul*, and also in that written to the *Hebrews*, Afterwards *Philo* thus writeth concerning the new Psalms composed by them. "They do not only spend their time in contemplation, but they (f) compose Songs and Hymns to the praise of God of all sorts of metre and musical verse, which they write in grave and seemly Rhimes." He relates many other things of them in that Book I mention'd: but I judg'd these fittest to be selected and pick'd out, in which certain marks of Church discipline are propoed. But if any one shall think what *Philo* here says to be in no wise proper to the Evangelical Polity, but may be adapted to others besides those I have mention'd, he will certainly be convinc'd by *Philo's* following words; in which, if he shall duly weigh the matter, he will receive a most undoubted testimony of this thing. Now he writes thus: "Having first laid temperance as certain foundation, they build thereupon the other virtues: for none of them takes either meat or drink before sun-set; for they hold it requisite to spend the day in the study of Philosophy, and the night in making necessary provision for the body. Therefore they allow the whole day to study, but allow a very small portion of the night for bodily provision. Some of them forget to eat for three days together, so great

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(f) The composition of *Psalms* and *Hymns* was not in use so early in the Church, as these words of *Philo* must suppose, if we understand them to be spoken of the *Christians*, that came in after the times of *Antoninus*, when learned men began to embrace the *Christian* Faith. So that neither can these words of *Philo* be any ways understood of *Christians*. The junior *Pliny* indeed (in his Epistle to *Trajan*, Lib. 10. Epist. 97.) says it was a custom of the *Christians* in their *Cenae*, *carmen Christo tanquam Deo dicere seculum invicem*; i. e. to say one with another by turns a Verse or Hymn to Christ as unto God. But there is a difference between saying and composing a Song or Hymn; and besides, this was long after *Philo's* time. See Dr. Hammond's Preface to his Exposition on the *Psalms*; and Mr. Gregory's *Posthumous Works*, Discourse ad.

"They bring in thither neither meat nor drink, nor any corporal provisions or necessities; but only the Law, and the Divine Oracles of the Prophets, and Hymns and such like, whereby knowledge and piety are increased and perfected." And a little after he says; "All the interval of time from Sun-rising to the Evening they spend in meditations of Philosophy: For reading the holy Scriptures, they philosophize after their Country way, and expound allegorically. For they suppose that the words are only Notes and Marks of some things of a mystical nature, which are to be explained (d) figuratively. They have writings of some ancient persons, who have been heretofore famous Leaders of their Sect, and have left them many monuments of that learning which consists in dark and secret expressions, which they using as original platforms, do imitate thereby that course of study." These certainly seem to be words of such a man as had heard some of our *Religion* expounding the Holy Scriptures. And it is very likely that the writings of those ancient persons, which he says they had, were the Gospels and Writings of the Apostles, and certain Expositions of the ancient Prophets, of which sort many are contained both in other Epistles of *Paul*, and also in that written to the *Hebrews*, Afterwards *Philo* thus writeth concerning the new Psalms composed by them. "They do not only spend their time in contemplation, but they (f) compose Songs and Hymns to the praise of God of all sorts of metre and musical verse, which they write in grave and seemly Rhimes." He relates many other things of them in that Book I mention'd: but I judg'd these fittest to be selected and pick'd out, in which certain marks of Church discipline are propoed. But if any one shall think what *Philo* here says to be in no wise proper to the Evangelical Polity, but may be adapted to others besides those I have mention'd, he will certainly be convinc'd by *Philo's* following words; in which, if he shall duly weigh the matter, he will receive a most undoubted testimony of this thing. Now he writes thus: "Having first laid temperance as certain foundation, they build thereupon the other virtues: for none of them takes either meat or drink before sun-set; for they hold it requisite to spend the day in the study of Philosophy, and the night in making necessary provision for the body. Therefore they allow the whole day to study, but allow a very small portion of the night for bodily provision. Some of them forget to eat for three days together, so great

Claudian.

great is their desire of knowledge that possesseth them. But some others of them are well pleased with, and feed so richly and deliciously upon the banquet of wisdom, which sets before them wholesome precepts as a most sumptuous feast, that they are wont scarce to taste any necessary food in twice that space, to wit, in six days time." We suppose these words of Philo to be evidently and without all doubt spoken concerning those of our Religion. But if after all this any one shall still persist in a peremptory denial of these things, he will at length recede from his obstinate difficulty of belief, being persuaded to submit to such manifest demonstrations as are no where to be found but in the Christian Religion, composed according to the rule of the Gospel. Philo says further therefore, that among these men, of whom we speak, there are certain women conversant, many of which continue Virgins being old; not out of necessity, like some of those amongst the Grecian Priests, but voluntarily preserving their chastity out of an ardent affection to and desire of wisdom; in the embraces and familiarity whereof they earnestly affect to spend their lives; having despised all bodily pleasures, and desiring earnestly not a mortal issue but an immortal; which that mind only that loves and is beloved of God can of itself bring forth." After many other expressions, he speaks yet more plainly thus: "Their Explications of Holy Writ are figurative by way of Allegories: for these men suppose the whole Law to be like a living creature; the bare words whereof are, as it were the body, and the invisible sense, that lies hid under the words, resembles the soul. Which sense this Sect have and do make it their Religion earnestly to search into and contemplate, beholding in the words, as in a glass, the admirable beauty of the meaning." There is no necessity of adding further here an account of their assemblies, of the distinct apartments of their men and women, and of their several studies and holy exercises, now in use amongst us, more especially about the feast of our Lord's Passion, when we are wont to practise them in fastings, watchings, and attentive reading of holy Scriptures. All which the man we have so often mention'd, does relate in his writings accurately, after the same manner in which we only at

(a) Eusebius means that whole week which precedes the feast of Easter, which the Greek Fathers call *οὐρανὴν ἑβδομάδα*, the great week, and we the Passion week. But in Philo's Book there is no mention of this feast of Easter. He speaks indeed *μεγάλην ἑβδομάδα*, of a great solemnity; but by his following words 'tis evident he means the Jewish-feast of weeks, or, our Pentecost. Valef.

ter parts only of the verses. And how through-out those days lying in straw upon the ground, they wholly abstain from wine (as he has said in these express words) and eat nothing that has blood in it: water is their only drink, and their food is bread with salt and hyssop. Farther he describes the order and degrees of their Govern-

ments, to wit, (b) those who perform the Ecclesiastical Offices, then the Ministrations of the Deacons, and lastly the Episcopal prefi-

ciency over all. He that desires to know these things more accurately, may be therein inform'd from the fore-mentioned History of Philo. It is therefore apparently evident to every one, that Philo writing thus, did mean thereby those first Preachers of the Evangelical Doctrine, and the Discipline, at the beginning delivered by the Apostles.

## C H A P. XVIII.

What Writings of Philo's have come to our hands.

Moreover this Philo being a man of a fluent utterance, and abundant in sentences, also lofty and high in contemplations upon the holy Scriptures, compiled a diverse and variable exposition of the sacred Volumes of holy Writ: partly explaining in a fit and agreeable series and order, the subject-matter of the things contain'd in Genesis, which he entitl'd *The Allegories of the Holy Laws*: and partly making particular and distinct explications of those Chapters in Scripture which contain any thing in them that is dubious, with objections thereupon and solutions thereof; which also he fitly entitl'd *Questions and Solutions upon Genesis and Exodus*. There are besides elaborate tracts of his peculiarly written concerning certain Problems; such as are, two Books *Of Husbandry*, and as (a) This many of *Drunkeness*, and some others, having Book of different and fit Titles: Such is that, (a) *Of the things which a sober mind prayeth for, and which it detesteth*; and that, *Of the confusion of Languages*; *Valef.* and that, *Of (b) flight and invention*; and that, *Of Assemblies upon account of obtaining Learning*: and concerning the subject, *Who is the Heir of Divine things*, or, *Of Division into parts equal, and their contraries*: and also that, *Of the three Virtues which with others Moses wrote of*. Besides, that, *Of them whose names are changed, and for what reason they are changed*: In which Book he says, he wrote *Of Testaments the first and the second*. There is also another Book of his, *Of removals in journey, or shifting of places, and of the life of a wise man perfected according to righteousness*, or, *Of unwritten Laws*, and also, *Of Giants*, and that *God is immutable*; also,

(c) *That Dreams are sent from God*, according to the opinion of Moses's five Books. And thus many are the Books he wrote on Genesis which have come to our hands. We have also known five Books of his, of *Questions and Solutions upon Exodus*; and also that, of the *Tabernacle*, and that of the *Decalogue*, and those four Books, of those Laws which in specie

have reference to the chief heads of the Decalogue; and that, of those beasts fit for sacrifice, and, what be the kinds of sacrifices; and that, of the rewards and punishments propounded in the Law as well to the Good as to the Evil; and, of curses. Besides all these, there are extant of his particular

(b) In *Suidas* this Book is called, *ὑπερβασις καὶ ὑποβασις* which inscription *Suidas* took from *Sophronius* the interpreter of *Jerom*. But our excellent M. SS. *Mar. Aed. Fab. and Sir Henry Savill's* have it thus, *ὑπερβασις καὶ ἀποβασις*. Wherefore I agree with *Nicephorus*, who rightly distinguish'd the two Books of Philo: the one of which was entitl'd, *ὑπερβασις καὶ ἀποβασις*, of flight and choice; the other, *ὑπερβασις καὶ ὑποβασις*; that is, Of nature and invention. Whence it appears that that Book of *Eusebius*, which *Nicephorus* made use of, was in this place more correct than our copies. Valef.

(c) 'Tis manifest that Philo wrote three Books on this Subject, *That Dreams are sent from God*. The first of which is lost; the second is extant in the Paris Edition of Philo, pag. 455, in the beginning whereof he makes mention of a former Book which he had written on that subject. The third is also extant in the same Edition, pag. 1103, but misplaced. Whether he wrote any more than these three, is uncertain. *Suidas* mentions five Books of Philo's *De Somniis*. Valef.

(b) He means the Presbyters; concerning whom, see Philo, in his said Book, *De vita contemplat.* p. 399. Edit. Par. Valef.

Books,

*Claudius*. Books, as that, *Of (d) Providence, and a Discourse* compiled by him; (*e*) *Of the Jews, and of the man leading a civil life*: also, *Alexander*, or, *Mar. and That Brutes are endowed with Reason*. Besides, of this, *That every wicked man is a Slave*, to which follows in order this Book, *That every man studious of Virtue is free*. After these he compiled that Book *Of Contemplative life*, or, *Of Suppliants*, out of which we have cited those things concerning the lives of the Apostolical men. Also, the interpretations of the (*f*) *Hebrew* names in the Law and in the Prophets, are said to have been done by his diligence. This *Philo* coming to Rome in the time of *Caius*, wrote a Book of *Caius's* hatred of God, which, by way of scoff and irony, he entitled, *Of Virtues*; which Book, it's said, he rehearsed before the whole Roman Senate in the time of *Claudius*; and the piece was so taking, that his admirable Works were thought worthy to be dedicated to the Public Libraries. At the same time, when *Paul* travel'd from Jerusalem round about to *Illyria*, (*g*) *Claudius* expelled the Jews from Rome. (*h*) At which time *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with other Jews, departing from Rome, arrived in Asia, where they conversed with *Paul* the Apostle, then confirming the foundations of those Churches there newly laid by him. Even the Holy Book of the *Apostles* teaches us these things. There is an eminent fragment of it in *Eusebius De preparat. Libr. 8. cap. Ultim.* and in *Libr. 7. cap. 21. Valef.*

(*e*) I doubt not but it should be written *ὁπὸς Ἰουδαίων*, For the Jews, for so this Book is quoted by *Eusebius* in his 8 B. *De Preparat. Evangelic.* chap. 10. where there is a most elegant place produced in *ὁπὸς Ἰουδαίων Συναγωγὰς*, i. e. out of the Apology of *Philo* for the Jews. *Rufinus* confirms this our emendation; who turns this place thus, de *Judeis Apologeticus Liber. Valef.*

(*f*) *Serame* makes mention of this Book of *Philo's*, in his interpretation of the Hebrew names. Moreover, *Philo* having, only interpreted those names that occur in the Law and the Prophets, *Origen* added afterwards an interpretation of the words and names of the New Testament; supplying that which seemed to be wanting in *Philo's* Book, as *Serame* writes in that Book of his now mentioned. *Valef.*

(*g*) *Eusebius* took this out of the *Acts of the Apostl.* chap. 18. v. 2. And *Origen* writes, as he had it out of *Josephus*, that this was done in the ninth year of *Claudius*. But that place of *Josephus* which *Origen* quotes is not now extant. Therefore *Origen* seems to me to have forgotten himself. And truly, it is not very likely, that *Claudius* the Emperor, who had so great a kindness for the Jews, as appears by his many Edicts extant in *Josephus*, should drive the Jews in particular out of the City. I should rather think, whereas there was a great famine at Rome (which in *Eusebius's* *Chronicon* is said to have happened in the tenth year of *Claudius*) that *Claudius* expelled all Foreigners out of the City, amongst whom were the Jews also. For so *Augustus* did before; and 'twas frequently practised by the following Emperors, as oft as the City of Rome was in any scarcity of Provision: And so I judge that place of *Luke* in the *Acts* is to be understood. But if any one, relying on the Authority of *Suetonius* (whose Words are these; *Tulius impulso CHRISTO OFFENDIT tumultumque Romæ expulsi*; in the Life of *Claudius*. See Dr. *Eussemus's* *Annot. on Acts 26. v. 31.*) does reject this our Opinion, I will not much withstand him. All the Chronologers downwards follow *Origen*; as does also *Barnabas* in his *Annals*. Whom I much wonder at, in that when he had placed this Edit of *Claudius* on the ninth year of his Reign, he should also cast the Jerusalem Council upon the same year. Which is manifestly repugnant to the History of the *Acts of the Apostles*. For, after the Jerusalem Council, which is related *Acts 15*, *Paul* going back to Antioch, delivered the Epistle of the Apostles to the brethren, and is said to have tarried there some time. After this, being parted from *Barnabas*, he went into Syria and Cilicia, Preaching the Word of God. Then he travelled into Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia, where he was warned by the Holy Spirit in a dream to fall into Macedonia, and first Preach'd the Faith of Christ at Philippi; after that, at Thessalonica and Berea. Sailing thence to Athens, he stayed there a good while expecting *Timotheus* and *Sylas*; and Preach'd the Word of God to the Athenians. Then going to Corinth he found *Aquila* and *Priscilla* there, who were lately come from Italy thither, upon account of the Edit of *Claudius*, commanding all Jews to depart from Rome, as it is in the 18 chap. *Acts*. From all this it's apparent, that there was a good distance of time between the Council held at Jerusalem, and the Edit of *Claudius*; in which space all this we have related was dispatch'd by *Paul* the Apostle. In *Chronico Alexandrino*, the Council at Jerusalem is placed on the sixth year of *Claudius*; he had then have said the seventh. For so all things agree exactly. For *Paul* said at Antioch the remaining months of that year wherein the Council was; then

the following year he travelled through Syria, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Galatia. At length in the ninth year of *Claudius* he came into Greece. *Valef.*

(*b*) *Ὅτε ἀκούας*, that is, at which time *Aquila*, &c. for it may be read in two words, thus *ὅτε*, as I found it written in the King's, and the *Esk. M. SS. Valef.*

C H A P. XIX.

*Claudius.*

What a Calamity befel the Jews at Jerusalem on the very Day of the Passover.

**B**UT *Claudius* yet ruling the Empire, there hapned to be so great a tumult and disturbance at Jerusalem on the Feast of the Passover, that there were (*a*) thirty thousand Jews slain, being those only who by force were press'd together about the Gates of the Temple and trodden under-foot by one another. So that that *Festiva* was turn'd into mourning over the whole Nation, and lamentation throughout every Family. Thus much also *Josephus* relates almost word for word. But *Claudius* made *Agrippa*, the son of *Agrippa*, (*b*) King of the Jews; having sent (*c*) *Felix* Procurator of the whole Country of Samaria and Galilee, and also of the Region beyond Jordan. And when he had reigned but in his thirteen years and eight months, he died, leaving *Nero* his Successor in the Empire.

Work he compiled after his History, he accounts the number of the slain to be twenty thousand. Which number I would rather agree too, because these Books, as I said, were written last by him. *Valef.*

(*b*) This *Agrippa* the younger, to speak properly, was never King of the Jews. For after the death of *Agrippa* his father, who dy'd the fourth year of *Claudius*, *Claudius* took him being very young and kept him with him, neither did he permit him to succeed in his father's Kingdom. Afterwards *Herod* the King of *Chalcis* being dead, *Claudius* gave *Agrippa* his Uncle's Kingdom; which when he had held 4 years, *Claudius* in the twelfth year of his Reign gave him *Thracianit*, which was the Tetrachy of *Philip*, and also the Kingdom of *Lycania*; having first taken *Chalcis* from him: He transferred to him also the authority over the Temple, and the power of electing the High-priests, which his Uncle *Herod* had. A little after, *Nero* added to his Kingdom part of *Galilee*, as *Josephus* writes in his twentieth B. of *Antiq.* Which being thus, it's apparent *Eusebius* was mistaken, who wrote both here and in his *Chronicon*, that *Agrippa* the younger succeeded in his father's Kingdom presently after the death of his father, and was made King of the Jews by *Claudius*. Altho' *Eusebius* says not here expressly that he was by *Claudius* made King presently after his father's death. Indeed, out of *Josephus* it may be evidently shewn that the younger *Agrippa* was not made King immediately after his father's death. For in his second Book of the Jewish Wars, chap. 13. he makes the twelfth year of *Nero*, wherein the Jewish War began, to be the same with the seventeenth of King *Agrippa*. Therefore the younger *Agrippa* began to reign the eighth year of *Claudius*. Moreover, I will not deny that he was King of the Jews, seeing he was King of *Galilee*, and is by *Justus* reckoned among the Kings of the Jews. But I deny that ever he was King of Judea. For after the death of the Senior *Agrippa*, which happened in the fourth year of *Claudius*, Judea was brought into the form of a Province, and every year the Procurators of *Cesar* were sent thither, as *Josephus* relates. *Valef.*

(*c*) In the *Chronicon* of *Eusebius*, *Felix* is said to have been sent Procurator into Judea by *Claudius*, in the eleventh year of his Reign. But in *Stadiger's* Edition of that Work, it is more rightly placed on the tenth year of *Claudius*. Yet it seems to be truer, that *Felix* was sent into Judea in the ninth of *Claudius*. For *Tacitus*, in his twelfth Book, says, That *Felix* was lately set over the Jews, (*Sulla* and *Otho* being Consuls, which was the tenth year of *Claudius*;) And in *Acts* 24. *Paul*, pleading his cause before this same *Felix*, which was done on the thirteenth year of *Claudius*, speaks thus to him: For as much as I know that thou hast been for many years a Judge unto this Nation. Moreover *Rufinus* is mistaken, in that he thinks there are *Josephus's* Words, when as it appears that they indeed are *Eusebius's*. *Valef.*

C H A P. XX.

What was done at Jerusalem in the Reign of Nero.

**N**OW in Nero's time, *Felix* being Procurator of Judea, *Josephus* relateth in the twentieth Book of his *Antiquities*, that there was

*Nero.*

Nero.

was again a *Sedition of the Priests* one against the other, in these words: 'There arose also a *Sedition of the Chief Priests*, against the Priests and the Chief of the People of *Jerusalem*. And each of them forming for themselves a company of most audacious fellows, and such as endeavoured to make innovations, behaved themselves as Captains; and encountering they railed against each other, and threw stones at one another. There was no body to rebuke them; but, as in a City destitute of a Governor, these things were licentiously done. And so great impudence and presumptuous boldness possessed the Chief Priests, that they dared to fend their servants to the Threshing-floor, and take the Tythes due to the Priests. Whence it came to pass that the poorest of the Priests were seen to perish for want of sustenance. In such sort did the violence of the Seditious prevail over all justice and equity.' And again the same Writer relates, that at the same time there arose a sort of *Thieves* in *Jerusalem*, who in the day-time, as he says, and in the very midst of the City, kill'd those they met with; but especially on the *Festivals*, being mix'd among the crowd, and hiding little daggers under their garments, they stab'd the most eminent (a) personages; and when they kill, these murderers would dissemble themselves to be of the number of those that grieved. Whereby they were undiscovered, because of the good opinion all men had of them. And first, he says, *Jonathan* the High-Priest was killed by them, and after him many were slain daily; and, he says, the fear was more grievous than the calamity, in that every one, as in war, hourly expected death.

(a) The same is in Josephus, *Antiquities* renders it, enemies; which I like not. For Josephus by that term means the Priests; the most eminent Personages. Vale.

## C H A P. XXI.

Of that Egyptian who is mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles.

AFTER these things Josephus adds, having interposed some other words: 'But the Egyptian False Prophet annoy'd the Jews with a greater mischief than these. For he, coming into the Country, being a Magician, and having gotten himself the repute of a Prophet, gather'd together about thirty thousand men such as he had seduced; and leading them out of the Wilderness to the Mount called the *Mount of Olives*, prepared by force from thence to enter *Jerusalem*; and having vanquish'd the Roman Guards, to seize the Principality over the people, resolving to make them his Guard, who together with him by violence entered the City. But Felix prevented his attempt, having met him with the Roman Soldiers; and all the people joy'n'd their assistance in repelling his injurious violence. So that, the assault being made, the Egyptian fled with a few, and most of his party were slain and taken prisoners.' These matters Josephus relates in the second Book of his History; and it's worthy our (a) observing, together with what is here related of this Egyptian, those things which are declared of him in the Acts of the Apostles: There, in the time of Felix it is said by the Chief Captain at *Jerusalem* unto Paul, when the multitude of the Jews raised a tumult against him; \* *Art*

(a) Eusebius, *Historia*, signifies properly to attend to, or observe. In this sense Eusebius uses the word chap. 18. of this Book, and in B. 3. chap. 24. This word occurs in *Athenaeus*, *Polybins*, and others. Vale.

\* Acts 21. 29. See Josephus *Antiq.* B. 20. c. 6, & 7. See also Dr. Hammond on Acts 21. 38.

not thou the Egyptian which before these days madest an uproar, and leddest into the Wilderness (b) four thousand men that were murderers? But thus much concerning the Times of Felix.

(b) Josephus says there were thirty

thousand Men: Which is to be understood, as that the number of the whole multitude was 30000, of which 4000 only were murderers. And so Josephus will be reconciled to Luke. But I agree not with Eusebius, who writes that this was done in Nero's time. For in Acts 21. this Egyptian is said to have been overthrown a little before Paul's coming to *Jerusalem*. Now Paul came thither in the last year of Claudius; which may be gathered from the 24 chap. Acts, where Luke writes that *Portius Festus* was sent as successor to Felix. Seeing therefore Festus was sent into Judea in the second year of Nero, the overthrow of this Egyptian must necessarily fall on the last year of Claudius. The narration of Josephus, who seems to refer all this to the times of Nero, deceived Eusebius. But Eusebius ought to have considered, that Josephus does in that place relate all the Acts of Felix together, as well what he did under Claudius, as what under Nero. Vale.

## C H A P. XXII.

How Paul, being sent bound from Judea to Rome, having made his defence, was wholly acquitted.

BUT Festus is by Nero sent as Successor to this Felix: in whose time Paul having pleaded for himself is carried bound to Rome; *Aristarchus* was with him, whom somewhere in his Epistles he deservedly styles his Fellow-prisoner: And Luke, who committed to writing the Acts of the Apostles, concluded his History here, having shew'd that Paul lived two full years at Rome, enjoying in a great measure his liberty; and, that he preached the Word of God, no man forbidding him: Then, having made his defence, it is moreover reported that the Apostle travel'd again upon account of the ministry of preaching; and that, coming the second time to the same City, he ended his life by Martyrdom in this Emperor's Reign. At which time, being in bonds, he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, describing therein both his former defence, and also his approaching death.

Take his own testimony hereof. At my first answer (says he) no man stood with me, but all men forsook me, I pray God that it may not be laid to their charge: notwithstanding the Lord stood with me, and strengthened me, that by me the preaching might be fully known, and that all the Gentiles might hear; and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion. By which words he makes it plainly evident, that at the first time, that his preaching might be fulfill'd, he was deliver'd out of the mouth of the Lion; speaking, as it was likely, of Nero, this place because of his cruelty. (a) But afterwards he is very obscure; and has not added any thing like unto these words [He shall deliver me out of the mouth of the Lion]; for by he Spirit he saw that his end was now near at hand: wherefore, having said [and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion] he adds this, [The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom]; evidently signifying that his Martyrdom was at hand; which he more plainly foretels in the same Epistle, saying, For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Moreover, length I in this second Epistle to Timothy, he manifestly declares, that only Luke was then with him when he wrote it; but, at his first answer, that not so much as he was with him then. Whence 'tis agreeable to reason to think, that Luke concluded the Acts of the Apostles at that time, having continued the History so long as he accompanied Paul. These things we have spoken,

(a) Indeed this place because he is very obscure; and has not added any thing like unto these words [He shall deliver me out of the mouth of the Lion]; for by he Spirit he saw that his end was now near at hand: wherefore, having said [and I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lion] he adds this, [The Lord shall deliver me from every evil work, and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom]; evidently signifying that his Martyrdom was at hand; which he more plainly foretels in the same Epistle, saying, For I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. Moreover, length I in this second Epistle to Timothy, he manifestly declares, that only Luke was then with him when he wrote it; but, at his first answer, that not so much as he was with him then. Whence 'tis agreeable to reason to think, that Luke concluded the Acts of the Apostles at that time, having continued the History so long as he accompanied Paul. These things we have spoken, that pistle of

Paul to Timothy this may be gathered, *to wit*, that Paul's defence was acquired by the coming of his to *Rome*, which *Luke* mentions. For it's likely, that *Paul's* apology for his opinion was more easily admitted by *Nero*, he behaving himself more mildly at the beginning of his Empire ; but proceeding afterwards to the commission of most horrid and villainous acts, those things against the Apostles together with many other persons, were by him taken in hand.

[edgences] ; but afterward at his second defence he was condemned. The former part here he apparently manifests in these words [*At my first defence no Man stood with me*] ; and whereas he says [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon*], which is as much as if he had said, *I was [scilicet] out from Nero's jaws*, but Paul here, for otherwise of his second accusation. For he does not say [*The Lord delivered me out of the mouth of the Lyon*] as he had said before. For he foretold, God revealing it to him, that he should by no means any longer avoid the sword of the persecutor, but he had said of his first accusation [*I was delivered out of the mouth of the Lyon*] concerning his second, with which he was then charged, he adds these words [*The Lord shall deliver me from every evil*] ; and will preserve me unto his heavenly Kingdom] apparently manifesting his death by these words. This is the meaning of this place, which neither the Translators, nor I my self at first understood. Wherefore in the words of *Eusebius*, I must be read [*ἐκ τῆς*] in two distinct words, or else the accent must be changed, *ἐκ τῆς λέξης*. Indeed, in the *Mar. M.S.* it is thus written [*ἐκ τῆς*] in two distinct words. Moreover *Jerome*, in his Book *De Scripturis Eusebii*, has quoted this place of *Eusebius*, where he speaks of Paul ; but he apprehended not *Eusebius's* meaning, as it will be apparent to the Reader. Wherefore *Sophronius* also, when he translated this place of *Jerome*, into Greek, omitted some words, which seemed to hinder the meaning. *Valf.*

## CHAPTER XXIII.

How James, call'd the Brother of the Lord, was  
martyr'd.

Moreover Paul having appealed to *Cæſar*, and being by *Fefſus* ſent to *Rome*, the *Jews*, who had plotted a deſign againſt him, being now diſappointed of their expectation, ſet upon *James* the Brother of the Lord, to whom the Epifcopal ſeat at *Jeruſalem* was given by the Apoſtles. And of this fort were their villainous practices againſt him : leading him forth publicly, they required him to renounce the faith of Chriſt before all the people. But when he, contrary to the expectation of all, had ſpoken freely and with a greater boldneſs than they look'd for, before the whole multitude, and had confeſs'd that our Lord and Saviour *Jefus Chriſt* was the Son of God ; being no longer able to endure the testimony of the man, they ſlew him, who was believed by all to be a moſt juſt perſon, by reaſon of that ſingular eminence he arriv'd to, in his leading a philoſophical and pious courſe of life ; taking the vacancy of the Government as a fit opportunity for this their licentiousneſs. For *Fefſus* being at that time dead in *Judea*, that Province was without a Preſident and Procurator. Now the manner of this *James's* death, the words of *Clemens* before quoted by us have maniſeſted ; he having declared, that he was caſt headlong from the battlement of the Temple, and beaten to death with a club. But moreover, (a) *Hegesippus*, being one of thoſe who were of the firſt ſucceſſion after

(a) The fact that the first mention of those who were of the first succession after the Temple, and beaten to death with a club. But moreover, (a) *Hegesippus*, being one of those who were of the first succession after the Temple, his life-story as it appears in the files is extended to the times of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. For in his Reign *Polyearp* the disciple of *John* the Apostle was crowned with Martyrdom. *Hegesippus* therefore is rightly said to have lived in the first succession of the Apostles, in that he flourished in the Reign of the Sons of *Antoninus Pius*. And coming to Rome when *Anicetus* was Bishop, he stayed there at *Eleutherus'* time. In the *Alexandrian Chronicle* (which I would more willingly call the *Antiochian*) *Hegesippus* is said to have died in the Reign of *Commodus*. He was therefore contemporary with *Irenaeus*: who also was next to the first succession of the Apostles, as *Eusebius* testifies. Book 6, chap. 20. *Vale!*

the Apostles, does in the Fifth Book of his *Commentaries* most accurately relate these things concerning this *James*; speaking after this manner: '*James*, the Brother of our Lord, undertook, together with the Apostles, the government of the Church: That *James* who was furnished the *Fuff* by all, even from the times of our Lord until ours. For many were called by the name of *James*; but this man was holy from his mother's womb. He drank neither wine nor strong drink; nor eat any creature wherein there was life. There never came razor upon his head; he anointed not himself with oyl, neither did he use a bath. To

(b) him only it was lawful to enter into the Holiest of Holies. He wore no woollen, but linnen garments; and went into the Temple alone, where he was found upon his knees, making supplication for the forgiveness of the people: in so much that his knees were become hard and brawny, like those of a Camel, by reason of his continual kneeling to worship God, and to make supplication for the remission of the people. Wherefore upon account of his most eminent righte-

teousness he was called *Justus* and (*c*) *Oblias*, which signifies in English, the defence and righteousness of the people, as the Prophets declare concerning him. Therefore certain men of the (*d*) seven Heresies among that people of the *Jews*, which we have before written of in our *Commentaries*, ask'd him, which is the (*e*) *gare of Jesus*? And he said, that that *Jesus* was the *Saviour*. Some of them believ'd that *Jesus* was the *Christ*: but the foremention'd *Septs* believ'd neither the (*f*) *Resurrection*, nor that he was come to reward every man according to his works. But as many as believed, believed by the means of

(*c*) The learned *Nich. Fuller*, *Book 3. chap. 1.* of his *Misellany*, has thus corrected this place. *Ἰουστὸν καὶ ὀβλίαν, κατ' Ὀβλίαν, δὲστὴν, διὰ τοῦ π, ὅτι, ὀβλίαν τὸ τὸ δὲστὸν* i. e. He was called *Saddick*, and *Osleam*, which signifies in English, a *just man*, and the defence of the people. For *פָּרִיץ* in Hebrew signifies, a *just man*. And *Osleam* is made up of these two Hebrew words *סלם* *שלם*, which signifies, the *strength*, or, *defence* of the people; the Letter *ל* being the sign of the *Genitive* or *Dative* case with the Hebrews. The original of this appellation is taken from *Psalm 28. 9.* where we meet with these words in the original, *לְיָהוָה יִשְׁתָּבַח הַיָּמִים* The *Lord* shall give strength to his people. *Fuller's Misell. B. 3. chap. 1.*

(*d*) The place of *Stephanus*, wherein he says, wrote concerning the seven Heresies, we shall meet with in the 4 B. of *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* where we will find much more concerning them. *Valer.*

**James.** Therefore many of the chief men believing there was a commotion among the *Jews*, and *Scribes and Pharisees*, who said that all the people

(f) The *Pharisees*, who were one branch of these *Sects*, believ'd the Resurrection from the dead. *Valef.*

unto *James*, they said un-  
to him, we beseech thee restrain the people,  
for they are in an error concerning *Jesus*, sup-  
posing him to be the *Christ*; we entreat thee,  
perswade all those who come together at the  
day of the *Passover*, that they may think aright con-  
cerning *Jesus*: for we all put our confidence  
in thee; and we and all the people bear thee wit-  
ness that thou art just, and respectest not the  
person of any man: perswade the multitude  
therefore that they be not deceiv'd about *Jesus*:  
for we and all the people put our confidence in  
thee: stand therefore upon the battlement of

 $D_2$ 

the

Nero.

the Temple, that from an high thou may'st be conspicuous, and thy words readily heard by all the people; for upon account of the Passover, all the Tribes, together with the

they buried him in that place, and (o) his Grave-stone as yet remains near the Temple. This man was a true and substantial witness both to Jews

Nero.

(o) How

can it be

(g) Petavius does here deservedly reprove Suidas, who had denied, that it was lawful for any Gentle to be present at the Festival of the Jews. For besides that place which Petavius quotes; John 12. 20. we are supplied with many testimonies out of Josephus, to evidence this matter. Vitellius the President of Syria went up to Jerusalem at the feast of the Passover, and was honourably entertained by the Jews: As we may read chap. 6. B. 13. of Josephus's Antiq. He writes the same concerning Quadratus the President of Syria, 4. 2. of his Antiq. Valef.

(h) This word *Hefanus*, is a corruption of the Hebrew word, חֶפְזָא (which signifies, preserve me, or, make me safe), being the imperative mood Niph. with the Affixe ו derived from the Tense ופעל See the original Text of Jer. 17. 11. And also, see Bishop Pearson on the Creed, in his marginal notes, pag. 70. Edit. Lond. 1669.

(i) These words, which Hegesippus says the Jews then uttered, ought to be understood of Christ, rather than of Jesus. For when Jesus was crucified upon the bastment of the Temple, and had declar'd Jesus to be the Christ and Redeemer of mankind, those that embraced the Faith of Christ began to cry out *Hefanus*, to the Son of David, that is, to Jesus Christ. Valef.

(k) So the 71 Translate *Hefai*, 3. v. 10. Their words are these, חֶפְזָא נָתַן לָנוּ מִלְּפָנֶיךָ יְיָ אֱלֹהֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמָרְךָ מִכָּל חַטֹּאתֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמָרְךָ מִכָּל חַטֹּאתֵינוּ וְנִשְׁמָרְךָ מִכָּל חַטֹּאתֵינוּ. But the Hebrew copy differs much from this Translation, חֶפְזָא נָתַן לָנוּ מִכָּל חַטֹּאתֵינוּ. Which our Translation followeth, renders thus in English, Stay to the righteous, that it shall be meet with him; for they shall eat the fruit of their doings. Compare the Sep. Translat. of Job, 3. 10. with the Hebrew Text of that place.

'Let us stone James the Just; and they began to stone him, for he was not tully dead after his fall; but turning he knecled, saying, I intreat thee, O Lord God the Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do. As they were thus stoning of him, one of the Priests of the sons

of Reuben the son of (l) Reuben, testified of by Jeremiah the Prophet, cried out, saying, (m) Cease, what do ye? Justus prays for us. And one of them, being one of the Fullers, took a leaver, with which he used to squeeze garments, and smote Justus on the head; and so he was martyr'd. (n) And

(p) Epiphanius, in Hierol. 78. writes, that these words were not spoken by the Rechabite Priest, but by Simeon the Son of Cleopas. Valef.

(q) *Ἰωάννης ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*; so the King's M. S. reads it; which Stephens followed in his Edit. But our other three M. SS. Mat. Med. and Euseb. have it thus, *Ἰωάννης ἀδελφὸς τοῦ Ἰησοῦ καὶ τοῦ Ἰακώβου*; that is, and they buried him in that place, near the Temple; which reading Nicephorus and Rufinus do confirm. Valef.

and Gentiles, that Jesus was the Christ; and loon after Vespasian beset Judea round about, and took the Jews captive. These things Hegesippus, having related fully and largely, does therein agree with Clemens. But James was a person so admirable, and so much cried up amongst all men for his righteousness, that the most sober men of the Jews were of opinion that this was the cause of the siege of Jerusalem, which immediately follow'd upon his Martyrdom; and that this siege beset 'em upon no other account than that audacious willany committed against this James: Justus therefore was not afraid to testify this in writing, declaring himself in these words: 'These things befel the Jews in the way of revenge for James the

Just, who was the Brother of Jesus call'd Christ; because the Jews had murder'd him, being a most righteous person.' And the same Author in the twentieth Book of his Antiquities, relates his death in these words: 'Cesar, being certified of Jesus's death, sent Albinus Procurator into Judea: but Ananus the younger, who as we said before had gotten the High-Priesthood, was a man as to his disposition rash and excessively bold. He embraced the Sect of the Sadducees, who in matters of judgment are cruel above all the Jews, as we before manifested. Ananus therefore, being such an one as we have described him to be, supposing he had a fit opportunity, in that Jesus was dead, and Albinus yet upon his journey, call'd an assembly of the Judges; into which he caused the Brother of Jesus call'd Christ (whose name was James) with certain others to be brought, whom he accused as violators of the Law, and so deliver'd them up to be (p) stoned. But as many as

(p) What can be as seem'd to be the mildest and most modest in more different

yea contrary, than this relation of Josephus's, and that of Hegesippus, about James's Martyrdom? For Josephus says, that he was condemned in a publick Council of the Jews; and Hegesippus, that he was murdered in a edition and tumult of the people: Hegesippus relates, that he was killed with a Fuller's Club in the midst of the City: But Josephus declares that he was stoned; which was always done without the Gates of the City. Farther, Josephus shews us the year, wherein James died, by these two Remarks, to wit, that it was when Ananus was High-priest, and when Albinus came first into Judea. Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, writes that Albinus succeeded Fessus in the sixth year of Nero's Empire; and yet the same Author places the Martyrdom of James on the year following, which manifestly contradicts what Josephus has related: For he expressly says that James was murdered before Albinus came into that Province. Eusebius therefore ought to have included the beginning of Albinus his Procuratorship, and James his Martyrdom in the same year. But Baronius denies all this, and proves, that the Martyrdom of James happened on the seventh year of Nero; which assertion he confirms both from the consent of all the Antients, and also from Josephus his History of the Jewish Wars, B. 2. chap. 12. But I judge that the consent of Jerome, Nicephorus, and others, who wrote from, and follow'd Eusebius's *Chronicon* (Eusebius's opinion not being dissu'd) is not much to be esteem'd of: Now the place in Josephus proves nothing else, than that Albinus was Procurator of Judea in the fourth year before the Jewish War began, and in the seventh before the City was taken. But from that place in Josephus it cannot be concluded that Albinus began his Procuratorship in the seventh year before the taking of Jerusalem. Yea, it seems truer in my judgment, that Albinus

came





*Nero.* that they both suffer'd martyrdom at the same time, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth*, writing to the *Romans*, doth thus affirm: "So also you, (d) by this your so great an admonition, have join'd together the plantation both of the *Romans*, and also of the *Corinthians*, made by *Peter* and *Paul*. For both of them coming also to our City of *Corinth*, and having planted us, did in like manner instruct. Likewise they were both together into *Italy*, and having taught there, suffer'd martyrdom at (e) the same time." And thus much I have related, that the *History* hereof might be yet farther confirm'd.

The same thing *Clement Romanus* in his Epistle had before done. *Dionysius* therefore says to *Soter*; *Thou by this your admission have again visit- ed the Plantation of the Roman and Corinthian Churches heretofore made by Peter and Paul.* This I have the more largely explained, because the Translators, and especially *Christophorus*, have been much mistaken in the Version of this place. *Valef.*

(e) *Dionysius* does not expressly say that *Peter* and *Paul* suffer'd on the same day, but only at the same time; which may be so understood, or that there might be an interval of many days between their sufferings. *Trendelenburg* [*Test. eccles. p. 107*] says that they were both Martyr'd on the same day, but not in the same year: And that there was a years space between their deaths. With *Præstantius* agrees *Angu- sine*, in his 28 Sermon, De *Sundis*; And *Arator*, Lib. 2. Hic. Apoll. But *Simæon Metaphrastes* takes these words of *Dionysius* so, as if he said that *Peter* and *Paul* were Martyr'd on the same day together. His words are to be found in *Communi. de peregrinat. Pauli et Petri, apud Surium, Tome 3.* *Valef.*

#### CHAP. XXVI.

*How the Jews were vex'd with innumerable Mischiefs, and how at last they entred upon a War against the Romans.*

(a) At these words I began the chapter, following the authority of the King's M.S. But in the Mar. M. S. we found another reading, and a different distinction. For

that begins the Chapter from these words (which are the conclusion of the foregoing Chapter) [*And thus much I have related, &c.* and it points the whole place thus, [*And thus much I have related, that the History hereof might be yet farther confirmed.* Moreover, *Josephus*, discourses, &c.] and puts the full point after these words [*makes it manifest in express words.*] The same reading is observed by the *Med.* and *Euk. M. SS.* But the reading and punctuation in the King's M. S. seems to me to be much better; which both *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* followed. I had almost forgot to put you in mind, that these words [*et Soter*] in the title of this Chapter, ought to be taken adverbially; for *Jo Rufinus* translates it; *Ut innumeris Judæis malis afflictis sint, ac novissime contra Romanos arma moverint.* *Valef.*

express words, amongst many other things, *Nero.* that a great number of the most eminent personages amongst the *Jews*, having been cruelly beaten with scourges, were crucified even in *Jerusalem* by the command of *Florus*. For it hapned that he was Procurator of *Judea*, when the War at first broke out, in the twelfth year of *Nero's* reign. Afterwards, he says, that, "After the revolt of the *Jews* there followed great and grievous disturbances throughout all *Syria*, those of the *Jewish* Nation being by the Inhabitants of every City every where destroy'd as enemies, without all commiseration: In so much that a man might see the (b) Cities filled with dead bodies that lay un- buried; and the Aged together with the Infants cast forth dead; and Women, not having so much as any covering upon those in- parts which nature commands to be conceal'd; and the whole (c) Province was full of unspeakable calamities: But the dread of what was threatned was greater and more grievous than the mischiefs every where perpetrated." *Genev.*

Thus much *Josephus* relates word for word. (c) In the original And such was the posture of the *Jews* affairs at that time.

*Josephus* and *Nicephorus* 'tis written *ἡ Ἰουδαία*. By the Province we must in this place understand *Judea*, which after the death of *Agrippa* the Elder was reduced into the form of a Province, and govern'd by Procurators sent from the Emperor. *Valef.*

#### THE

## THIRD BOOK Of the Ecclesiastical History

#### OF

### EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

#### CHAP. I.

*In what Parts of the World the Apostles preached Christ.*

NOW the affairs of the *Jews* being in this posture, the Holy Apostles and Disciples of our Saviour, being dispersed over the whole world preached the Gospel. And *Thomas*, as tradition hath it, had *Parthia* allotted to him; *Andreas* had *Scythia*; *John* *Asia*, where after he had spent much time he died at *Ephesus*. *Peter*, 'tis probable, prea-

ched to the \* *Jews* (a) scattered throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, and *Bithynia*, *Cappadocia* and *Asia*. (a) The

*Jews* were dispersed at several times, and for several causes. First, when they were carried Captive into *Babylon* and into *Egypt* and *Syria*; and also when they were subdued by *Pompey*. Then, in the times of the *Maccabees*, they did of their own accord remove out of *Judea* into *Egypt*. For the Law forbid not the *Jews* to remove into other Countreys, as it is manifest from the Book of *Ruth*. Thirdly, they dispersed themselves upon account of gaining Proselytes, which they admitted of all Nations, whence it came to pass that they were scattered over the whole World. *Valef.* Those *Jews* that were dispersed in *Europe* had their chief Assembly at *Alexandria*; and there the Septuagint Translation of the Bible was in use; and thence they were called (*Yohi 7. 35.*) *Ἰουδαῖοι* *Ελληνικοί*, the dispersion of the Hellenists: And of these there were many also in *Jerusalem*, which used the same translation of the Seventy

Seventy two, being thus skill'd in the Greek tongue; and these living not in Greece are yet call'd *Adt* 6. 1.) *EAA-viva*, because they used the Greek language and the 72 translation, whereas the other are call'd there (See *Adt* 6. 1.) *Eβδαλ, Hebrews*, who used the *Jerusalem* Paraphrase. The *Arian* dispersion is mentioned 1 Pet. 1. 7. they had *Diagloss* for their Metropolis, and used the *Targum*, or *Caldee* Paraphrase of *Onkelos* in their Synagogues.

*Nero*. Who at last coming to *Rome*, was crucified with his head downwards; for so he desired to suffer. It is needless to say any thing of *Paul*; who having fully preach'd the Gospel of Christ from *Jerusalem* unto *Illyricum*, at last suffer'd Martyrdom at *Rome* in the time of *Nero*. Thus much (b) *Origen* declares word for word in the *Third Tome of his Expositions on Genesis*.  
(b) It is very doubtful where the words of *Origen's*, whom *Eusebius* here quotes, do begin; whether it be at those words, *And Thomas*, &c. or rather at those, *Peter 'tis probable*, &c. For *Eusebius* has not shewn us where they begin. *Vale!*

### C H A P. II.

Who first presided over the Roman Church.

After the Martyrdom of *Paul* and *Peter*, *Linus* was the First that was elected to the Bishoprick of the Roman Church. *Paul*, writing from *Rome* to *Timothy*, makes mention of him in the Salutation at the end of the Epistle; saying, \* *Eubulus greets thee, and Prudent, and Linus, and Claudia*.

### C H A P. III.

Concerning the Epistles of the Apostles.

I Ndeed, one Epistle of *Peter's*, called his First, hath by general consent been receiv'd as genuine; for that the worthy *Antients* in former ages quoted in their writings, as being unquestionable and undoubted. But as for that called

(a) That this 2d Epistle of *S. Peter* was not at first receiv'd in the Church of Christ with so universal agreement and consent as the former, may be concluded from this passage in *Eusebius*. But notwithstanding, there are great and sure evidences of this Epistles being written by the acknowledg'd Author of it, as (1.) the Title of *Simon Peter* with the Addition of *An Apostle of Jesus Christ* (Chap. 1. v. 1.) (2.) There is a whole passage in this Epistle (Chap. 1. v. 15, 17.) which doth signally belong to *Peter*, that of having been on the holy Mount with Christ, and hearing those words, *This is my beloved Son*, &c. which certainly belongs to the transfiguration, *Matth. 17.* where only *Peter* and *James* and *John* were present with Christ. (3.) This is said to be a 2d Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 1.) written much to the same purpose with the former. (4.) *St. Jude* speaking (v. 18.) of *the fifters that should come*, &c. cites that Prediction from the *Apostles of our Lord Jesus* (v. 17.) where it is reasonable to believe that this Epistle (Chap. 3. v. 3.) is referred to; for in it those very words are met with (and are not so in any other Apostolick writing) *Knowing this fift, &c.* Compare *Jude* the 17 and 18. v. with 2 Epist. Pet. 3. chap. v. 3. All this in all Copies stands unmoved to secure the authority of this Epistle, and to convince us of the author of it. See Dr. Hammond's Preface to the 2d. Epist. Pet.

likewise what they say of those *Scriptures* that are canonical and by general consent acknowledged as genuine, and also what concerning those that are not such. And thus many are the Writings ascribed to *Peter*, of which I have known only one Epistle accounted to be genuine, and universally acknowledged as such by the *Antients*. But of *Paul's* there are fourteen Epistles manifestly known, and undoubted. Yet it is not fit we should be ignorant, that some have rejected that to the *Hebrews*, saying, it is by the *Roman Church* denied to be *Paul's*. Now what the *Antients* have said concerning this Epistle, I will in due place propose. But as for those *Adts* that are called his, we have been inform'd from our Predecessors, that they are not accounted as unquestionable and undoubted. And whereas the same Apostle, in his *Salutations* at the end of the Epistle to the *Romans*, makes mention among others, of one *Hermas*, who, they say, is Author of that Book intitled *Pastor*; you must know that that *Treatise* also has been question'd by some; upon whose account it must not be placed amongst those which by general consent are acknowledged as genuine: but by others it has been judged a most useful Book, especially for such as are to be instructed in the first Rudiments of Religion. Whereupon we know it is at this time publicly read in Churches; and I do find that some of the most ancient Writers do quote it. Let thus much be spoken in order to a representation of the Holy Scripture, to discriminate those Books, whose authority is in no wise contradicted, from those that by general consent are not acknowledg'd as genuine.

### C H A P. IV.

Of the first Succession of the Apostles.

T HAT *Paul* therefore, preaching to the *Gentiles*, laid the foundations of those Churches from *Jerusalem*, and round about unto *Illyricum*, is manifest both from his own \* words, and al- \* *Rom.* so from what *Luke* has related in the † *Adts*. 15. 19. Likewise in what Provinces *Peter*, preaching the † *Adts* Gospel of Christ to those of the Circumcision, to 11. deliver'd the Doctrine of the New Covenant, is chap. sufficiently apparent from his own \* words out \* 1. Epist. of that Epistle of his, which, we have said, is u- Pet. 1. 1. niversally acknowledg'd as genuine; which he wrote to the *Jews* that were dispersed throughout *Pontus* and *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Asia*, and *Bithynia*. Now how many and what sincere followers of them have been approved as sufficient to take the charge of those Churches by them founded, it is not eassie to say; except such and so many as may be collected from the words of *Paul*. For he had very many fellow-labourers, and, as he termed them, fellow-soldiers; many of which were by him vouchsafed an indeleble remembrance, he having in his own Epistles ascrib'd to them an everlasting commendation. But *Luke*, enumerating in the *Adts*, the Disciples of *Paul*, makes mention of them by name. Moreover, *Timothy* is reported to have been the first that was choic'd to the Bishoprick of the *Ephebian Church*: as also *Titus*, of the Churches in *Crete*. *Luke*, by original extract an *Antiochian*, by profession a *Physician*, for the most part accompanied *Paul*; and being diligently conversant with the rest of the Apostles, has left us, in two Books written by Divine inspiration, Lessons that are medicinal for our souls,

*Nero.* souls, which he procured of them. The one is  
 \* Luke 1. the Gospel, which he \* professes he wrote as they  
 1, 2, 3. delivered it unto him, *who from the beginning were*  
*Eye-witnesses and Ministers of the Word,* in all which  
 things, he says, *he had perfect understanding from*  
*the very first.* The other is the *Acts of the Apostles,*  
 which Treatise he composed now not of such  
 passages as he had received by report, but of  
 what he had seen with his own eyes. They say  
 also that *Paul* was wont to mean the Gospel ac-  
 cording to *Luke*; when, speaking as it were of  
 his own Gospel, he says, † According to my Gospel.  
 † 2 Tim. Of the rest of the Followers of *Paul*, *Crescens* is  
 2, 8. by the Apostle himself declared to be one; who  
 was sent by him into (a) *Gallia*. *Linus* also,  
 whom, in his second Epistle to *Timothy*, he men-  
 tions to be at *Rome* with him, who was before  
 manifested to have been the first that was cho-  
 sen to the Bishoprick of *Rome*, after *Peter*. *Cle-*  
 mens also, who was likewise constituted the  
 third Bishop of *Rome*, is attested by *Paul* himself  
 to have been his Fellow-labourer and Compan-  
 ion in sufferings. Furthermore, that *Areopa-*  
 gite (by name *Dionysius*, whom *Luke* in the *Acts*  
 records to have been the first that believed after  
 the Sermon made by *Paul* to the *Athenians* in  
 (b) *Areopagus*) another *Dionysius*, one of the An-  
 tients, a Pastor of the *Corinthian* Church re-  
 lates to have been the first Bishop of the *Athe-*  
 nian Church: But as we go on with this Work  
 of ours, we will in due place declare the Suc-  
 cessions of the Apostles in their several times.  
 Now we will proceed to that part of our Hi-  
 story which follows in order.

But the other reading is the truest, which *Clemens* con-  
 firms in his *Constitution*. *Apostolus* reads *Gallatia*, but says that  
 thereby is meant *Gallia*. Valef.

(b) *Areopagus* was the Senate or standing Court of Judicature in  
*Athen*, by whose Laws and Orders any new Gods were received a-  
 mong them; and therefore as soon as they perceived that *Paul* was a  
 promulgator of strange Deities, they bring him to the *Areopagus* to have  
 him examined what Gods they were that he thus Preached. Two  
 Judicatures they had at *Athen*; one every year changed, made up  
 of 50 chosen Men, of whom the Republick consisted; the other  
 perpetual, which judged of Murders and the like capital Offences;  
 and this was in *Areopago*; of which and the customs thereof, See *Bur-*  
*detius* on the *Pandects*. Why it was called *Areopagus*, see *St. Aug. de*  
*ciuit. 1. vi. l. 18. c. 18*. The Judges which sat in this Court were call'd  
*Areopagites*, who were look'd upon with such reverence, that an *Areop-*  
*agite* signified proverbially an excellent Person. *Gell. L. 12. c. 7*.  
*Dionysius* was one of these *Areopagites*.

### C H A P. V.

Of the last Siege of the Jews after Christ's Death.

*Vespasian.* A Fter *Nero*, who held the Government  
 thirteen years, *Galba* and *Orba* having  
 reigned a year and six months; *Vespasian* grown  
 famous in the Wars against the *Jews*, was made  
 Emperor in *Judea*, being proclaimed by the  
 Army there. He therefore going immediately  
 to *Rome*, committed the management of the  
 War against the *Jews* to his son *Titus*. More-  
 over, after the Ascension of our Saviour, when  
 the *Jews*, besides the audacious wickedness com-  
 mitted against him, had now contrived and exe-  
 cuted very many cruel designs against his A-  
 postles; (first *Stephen* being stoned to death by  
 them; then after him *James* the son of *Zebedee*  
 and brother of *John* beheaded, and last of all  
 that *James* who was first chosen into the Epis-  
 copal seat there, after our Saviour's Ascension,  
 murder'd according to the foremention'd man-  
 ner;) whence the rest of the Apostles, were by  
 innumerable wiles laid wait for to be put to death;  
 and being driven out of *Judea*, were gone to

preach the Doctrine of the Gospel to all Nati-  
 ons, assisted by the power of Christ who had  
 said unto them; \* Go and teach all nations in my  
 name: And furthermore, when the whole Con-  
 gregation of the Church in *Jerusalem*, according  
 to an Oracle given by revelation to the ap-  
 proved persons amongst them before the War, were  
 commanded to depart out of the City, and in-  
 habit a certain City (they  
 call it (a) *Pella*) beyond  
*Jordan*; into which when  
 those that believed in Christ  
 had remov'd from *Jerusalem*,  
 and when the Holy Men  
 had as it were totally re-  
 molish'd the princely *Me-*  
*tropolis* of the *Jews*, and the  
 whole Country of *Judea*:  
 then at length Divine Ven-  
 geance seiz'd them who had  
 dealt so unjustly with Christ  
 and his Apostles, and utterly destroy'd that  
 wicked and abominable Generation from a-  
 mong men. But, how great calamities then be-  
 fel the whole Nation in every place; and how  
 they especially who were Inhabitants of *Judea*  
 were driven to the extremity of misery; and how  
 many \* Myriads of men, together with women  
 and children, were destroy'd by Sword and Fa-  
 mine, and by infinite other kinds of death; and  
 how many and what Sieges there were of the  
 Jewish Cities; and how great miseries and more  
 than miseries they beheld who fled into *Jeru-*  
*salem* it self, as into the best fortified *Metropo-*  
*lis*; and also the manner and order of the whole  
 War, and every particular action therein; and  
 how at length the abomination of desolation pre-  
 dicted by the Prophets was set up in the very Tem-  
 ple of God, heretofore famous, but now about to  
 suffer all manner of pollution, and to undergo  
 its last destruction by fire: He that is desirous  
 to know it, may accurately read all this in the  
 History written by *Iosephus*. But, how the same  
 Writer relates, that a multitude of about thirty  
 hundred thousand persons assembled together  
 from all parts of *Judea* at that time of the Passover-  
 feast, were shut up in *Jerusalem* (as it were, says  
 he, in a prison) I think it requisite to shew in  
 those his own words. (b) For it was fit, that at di-  
 rectly that very time (wherein they had kill'd the Sa-  
 viour and Benefactor of all, Christ the Son of these  
 Gods,) that in the same days, I say, they should  
 be shut up as it were in a prison, to receive that  
 punishment from Divine Vengeance which a his Latin  
 waited them. But I will omit the particular re-  
 translation of those miseries which befel them, and  
 their great sufferings by the Sword and other-  
 wise, and do think it necessary to propose only  
 who shall read this our Work may from that  
 part of their Sufferings understand, that the Di-  
 vine Punishment for their enormous Impieties  
 committed against the Christ of God, did not  
 long after light upon them.

(a) So says *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Nazærenum* cap. 7.) to wit, that the Christians who dwelt in *Jerusalem* being forewarn'd by Christ of the approaching Siege removed to *Pella*. But in his Book (*de ponderibus & mensuris*) he writes that the Disciples of Christ being warned by an Angel, removed to *Pella*: And afterwards when *Adrian* rebuilt *Jerusalem* and called it after his own name *Elia Colonia*, they returned thither. Valef.

(b) Imme-  
 diately  
 words *Ep-*  
*iphanius*  
 in  
 destruction from Divine Vengeance which a his Latin  
 waited them. But I will omit the particular re-  
 translation of those miseries which befel them, and  
 their great sufferings by the Sword and other-  
 wise, and do think it necessary to propose only  
 who shall read this our Work may from that  
 part of their Sufferings understand, that the Di-  
 vine Punishment for their enormous Impieties  
 committed against the Christ of God, did not  
 long after light upon them.

the 6th,  
 both a-  
 gainst the authority of all the M. SS. Copies, and also without any  
 necessity. Neither *Rufinus* nor *Nicéphorus* hath inserted this passage  
 of *Iosephus*; and *Eusebius* did sufficient to intimate it, and to pro-  
 duce some words from it, as are those, *ὡς ἐν πύργῳ*. i. e. as it  
 were in a prison; which Words *Eusebius* does sufficiently shew to be *Jo-*  
*sephus*'s, in that he says, *ὡς ἐν πύργῳ ἔσταντο αὐτοί, &c.* In the  
 common Editions of *Eusebius* these words *ἐσταντο αὐτοί* were wan-  
 ting, which we have put in, warranted thereto by the old M. SS.  
 Copies. *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* we found those Words also in the King's  
 M. S. which *Robert Stephens* made use of in his Edition of *Eusebius*;  
 who too much favour'd his own conjecture, by expunging those words  
 here, and putting them in a little after, thus, *ἀναγκάσειον δὲ ἑσταν-*  
*αι αὐτοὺς ἐν πύργῳ αὐτῶν*, against the authority of all Copies. Valef.

## C H A P. VI.

Of the Famine that oppressed the Jews.

Vespasian.

\* Joseph.  
Hist. of  
the Jewish  
Wars,  
Book 5.  
Chap. 26.(a) Josephus  
pneumons  
that those  
wretched  
people  
tore the  
meat from  
one another;  
that they  
greedily  
devoured  
it, as Christ  
Josephus  
took his  
meaning  
to be, he  
translating  
it, *avidis ore  
abripiebant*. That  
is the  
meaning  
of those  
words  
*ἐσθίουσιν  
ἐκ αὐτῶν*.  
See Vales.

Come on therefore, let us again take the fifth Book of *Josephus's* History into our hands, and rehearse the Tragedy of those things then and there done. \* Moreover, (*says he*) for those that were rich to stay it was equally destructive. For they were slain for their wealth under a pretence of their revolting to the enemy. Together also with the famine, the insolent rage of the seditious increased, and both those mischiefs daily grew more extremely sharp and violent. Besides, there was no food any where openly to be seen; but they rush'd violently into houses, and made a strict search: and when they had found any, they beat the masters of the houses after a most cruel manner, because they denied they had any: but if they found none, they tortured them, as if they had most carefully hid it. Moreover, the bodies of the wretches were a certain sign whether they had any food or no: for those who were yet strong and lusty they supposed had plenty of provision; but such as were already lean and macerated, they medled not with. For it seem'd irrational to kill those that were ready to die for want of sustenance. Many also privately exchanged their estates, the richer sort for one measure of wheat, the poorer for one of barley: then locking themselves up in the inmost recesses of their houses, some of them by reason of their excessive want of food, eat the unground corn; others made bread of it after such a manner as necessity and fear advised them. Indeed there was no where any table furnish'd; but they snatch'd the meat while it was raw from the fire, and (a) tore it from one another. The food was miserable, and the spectacle truly worthy of lamentation; in that the stronger sort got all, whilst the weaker bewail'd their own condition. Famine doubtless is superior to all the affections of the mind; but nothing is so utterly destroy'd by it, as is a dutiful and observant behaviour. For that which otherwise is worthy of a reverent regard, in this case (*so writ, in the necessity of famine*) is condemn'd. Therefore the wives tore the meat from their husbands, the children from their parents; and, which was most exceedingly lamentable, the mothers snatch'd it out of the very mouths of their infants; yea, they spared not to deprive them of those very drops of milk which were their only sustenance to keep them alive, whilst their most beloved babes languish'd in their arms. And whilst they eat such food as this, they notwithstanding could not secure themselves from being discover'd; because the seditious were every where athand, preying upon them: for when they at any time saw a house shut, that was a sign that those within were eating victuals; and immediately breaking open the doors they rush'd in, and squeezing the bits of meat even out of their very jaws, they took them away. The old men, who would not part with their food, were beaten; and the women which hid what they had in their hands were drawn about by the hair of the head. No compassion was shewn to the hoary-head, or to infants; but lifting up the little children on high, hanging at their morsels of meat, they dash'd them against the pavement. Now to those who prevented their in-

curtion, and before-hand devoured what they would by force have taken away, they were more inhuman, as if such had done them an injury. Moreover, they invented cruel ways of torments for the searching out of provision; for they stop'd up the passage of the Privies of those miserable men with the pulse called *Orobos*, and thrust sharp rods up their fundaments; and to force any person to confess he had but one loaf of bread, or to extort from him a discovery of his having but one handful of meal hidden, he underwent such torments as are most horrible to be heard. Now the tormentors themselves were not oppress'd with hunger; for it would have seem'd less cruel for them to have done all this out of necessity: but they did it to exercise their outrageous insolence, and to procure themselves provision for the following days. Those also, who by night crept out as far as the *Roman* watch to gather wild herbs and grass, they met; and when they supposed they had now escap'd the enemy, these men by force took from them what they had gotten. And when they often intreated, and by the most sacred name of God beseech'd them to communicate some part of that to them which they had brought off with the hazard of their lives, they imparted nothing thereof to them; yea, they were to look upon it to be a kindness, that they were not also kill'd, as well as rob'd of what they had gotten." To this, after some other words, he adds, saying, "The *Jews*, after they were hindered from going out of the City, were depriv'd of all hope of relief. And the famine increasing extremely, consumed the people throughout every house and family. The houses were fill'd with women and infants destroy'd by the famine: and the narrow streets with dead old men: the children and young men as pale as ghosts wander'd up and down the market-places, and fell down where-ever the dissembler seiz'd any of them; neither were the sick able to bury their relations: and those who were strong were loth to undertake it, both upon account of the vast numbers of the dead, and also because of the uncertainty of their own condition. For very many dropt down dead upon those whom they were interring. Many also betook themselves to their Coffins or Sepulchres before death seiz'd 'em. Neither was there mourning or lamentation in these calamities; but the famine had suppress'd every one's affection. And they who struggled with the very pangs of death, with dry eyes beheld those who went to rest before them. A profound silence and darkness laden with death encompass'd the City. But the thieves were more pernicious than all this; for they digg'd through into houses, now turn'd into burial-places, and rob'd the dead: and we in taking away the coverings from off the corpses, went out laughing. They also tried the edges of their swords upon the dead bodies: and some of those that lay along, and yet alive, were run through, to make trial of the sharpness of their weapons: but those that beseech'd 'em to make use of their hand and sword upon 'em, by way of scorn they let alone to be destroy'd by the famine. And every one of them that died, leaving the seditious yet surviving, (c) fix'd always prayed to God with their Eyes turn'd towards the holy City, and Temple. We have an example of this custom in *Dan*, 6. 10. and *1 Kings* 8. 48. and *1 Esdr.* 4. 58. Hence perhaps was derived the custom of the Christians, to pray towards the East. their

Vespasian.

(b) In *Josephus* it is said, *ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὅσοι ἐπεσθύνοντο*; but in the *M. SS.* copies of *Baruch* it is *ἐσθύνοντες*, which the *Latines* call *callant*, *ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν ὅσοι ἐσθύνοντο*, which the *English* edge, &c. Vales. Observe here the religion of the *Jews*, who to make use of their hand and sword upon 'em, in what parts of the world they were

Vespasian.

their eyes stedfastly upon the Temple. At first they gave command that the dead should be buried at the charge of the publick Treasury, not being able to endure the stench of the dead bodies: but afterwards being insufficient to continue so doing, they cast them from the walls into deep pits; which *Titus* having view'd round, when he beheld them fill'd full with the dead, and a thick gore issuing from the purrified bodies, he sigh'd, and stretching forth his hands, call'd God to witness, that it was not his fact." To all this, after the interposition of some words, he adds, saying; "I will not be afraid to declare what grief commands me to speak; I think, had the *Romans* been slack to destroy those flagitious wretches; that either they would have been swallow'd by the earth opening under them; or that the City would have been drown'd by an inundation; or, that, like *Sodom*, it would have been destroy'd by lightning. For it had brought forth a generation of men by far more abominably impious than those, who had suffer'd such things. By reason therefore of the desperate outrageousness of those men, the whole body of the people was together with them destroy'd." And in his Sixth Book he writes thus: "Of those who perish'd being destroy'd by the famine throughout the City, the multitude was innumerable; the afflictions that beset them can't be utter'd. For in every house where there appear'd but the least shadow of provision, there was fighting; and such as were dearest friends strove one with the other, snatching from one another the miserable provision of their life. Neither were those that died believed to expire for want of sustenance. But the Thieves search'd those that gave up the ghost, lest any one having meat in his bosom should feign himself to die. The Thieves themselves, empty and hollow for want of sustenance, wandred and hunted up and down like mad dogs, striking against the doors like drunken men; and by reason of their stupified condition, breaking into the very same houses twice or thrice in one hour. Necessity made all things to be eaten: and what was unfitting to be given to the most sordid irrational creatures, they gather'd up, and endured to eat. Therefore at the last they did not forbear to eat girdles and shoes; and pluck'd the leather from off their bucklers and eat it. The stumps of old hay were made food by some; and others gather'd the very stalks or small fibres of plants, and sold the least weight of them for four *(d)* Attick drachms. But what need I speak of the sharpness and extremity of the famine, as to the eating things without life? for I will declare such a fact, the like whereof is no where recorded either among the *Grecians* or *Barbarians*; which may seem both horrid to be related, and also incredible to be heard. And indeed lest I might seem to posterity to feign monstrous stories, I could very willingly leave this sad accident unmention'd; but that I have innumerable witnesses thereof, to wit, men that are cotemporary with me: And besides, I should do my Country a very frigid and inconsiderable kindness, should I go about to conceal the rehearsal of what it really suffer'd. A woman, of the Region beyond *Jordan*, by name *Mary*, the daughter of *Elezazar*, of the village *Barbezor*, (which word signifies, *The house of Hyssop*) for descent and wealth eminent,

(d) That is, ten Shillings in our coin. See note on B. 1. chap. 8. in the margin, concerning the word *Drachms*.

flying with the rest of the multitude into *Jerusalem*, was there together with them besieg'd. All her goods, which she had taken with her out of the Region beyond *Jordan* and brought into the City, the Tyrants robb'd her of. The remains of what she had, which was of greatest value and price, and what ever provision of food she could any way procure, the Spear-men breaking in daily took from her. A most vehement indignation moved the woman; and oftentimes she reviled and cursed those ravenous pillagers, and provok'd them against her self. But when none of them could be either infligated by anger, or moved by compassion to kill her; and she being grown weary of finding victuals for (e) others; and provision being now nowhere to be found; the famine Thieves, also having entred her very bowels and marrow, and her anger being more exceedingly hot than the famine was sharp; she took Fury and Necessity as her advisers, and in a hostile manner invaded nature it self. And having snatch'd up her son (for she had a sucking-child) *Miserable Babe*, said she, amidst these Wars, as *Famine* and *Sedition*, for whom shall I preserve thee? Amongst the *Romans* if they let us live, we are Edit of shall be Slaves; and the Famine must precede that adds in Servitude; but the Seditious are more mischievous than both these evils. Behov therefore my food, a (f) gin. Valse. Fiend to take revenge upon the Seditious, and a Story for men to talk of, which is only yet wanting to complete the Calamities of the Jews. Having said this, she kills her son; then raising him, she eat half of him; the remainder she kept cover'd. The Seditious came immediately, and having smelt the horrible savour, threaten'd to kill her forthwith, if she would not bring out to them what she had provided. But she, answering that she had reserv'd a good part for them, uncover'd the remains of her son. Horror and astonishment of mind suddenly seized them; and they stood benumm'd as it were, with amazement at the spectacle. This, said the woman, is the son of mine own womb, and this mine own fact: eat, for I have eaten of him already; be not you nicer than a woman, or more compassionate than a mother. But if you are religious and abhor this my sacrifice, I have eaten the one half already, and let the rest also remain with me. After this they went out trembling, abash'd at this very one thing, and with much ado yielded to leave this food with the mother. Immediately the whole City was filled with the noise of this detestable fact; and every one setting before his eyes this unnatural deed was horribly afraid and trembled as if it had been audaciously perpetrated in (g) his own house. And now all who were formerly press'd with the famine, earnestly hastned to die, and happy were they accounted, who were taken away by death before they heard and saw so great calamities. Such was the punishment the Jews underwent for their iniquity and impiety against the Christ of God.

(e) That is for the Thieves, not for her self: And therefore it is the original *ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐστὶν ἄλλος*; not *ἄλλος*, as *Eusebius* adds in the margin.

(f) The Jews, as well as the *Grecians*, believed, that the Ghosts of such as had been murdered followed those that kill'd them, to take revenge of them. In this sense those words may be taken, that occur Gen. 4. 10. The voice of thy brother's blood cryeth unto me from the ground; i. e. thy brother, whom thou hast wickedly slain, requires that I should revenge him, and punish thee for his murder: Then it follows v. 12. A fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth; i. e. thy brother's Ghost, whom thou hast slain, shall follow thee every where, and be always troublesome to thee. Valse;

(g) That is; all those Citizens were ricken with such an horror at this fact, as it had been done in their own houses. Valse.

Vespasian.

## C H A P. VII.

Of Christ's Predictions.

**B**UT it is worth while to adjoin hereunto the most true Prediction of our Saviour, wherein he manifestly foretells these very things after this manner: \* *And we unto them that are*

\* Matt. 24. v. 19, 20, 21.

*with child, and to them that give suck in those days. But pray ye that your flight be not in the winter, neither on the sabbath-day: for then shall be great tribulation, such as was not since the beginning of the world to this time, nor ever shall be.* But the same Writer adding together the whole number of those that were destroy'd, says, that by the Famine and by the Sword an hundred and ten Myriads perish'd: and that the Seditious and the Thieves that were left, discovering one another, after the City was taken, were put to death: that the tallest and comeliest of the young men were refer'd to adorn the triumph: that of the rest of the multitude, such as were above seventeen years of age were sent bound to the Mines in Egypt; and that very many were distributed through the Provinces to be destroy'd in the Publick Shews by the Sword and by Wild Beasts: that those who were under seventeen years of age were carried Captive and sold; and that the number of those only amounted to

(a) Eusebius is here mistaken; for Josephus does not say so; but only affirms that the number of those that were taken captive, during the whole War, by the Romans, amounted to ninety thousand Men. The Words of Josephus are to be seen at the latter end of his sixth Book of the Hist. of the Jewish Wars. Valef.

(a) ninety thousand. These things were done after this manner in the second year of the Reign of Vespasian, agreeable to our Prefaces and Predictions of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who by his Divine Power foreseeing these things, as

if they had been present, wept and lamented, according to the History of the Holy Evangelists, who have related his very words; one while speaking as it were to Jerusalem it self:

Luke 19. *If thou hadst known (said he) even thou at least in*

+23, 24, 25.

*this day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in every side, and shall lay thee even with the ground, and thy children within thee.* Then speaking concerning the people: *For there shall be (said he)*

Luke 21. *great distress in the land, and wrath upon this people.*

23, 24.

*And they shall fall by the edge of the sword, and shall be led away captive into all nations, and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles, until the times of the*

Luke 21. *Gentiles be fulfilled: And again, when ye shall see*

20.

*Jerusalem compass'd with armies, then know that the desolation thereof is nigh.* Now whoever does compare the words of our Saviour with the rest of our Writers relations of the whole War, he can't but with admiration confess the *Prescience* and *Prediction* of our Saviour to have been truly divine, and exceeding wonderful. Therefore concerning those things which beset the whole Jewish Nation after the *Salutary Passion of Christ*, and after those words, whereby the multitude of the Jews desired a Thief and a Murderer should be released from his punishment of death, and that the Prince of Life should be destroy'd, it is needless to (b) add any thing to the relation given by Josephus. So much only is requisite further to be annex'd, as may represent the

(b) *Talis* *traces* *monstrum* these are the Words of Eusebius; by which he means, not his own History, as Bishop Christopherson thought, but the History of Josephus: in our translation therefore we have expressed his name; but it is not, we confess, in the original of Eusebius. Valef.

endearing Goodness of the most excellent Providence of God, deferring the destruction of these men full forty years after their most audacious Villany committed again Christ. During which space, many of the Apostles and Disciples, (and James himself the first Bishop there, he that was called the Brother of the Lord) being yet alive, and making their abode in the City of Jerusalem, continued to be a most impregnable Fortification to that place: Divine visitation hitherto patiently forbearing them; that, if peradventure they would yet repent of what they had done, they might obtain remission and salvation; and to so great a patience and forbearance, adding wonderful signs from Heaven, foreshowing what was about to befall them unless they repented. Which signs, having been accounted worthy to be recorded by the forefaid \* Writer, nothing hinders but we may \* That is, here propose to those that shall look upon this Josephus, our Work.

Vespasian.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the Prodigies that appear'd before the War.

**L**ET us then take the sixth Book of his History, and rehearse what is therein related by him in these words: \* Therefore those Impostors, and such as feign'd themselves to be sent of God, and by their false persuasions deceiv'd the wretched people at that time: so that they neither gave heed to, nor believed those evident Prodigies which foreshew'd their desolation to be at hand. But being like persons thunder-struck, and having neither eyes nor understanding, they contemned and disregarded the fore-warnings of God. First, a Star in the likeness of a Sword stood over the City;

and then a (a) Comet continued a whole year. Further also, when, before the revolt and the first beginnings of the War, the people were gather'd together to the feast of Unleavened Bread, on the eighth day of the month April, at the (b) ninth hour of the night, so great a light shined round about the Altar and the Temple, that it seem'd to be bright day; and so continued for the space of half an hour: And this was judged by those that were unskilful a good sign; but by the

(a) We read *etia*, as it is in Josephus B. 7. pag. 965. But Nicéphorus thought that this Star which appeared in the likeness of a Sword, and the Comet which continued a whole year, was all one; which as we judge, is not right. Valef.

(b) The Jews divided the whole *nocturn* *interea*, i. e. night and day, or four and twenty hours, into eight parts, each of them containing 3 hours; the 3d, the 6th, the 9th, and the 12th hour of the day; and the like again for the several watches of the night: The ninth hour of the night (or third watch) according to their account, was commonly betwixt our hours of twelve and three a clock in the Morning. See Buxtorf. *Synag. Judaic.* Chap. 13.

(c) *Scribes* that were skill'd in the Law, it was immediately concluded to portend those calamities which afterwards hapned: and at amongst the same Feast, a Cow, led to be sacrificed by the Jews were the same with the Doctors of the Law, as Petavius has well observed, in *Animadvrs.* ad *Histor.* 15 *Eppheusii*. Their office it was, to keep the holy Books of the Law, and to read them in the presence of the People, in the Temple and in the Synagogues. But their principal Office was to be assayers with the chief Priests and Elders in the great Council called the *Sanhedrim*. See the 6 and 23 Chapters of the *Acts*. The name of *Scribe* therefore was the name of a Magistrate among the Jews as well as the among *Grecians*. And as the *synagoga* *scribes* in Greece were to be present at Assemblies and Judicatures, and to have the custody of the Laws and Statutes made by the People, and Decrees made by the Senate; so also were the *Scribes* amongst the Jews the keepers of the Law. That this was no small honour, appears from many places in the Gospel; where our Blessed Saviour reproves their pride and insolence. After the same manner, amongst the *Grecians*.

crises, the Scribes [*ῥητορὶ καὶ*] were in great authority, as appears from that which *S. Luke* relates *Acts 19. 35.* [our translation calls him *Town-Clerk*, how truly, *Mr. J. Gregory of Oxford* will tell you in his *Notes on the Text*; chap. 9. p. 43. of his *Works.*] Amongst the Jews the Scribes were so much the more respected by how much that Nation above all others esteemed their own Laws: Of which the Scribes were not only the keepers, but the interpreters also. Moreover they were consulted as being taken to be Men of great knowledge and skill, and who were best able to interpret Signs and Prodigies; and also who best knew the mysteries of the Law. So we read *Matth. 2. 4.* Herod then consults the Scribes; and in this place of *Josephus* here, the Scribes foretell the meaning of the Prodigies. Moreover the Magistrate of the City of Jerusalem who was called *ῥητορὶς*, had his Scribe, as *Josephus* tells us *B. 20.* But whether this Scribe was among the number of those that were interpreters of the Law, it is hard to say. Further, the [*ῥητορὶς*] amongst the Egyptians were certain Priests who look'd after the Ordinances about the things Sacred, and had the keeping of the mystical Learning, and foretold things to come; concerning whom see *Joseph. L. 2. c. 6.* where he calls them *ῥητορὶς*. Thely, after the *Canor* and the *ῥητορὶς* went in the chariot place into the Temple, wearing Wings on their Heads, and carrying before them in their Hands, Ink, and a Pen, with a Book. They had also the Hieroglyphical Books of *Alecery*, and those of *Cosmography*, and of the situation of *Countries*, and of *Egypt*, and of the Nile, and of the places consecrated in honour of their Gods, committed to their custody, as *Clem. Alexandrinus* writes in his 6 *B.* *Lucianus* saith that these sort of Men had been of long continuance in *Egypt*. *Valef.*

*Vespasian.*

The High-Priest, brought forth a Lamb in the midst of the Temple. Also the Eastern-Gate of the Inner-Temple made all of Brass, exceeding massy, and scarcely to be shut in the evening by twenty men, (being made also very strong by vast iron hinges on which it moved, and having bolts that went into the ground a great depth,) was seen to open of its own accord about the sixth hour of the night. (d) Not many days after the Feast, upon the one and twentieth of May, was seen a Ghost for Prodigiousness wholly incredible.

(d) After these Words *Eusebius* omits some passages that are extant in *Josephus*, as, of this Prodigies being told to the *ῥητορὶς*, or Magistrate; for an account of whom, and his office see the Learned *Hammond* in his *Notes on Luke 22. 52.*

But that which I am now about to say would seem an idle story, were it not related by those that saw it, and had not the subsequent calamities been answerable to such Prodigies. For before Sun-set there was seen in the air over the whole Country, Chariots, and whole Companies of armed men, running up and down in the Clouds, and investing Cities. Also at the feast, called *Pentecost*, the Priests, as it was their manner, going by night into the Temple to perform their offices, reported that they perceived at first indeed a motion and heard a noise; but that afterwards they heard a voice as of a great multitude, saying, *Let us depart hence*: But what was more dreadful than all this; one *Jesus*, the son of *Ananias*, a country-man of the ordinary rank, four years before the War, (the City being then in perfect peace and in a flourishing condition) coming to the Feast in which it's customary for all to make Tabernacles to the honour of God near the Temple; on a sudden began to cry out with a loud voice: A voice from the East, a voice from the West, a voice from the four Winds, a voice against Jerusalem and the Temple, a voice against the Bridgrooms and the Brides, a voice against all the People. This he went up and down crying, day and night throughout all the narrow streets and cross-ways of the City. But some of the chief of the people were very much disturb'd at this ominous cry, and being highly incensed, took the man and beat him with many and also grievous stripes. But he neither spoke any thing for himself, nor said any thing in private to those that (e) beat him, but persisted

(e) The reading must be, *περιεβόητος*, i. e. those that beat him, as it is in *Josephus*; not *μαρτυρῶν*, i. e. those that were present; although *Rufinus* followed that reading. *Valef.*

crying those very words he did before. Then *Vespasian*, the (f) Magistrate, supposing (as indeed it was) that the man was moved by Divine impulse, bring him to the Roman (g) President, where being beaten with stripes till his very bones were bare, he neither treated for himself, nor shed a tear: but to the utmost of his power changing his voice into a doleful tone, he answer'd every stripe, *Wo, Wo to Jerusalem.* There is another thing also more wonderful than this, which the same *Writer* relates, saying, that a Prophecy was found in the Holy Scriptures comprehending thus much, to wit, That about that time one was to come out of their Country who should rule over the whole world; which this *Writer* understood to have been fulfilled in (h) *Vespasian*. But he did not rule over the whole world, only obtain'd the Roman Empire. This therefore may more justly be refer'd to Christ, to whom it was said by the Father: \* Desire of me and I shall give thee the Heavens and the earth for thy possession: And the utmost parts of the earth for thy possession: And the time went out into all Lands, and their words unto the ends of the world.

## CHAP. IX.

Of *Josephus*, and the Writings he left.

After all this, it is fit that we should not be ignorant of this same *Josephus*, who has given us so great assistance in the History we now have in hand, from whence, and of what stock he came. And he himself does manifest even this also, saying after this manner: '*Josephus* the son of (a) *Mattathias*, a Priest of Jerusalem, who my self also at first fought against the Romans, and was by necessity forc'd to be present at what was done afterwards.' This man was esteem'd the most eminent person of all the Jews of those times, not only by his own country-men, but also by the Romans: in so much that he was honour'd with a Statue dedicated to him in the City of Rome, and the Books compiled by him were accounted worthy to be placed in the Publick Library, He wrote all the Jewish Antiquities in twenty entire Books; and the History of the Jewish War, in his own time, in seven Books; which History he himself testifies, he put forth not only in Greek, but also in his own Country language; and he is worthy to be credited both in this, and in other things. There are also two other Books of his extant very worthy to be read, which are about the Ancientest of the Jews: in which he answers *Apion Grammaticus*, who at that time wrote a (b) Volume against the Jews, and some others who had Words of

(a) In the King's M.S. it is *Ματθαι*, and so also in *Josephus*, in the Book of his own Life, and in the preface to his History of the Jewish Wars. In *Sophranion's* Book, *Descriptio Historie Ecclies*, it is, *Ἰωάννης Ματθαίου*. So also *Sophranion* calls him in the beginning of his first Book. And *Rufinus* calls the father of *Josephus* *Matthias*; *Josephus*, says he, *Ματθαίου*, ex Hierosolymis sacerdos. So it is written in the most excellent M.S. of the Parisian Church, *Valef. Suetonius*, in the Life of *Vespasian*, has this passage of *Josephus*; *Unus ex nobilibus captivus Josephus, cum conscriberet in vincula; constantissime asseruerat fore, ut ab eo brevis solueretur, verum jam Imperatore.*

(b) The Words of *Eusebius* seems to confirm, who testifies that *Apion* wrote more Books than one against the Jewish Nation. But *Jerom*, in *Catalogo*, where he speaks of *Josephus's* Writings, defends the ordinary reading. *Valef.*

attempted

*Vespasian.* attempted to calumniate the (c) Antiquity and Laws of the Jewish Nation. In the former of these he sets forth the number of the Canonical Books of that called the *Old Testament*, which of them are among the *Hebrews* unquestionable and undoubted, as being received from ancient Tradition; discoursing of them in these words.

(c) *Josephus* in his Books against *Apion*, answers not only those who had calumniated the Laws and Institutions of the Jews; but also he more especially writes against those who had forged certain Fables concerning the Original and Antiquity of the Jews, as appears by his first Book. But about the end of his second Book he answers *Apollonius*, *Molon*, and *Lysimachus*, who had written some lies about the Laws and Institutions of the Jews. The word *antiquities* therefore in this place must mean both these, *to wit*, the *Antiquity*, and the *Laws of the Jewish Nation*. Valef.

C H A P. X.

How Josephus makes mention of the Holy Bible.

There are not therefore amongst us an innumerable company of Books disagreeing and contradicting one another; but only (a) two and twenty, containing an historical account of all times; which are worthily believed to be Divine.

(a) There were so many Books of the Scripture amongst the Jews, as they had letters in their Alphabet; So *Origen* tells us in his exposition of the first Psalm, and *Jerom* in *premio galatico*; where also he says that there were among them three ranks of these Holy Volumes; the first contained the Law; the second the Prophets; the third the *Hagiography*. All which agrees very well with *Josephus*. But in this they differ; *Josephus* makes thirteen Books to be of the second Order, *to wit*, following the Series of the times. But of the third, he reckons only four, disagreeing from *St. Jerom*; who in the fore said Preface, and in that of his before the Prophecy of *Daniel*, reckons up eight Books of the Prophets, and nine of the *Hagiography*. But *Josephus* seems to have placed the Book of *Joshua* and *Judges*, also those of the *Kings*, *Chronicles* and *Ezra*, amongst the Prophetical Writings; not that they contain Prophecies, as the Books of the Prophets do; but because they were written by Men that were Prophets. Valef.

And five of these are the Works of *Moses*, which comprehend both the Laws, and also a continued Series of the Generations of Men, and what was done by them from their first Creation until his own death. This space of time want little of three thousand years. And from the death of *Moses* until the Reign of *Artaxerxes* King of the Persians, Successor to *Xerxes*, the Prophets, who succeeded *Moses*, wrote what was done in their Ages, in thirteen Books: The remaining four contain Hymns to God, and Precepts and Admonitions for the well-ordering of Men's lives. Also from *Artaxerxes* until our own times every thing is indeed recorded, but these Books have not been accounted worthy of the like authority with the former, in that the Succession of the Prophets was not so accurately known. But it is manifestly apparent how highly we revere our own Writings: For in so many Ages now past over, no one has dared either to add or to diminish from them, or to change any thing therein; but it is implanted upon all us Jews immediately from our very birth, to think that these are the Precepts of God, and to persevere in them, and, if need so require, willingly to die for them. And let these words of this Writer be profitably here inserted. He compiled also another elaborate Work not unworthy of himself, about the *Empire of Roan*, which some have entitled *Maccabees*, because it contains the Conflicts of those *Hebrews*, in the Writings called the *Maccabees*, so termed from them, who valiantly fought for the Worship of God. And, at the end of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*, he intimates, as if he purposed to write in four Books (according to the opinion of the Jews, which they had received

from their Ancestors) of God, and of his *Eusebius*. sense, also of Laws, why according to them some things are lawful to be done, and others forbidden. Himself also in his own Books mentions other Works compiled by his diligence. Moreover it is also consonant to reason to adjoin those words of his which he has inserted at the (b) Conclusion of his *Antiquities*; for the Confirmation of the Quotations and Authorities we have taken out of him. He therefore, blaming (c) *Julius Tiberiensis*, (who had taken in hand, as well as he, to write an History of those very Times), as having not related the Truth, and accusing the Man of many other faults, at last adds thus much in these words: 'But I was not, in that manner which as you were, timorous concerning my Writings, but gave my Books to the Emperors themselves, when the deeds done were fresh and almost yet in the memory to be seen: For I was conscious to my self, that I had all along faithfully observed the delivery of the Truth; upon account whereof, hoping for their evidence, I was not disappointed of my expectation. And moreover I communicated my History to many others, some of whom were actually present in the War; as was King *Agrippa*, and (d) several of his Relations: Also *Titus* the Emperor was so well-pleased, that the knowledge of what was done of the should be delivered to Men solely out of them, that he (e) subscribed my Books with his own Hand, and gave command they should be kept at the close of that Book, and at the end of this Book, of his own Life. *Scaliger* therefore is mistaken, in his *Animadversus*, on *Euseb*, p. 188, where he says, *Eusebius* forgot himself here; and he is *Christophorus*, who, supposing this place in *Eusebius* to be corrupted, altered it. But had they seen the *Great MSS.* Copies of *Josephus*, or had they consulted the *Basil. Edit.* of him, they might easily have found, that which I have said to be true, *to wit*, that this Book of *Josephus*, of his own Life, was nothing else but an Appendix or Conclusion of his 20 Book of *Antiquities*. Valef.

(c) Our MSS. Copies, *Mar. Med.* and *Fik.* have it thus written, *Τιβεριανῆς*; corruptly as I judge. For both *Stephanus Byzantius* doth acknowledge it to be *Tiberias*; and also *Jerom*, in his Book *De Scripturis Ecclasticis*, calls him *Justus Tiberiensis*, whom we have followed. But *Scaliger* still him *Tiberiadensis*. This *Justus* wrote an History of the Jewish Wars, as *Josephus* tells us in his Book, *De vita sua*; and *Stephanus*, in the word *Βιβλια*. Besides, this History he wrote a *Chronicle of the Kings of the Jews*, as *Plotius* testifies, in *Bibliotheca*; Which Work he dedicated to King *Agrippa*, as *Scaliger* affirms, in *Animadversus*, *Euseb.* pag. 176. And he adds these Words: *Nemo de obitu Regis Agrippæ certius pronuntiavit potuit quam is qui illi opus suum dedicavit*, i. e. No body could speak more certainly of the death of King *Agrippa*, than he who dedicated his Work to him. Which I indeed wish had not dropped from so acute a Man. For how can an Historian tell of the death of him to whom he dedicates his History? Unless we say that *Justus* dedicated his *Chronicle* to *Agrippa*, when he was dead, which is absurd. But as *Scaliger* without all ground asserted, that *Justus Tiberiadensis* dedicated his *Chronicle* to King *Agrippa*; so what he infers therefrom is also absurd. But from *Plotius* his testimony it is manifest, that that Work was put forth by *Justus* after the death of King *Agrippa*. *Josephus* relates that the History of the Jewish Wars was published by *Justus* also after the death of *Agrippa*, although it was written twenty years before. A Book of this same *Justus*, whose title was *Στάσις*, is quoted by *Laertius*, in the Life of *Socrates*; and which *Plotius* says was the same with his *Chronicle*. Valef.

(d) He means *Julius Archelaus* and *Herod*, as *Josephus* himself declares, in his first Book against *Apion*. *Julius Archelaus* was Brother-in-law to King *Agrippa*; for he had married his Sister *Mariamne*; so says *Josephus* at the end of his 19 and 20 Books of *Antiquit.* Valef.

(e) *Niephorus*, in his 3 Book, Chap. 11, interpreting these Words of *Josephus*, says that *Titus* with his own hand copied out the Books of *Josephus* his History of the Jewish Wars. See what *Johannes Laetus* has noted at that place of *Niephorus*. But all Interpreters who have translated this place of *Josephus* into Latin, understand thereby that *Titus* only subscribed the Books of *Josephus* with his own hand, and did not copy them out himself. But I would rather follow the opinion of *Niephorus*. Neither do these Words of *Josephus* [ὅτι πάντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἱστορίαν ἐβίβλησαν, ἀποκρινομένην ἀκριβέστατα] seem to found any thing less to me. Thus this place is pointed in all Copies as well as MS. as Printed. But if this place of *Josephus* were to be understood only of *Titus* his subscribing *Josephus* his Books with his hand, then the distinction or comma ought to be put after the word *ἱστορίαν*: But here you see it put after the word *βίβλησαν*. Valef.

for the well-ordering of Men's lives. Also from *Artaxerxes* until our own times every thing is indeed recorded, but these Books have not been accounted worthy of the like authority with the former, in that the Succession of the Prophets was not so accurately known. But it is manifestly apparent how highly we revere our own Writings: For in so many Ages now past over, no one has dared either to add or to diminish from them, or to change any thing therein; but it is implanted upon all us Jews immediately from our very birth, to think that these are the Precepts of God, and to persevere in them, and, if need so require, willingly to die for them. And let these words of this Writer be profitably here inserted. He compiled also another elaborate Work not unworthy of himself, about the *Empire of Roan*, which some have entitled *Maccabees*, because it contains the Conflicts of those *Hebrews*, in the Writings called the *Maccabees*, so termed from them, who valiantly fought for the Worship of God. And, at the end of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*, he intimates, as if he purposed to write in four Books (according to the opinion of the Jews, which they had received



*Vespasian.* (f) publicly read. And King *Agrippa* wrote sixty two Epistles, testifying therein, that the Truth was delivered by me. Two whereof *Vespasian* there adjoyns. But let thus much be thus far manifested concerning him. We will now proceed to what follows.

*Mar. Mss.* And in Sir *Henry Savil's* MS. it is written [*Ἀποστόλῳ*] which reading all Interpreters seem to have followed: But I like *Rufinus's* Version best, who translates it: To be publicly read; in which sense the same Word is used by *Eusebius* in chap. 22. of his second Book, where he speaks of the General Epistles of *James* and *Jude*; and in chap. 3. of his third Book. But from these Words of *Vespasian* we may gather, that the History of the Jewish Wars was put out by him in the Reign of *Vespasian*; but his *Antiquities* were published by him in the thirteenth year of *Domitian*, as he himself testifies at the end of his 20 Book, and at the close of his Book, of his own Life. But, that which *Steiger* affirms, in *Annot. Euseb.* p. 187. *no vit*, that the Book of *Vespasian* his own life was by him put out seven years after his *Antiquities*, seems not probable to me; for that Book is, so we judge it out before, only the twelfth of his twentieth Book of *Antiquities*; and at the end of it *Vespasian* reckoning up the Roman Emperors, concludes with *Domitian*. Valef.

## C H A P. XI.

How, after James, Simeon governed the Church at Jerusalem.

AFTER the Martyrdom of *James* and the taking of *Jerusalem*, which immediately followed thereupon, report goes, that the Apostles and Disciples of our Lord, who were yet alive, met together from all parts in the same place, together also with the Kinsmen of our Lord according to the flesh, (for many of them hitherto survived,) and that all these held a consultation in common who should be adjudg'd worthy to succeed *James*: And moreover, that all with one consent approved of (a) *Simeon* the Son of *Cleophas*, of whom the History of the Gospel makes mention, to be worthy of the Episcopal Seat there; which *Simeon*, as they say, was Cousin-German by the Mother's side to our Saviour: For *Hegesippus* relates, that *Cleophas* was the (b) Brother of *Joseph*.

(a) This account of *Eusebius's* here, agrees not with what he has written in the (b) Brother of *Joseph*.

that work of his called his *Chronicon*: For there he writes, that presently after the death of *James*, *Simeon* was elected; *no vit*, in the seventh year of *Nero*. But here he makes it evident, that after the murder of *James*, the Episcopal See was vacant for the space of about eight or nine years. Which interval of time, that the Author *Chronici Alexandrini* might fill up, he places the death of *James* on the first year of *Vespasian*. Valef.

(b) That is, because (as we conjecture) he married *Mary* which was Sister to the Blessed Virgin; upon which account *Simeon* the Son of this *Cleophas* is here called Cousin-German by the Mother's side to our Saviour; for so we translate the word *ἑτεροψύχῃ*; *no vit* *patruelium*, i. e. Cousin-German by the Father's side, as it is in the Version of *Valerius*; but *consobrinum*, i. e. Sister's Son. For *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*, and the Blessed Virgin were Sisters. See Jo. 19. 25. and so *Simeon* the Son of the former *Mary*, and our Saviour the Son of the latter, were Sisters Children. See the Learned *Bp. Pearson* on the Creed, p. 175, & 176. Edit. Lond. 1659. And *Petavius*, in *Heresi.* 78. *Epiphani.* cap. 7. & 14. and also *St. Jerome*, in *Catalo.*

## C H A P. XII.

How *Vespasian* commanded that the Descendants of David should be sought out.

AND moreover, it is reported, that *Vespasian* after the taking of *Jerusalem*, commanded all those that were of the Kindred of *David* to be diligently sought out, lest any one of them who were of the Royal Race should be left remaining amongst the Jews; and that a most sore Persecution was thereby again brought upon the Jews.

## C H A P. XIII.

That *Anencletus* was the Second Bishop of the Roman Church.

BUT when *Vespasian* had reigned ten years, his Son *Titus* succeeded him in the Empire: In the second year of whose Reign, *Linus* Bishop of the Roman Church, having held that publick Charge twelve years, delivered it to (a) *Anencletus*. And *Titus*, after he had reigned two years not why and as many months, was succeeded by his Brother *Domitian*.

*Vespasian.* (a) I know *Rob. Stephens* read *Anacletus*, seeing

that all our Books have it written *Anencletus*. And so *Nicéphorus Constantopolitanus*, and his Translator *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* in *Chronolog. Tripartit.* reads it. So also *Nicéphorus Callistus* in Lib. 3. cap. 2. and *Genesius Synellus*, and the MSS. copies of *Rufinus*. So likewise *Irenaeus* (in Lib. 3. where he reckons up the Roman Bishops in order) names him *Anencletus*; and omits the name of *Cletus*, which to me seems to be made of a piece of the word *Anencletus*. Neither does *Optatus*, nor *St. Augustine*, in his 165 Epistle (where he counts up the Roman Bishops) acknowledge *Cletus*. But on the contrary, in two very ancient Catalogues of the Roman Bishops, one whereof is in the *Monastery of S. German*, and the other in the *Vesistie Collège at Clermont*—there is no mention of *Anencletus*; but one of *Cletus*, who succeeded *Linus*, and sat eleven years, one month, and two days. From whence 'tis evident that *Cletus* and *Anencletus* was the same Man. See more of this in P. *Holloixius*, in *notae ad cap. 7. vite brenei*. Valef.

## C H A P. XIV.

That *Avilius* was the Second Bishop of Alexandria.

FURTHERMORE, in the fourth year of *Domitian*, *Domitian*, (a) *Amianus* the first Bishop of the Alexandrian Church, having there spent two and twenty years complete, died. After whom succeeded (b) *Avilius*, being the second Bishop there. Mark. So

*Eusebius* said before, concerning *Linus* Bishop of Rome, at the 2 Chap. of this Book. For *Mark* was the Apostle of the Alexandrians, as we before have said. But the Apostles were not reckoned amongst the number of the Bishops. There was therefore no end of putting in here *Adrian*, as *Nicéphorus* did. See *Selden's* Notes ad *Euthymium patriarcham Alexandr.* Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* and the other Translators call this Man *Avilius*; and also *Jerom* himself, in *Chronicon*, not so rightly as I judge. For he ought to be called *Avilius*, which is a Roman name; as well as *Anianus*, who was Bishop before *Avilius*. Besides, the order of the Chapters is here disturbed in the common Edition; this Chap. of the succession of *Avilius* being put before that of the succession of *Anencletus*: But we by the direction of the MSS. Copies *Mark*, and *Euseb.* have placed them in their true order. This was a very ancient mistake; for in the Index of the Chapters prefixed before the 3 B. of *Rufinus* his Translation, and in all the Greek Copies except in that of *Euseb.* the same Error is committed. But in the Body of the *Mar. MS.* (which Book has the Titles of the Chapters exactly placed in their order) this Error is corrected. Valef.

## C H A P. XV.

That *Clemens* was the Third Bishop of the Roman Church.

ALSO in the twelfth year of this Emperor's Reign, *Anencletus* having been Bishop of the Roman Church twelve years, had to his Successor *Clemens*; whom the Apostle, writing an Epistle to the *Philippians*, declares to be his Fellow-labourer, saying: \* with Clement also, and \* Phil. 4. with other my fellow-labourers, whose names are in the book of life.

## C H A P.

Domitian.

## C H A P. XVI.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens.

Moreover, there is extant one Epistle of this Clemens's, which by general consent is acknowledged as genuine, and is singularly excellent and admirable; which he wrote in the name of the Roman Church to that of the Corinthian Church: which Epistle also we have known to have been publicly read in many Churches before the whole Congregation, both in times past, and also in our own memory. Now, that in the time of the aforementioned Clemens there was a Faction raised in the Corinthian Church, Hegesippus is a Witness worthy to be credited.

## C H A P. XVII.

Of the Persecution in Domitian's Time.

(a) Rufinus thought these words that follow here, were the words of Hegesippus, whom Eusebius quoted at the end of the foregoing chapt. whence it appears that Rufinus read as it is in our MSS. copies, *Mat. Med. and Luk. eulogio de hystoria-  
α-λεων. πολλὰ ἄλλα μὲν, &c.* Moreover in Rufinus the chap. 17. begins at those words, *Now that in the time of the forementioned, &c.* as I observed it to be also in the *Mat. and Luk. M.SS.* But I rather approve of the ordinary writing and distinction. Valef.

(b) Eusebius has the same import with *εὐλογία*, that is, it signifies one that is devoted from an illustrious and noble stock. So Gregor. Nazianzen, in Orat. 40. *μὴ ἀμείβεσθαι συμβαλεμένην τιμῇ, πατρὶς ἢ εὐμελείας πρὸς δόξαν.* See Jerom. in *Chronico Anno 8.* Domitian. says, *Domitianus plurimos nobilium in exilium mittit, atque occidit.* Valef.

## C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning John the Apostle, and his Revelation.

IN this Persecution 'tis reported, that John the Apostle and also Evangelist, who yet lived, was banish'd into the Isle Patmos, upon account of the Testimony he exhibited to the Word of God. Indeed, \* Irenæus, writing concerning the number of the name of Antichrist mentioned in the Revelation of John, does in these few words, in his fifth Book against Hereses, thus speak concerning John: 'But if at this present time \* his name ought publicly to be preach'd, it would have been spoken of by him who saw the Revelation. For it was scen not a long time since, but almost in our age, about the latter end of Domitian's Reign.' But so mightily did the Doctrine of our Faith flourish in those forementioned times, that even those Writers, who were wholly estranged from our Religion have not thought it troublesome to set forth in their Histories both this Persecution, and also the Martyrdoms suffer'd therein. And they have also accurately shewn the very time; relating, that in the fifteenth year of Domitian, Flavia Domitilla, Daughter of the Sister of Flavius Clemens at that time one of the Consuls at Rome, was, together with many others also, banish'd into the Island Pontia, for the Testimony of Christ.

## C H A P. XIX.

How Domitian commanded that the Descendants of David should be slain.

WHEN the same Domitian gave command that the Descendants of David should be slain, there goeth an ancient report that some Hereticks accused the Posterity of Jude, (who was the Brother of our Saviour according to the flesh) as being of the Offspring of David, and bearing affinity to Christ himself. And this Hegesippus manifests word for word, laying thus.

## C H A P. XX.

Concerning those that were related to our Saviour.

THERE were yet surviving (who were related to our Lord) the Nephews of that Jude, who was called the

(a) Brother of Christ after the flesh, whom they accused as being descended from David. And these

(b) Evocatus brought to Caesar Domitian. For Domitian was afraid of the

coming of Christ, as well as Herod. And he asked them, if they were of the Stock of David; and they acknowledged it. Then

he questioned them how great Possessions they had, or what quantity of Money they were Masters of; and they said, that they

both had but nine thousand (c) Pence, a moiety whereof belonged to each of them: and these they said they had not in ready Money, but in Land

of that value, being only thirty nine Acres; of which also they paid (d) tribute, and themselves were maintained by their own labour. And then they

shewed their Hands; producing, as an evidence of their working, the hardness of their Skin, and a brawniness imprinted on their Hands by reason of their assiduous labour. Being also ask'd concerning

Christ and his Kingdom, of what sort it was, and when and where it would appear; they return'd answer, that it was neither

Worldly nor Terrestrial, but Celestial and Angelical, that it should be at the end of the World, when he would come in Glory to judge the Quick and Dead,

(e) So he is called *Mat. 13. 55.* But was the usual language of the Jews to call the first Cousins brethren. See Bishop Pearson on the Creed, pag. 175, 176. Edit. Lond. 1669. See also Bishop Montague's Acts and Mon. chap. 4. S. 6. concerning the Desposyni.

(b) Rob. Stephens, in his Edition of Eusebius calls him *Isak* *Isak*, and so does the *Med. M.S.* but in the King's M.S. I found it written [*Isak* *Isak*] which Rob. Stephens observed also in his Notes added at the latter end of his Edition. Georg. Syncellus, in *Chronico*, reads it *Isak* *Isak*. We from our three M.S. Copies, to wit, *Mat. Luk. and Sir Henry Savill's*, have made good the true writing of this place, *Isak* *Isak* *Isak* *Isak*, and *Isak* *Isak* *Isak* *Isak*, &c. This reading, *Nicephorus* and *Rufinus* do confirm; the Words of *Rufinus* are, *For Evocatus quidam nomen, qui ad hoc missus fuerat, perduxit ad Domitianum. Nicephorus*, Lib. 3. cap. 10. has it written *Isak* *Isak*. These *Evocati* were Soldiers of an higher degree who having performed their service and being dismissed, were upon occasion summoned by the Emperor himself. There is mention of these in the ancient Inscriptions, *Evoc. Aug. i.e. Evocatus Augusti*. No Man need wonder, that *Hegesippus*, a Greek writer, should make use of a Latin word here; for that is usual with him; and in this very relation of his he has [*Isak* *Isak* *Isak* *Isak*] and [*Isak* *Isak*] both Latin words. Valef.

(c) So we translate the word [*Isak* *Isak*] warranted thereto by the same translation of that word, occurring *Mat. 22. 19.* The value of that Penny there shew'd Christ, was, says Dr. Hammond on the place, a whole Attick Drachm; but what value these here were of, it is hard to say, in regard there were several sorts of these *Denarii*, which were also of a different value. See *Foss. Eymol.*

(d) *Isak* *Isak* were Tributes, or Taxes, raised upon Lands, and they were commonly paid in Wheat, Barley, Wine, and the like; as it appears from *Cod. Theodosian.* Taxes was the *Till* gathered by the Publicans, who farmed it commonly; it was paid in ready money. The word here is *Isak*; which we therefore render: Tribute. Valef.

Domitian.

\* Lib. 5. c. 5.  
\* Rev. 13.

\* That is, Antichrist's name.



*Trajan.* the Lord. But, having obtain'd his freedom a little too early, some idle dissolute young men, that were inured to all manner of Vice,

(f) *Τραυθής*, the word here in the original is the same, in signification, with *αἰσχρογάρτοι*, i.e. accedens ad aliquem, adjuvans, to be of the same company, or to be familiarly acquainted; only it is taken in a bad sense. Valef.

(g) *Γυναικός* reads it, *ἐν ἡλικίᾳ* and so *Ρουφίνος* and *Μυσεύλος* seem to have read; I should rather like *ἀνδρῶν*, he scorned, &c. Valef.

(f) keep him company: And first of all, they entice him with sumptuous Banquets; then going out by night to rob and strip those they could meet with, they carry him along

with them; afterwards they desire him to be their Complice in greater Rogueries: So by little and little he was accusom'd to lewdness; and because he was high-spirited, having once left the right way (like a strong hard-mouth'd Horse holding the Bit between his Teeth,) he was so much the more fiercely hurried into destruction. In fine, despairing of the Salvation of God, he spent not his thoughts now upon any trifling design; but attempted some enormous wickedness, and in as much as he was wholly past all hope, he (g) scorn'd to run the hazard of so mean a punishment as other Thieves did.

Taking therefore those his Accomplishes, and having form'd them into a troop of Thieves, he was readily made their Commander in chief; being the fiercest, the most bloody, and cruellest person of them all. Some time after, and there hapning some necessity for it, they lend again for *John*; who, after he had first in order those things upon account whereof he came, said; Come on, Bishop, restore us that which was committed to thy custody, which I and Christ deliver'd to thee to take care of, in the presence of the Church as witnesses, over which thou dost preside. But he at first was astonish'd, supposing himself to be falsely accused about money which he had not receiv'd; neither could he give credit to *John* concerning his demand of what he had not, nor yet durst he disbelieve him. But when *John* had said, I demand the young Man and the Soul of our Brother; the old Man, fetching a deep sigh, and also weeping, said, he is dead. How? and what kind of death? To God, said he, he is dead; for he proved wicked, and extremely naughty, and in conclusion a Thief. And now in stead of continuing in the Church, he hath taken possession of the Mountain with a troop of Associates like himself. The Apostle therefore having rent his Garment, and with a great outcry smiting his Head, I left, said he, an excellent Keeper of our Brother's Soul! But let an Horse be presently brought me, and let me have a Guide to direct me in the way. He rode (as he was) forthwith from the Church, and coming to the place, is taken by the Watch which the Thieves had set; he flies not, nor makes entreaty, but calls out, For this purpose I came, bring me to your Captain: He in the mean time, armed as he was, stood still; but as soon as he knew *John* approaching, being ashamed, he fled: but he, forgetful of his Age, with all possible speed pursued him; crying out, Son, why dost thou flee from thy Father, unarm'd and aged? Have compassion on me, my Son; fear not; as yet there is hopes of thy salvation; I will intercede with Christ for thee; if need require, I will willingly undergo death for thee, as the Lord underwent it for us; I will by way of recompence give my Soul for thine; stand still; believe me, Christ hath sent me. He, having heard this, first stood still looking downward; then he threw away his Armour; afterwards trembling, he wept bitterly, and embrac'd

the approaching old Man, craving pardon as well as he could for crying, and being as it were baptized the second time with tears; only he hid his Right Hand. The Apostle promising him, and solemnly swearing that he had obtain'd remission for him of our Saviour, praying, kneeling, and kissing the young Man's Right Hand, as being now cleansed by repentance, brought him into the Church again. And partly by abundant prayers making supplication for him, partly with continual fastings striving together with him, and also comforting his Mind with holy Bible, divers (b) Sentences out of Holy Scripture, he with departed not, as they say, until he had (i) restored him to the Church; having hereby shewn a great example of true repentance, an illustrious instance of Regeneration, and a Trophie of a conspicuous Resurrection.

(i) There is a difference between being brought in, and restored to the Church: He is brought into the Church, who promises he will repent: But he is restored to the Church, who, having been actually and truly penitent, is received into it again, and owned as a member thereof. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning the Order of the Gospels.

These words of *Clement* we have here inserted, upon account both of the Story it self, and the Profit it may yield to the Readers. But, we will now declare and recount the unquestionable Writings of this Apostle. And indeed the Gospel according to him, well-known to all the Churches throughout the World, must in the first place be without controversy acknowledg'd and received as undoubted and genuine. Now that it was truly, and upon a good account put in the fourth place after the other three Gospels by the Ancients, may after this manner be made apparent. Those Heavenly and truly Divine Persons (I speak of the Apostles of Christ) having been as to their Lives and Conversations perfectly purified, and as to their Souls adorn'd with all manner of Virtue, were indeed rude of speech and uneloquent; but they put their confidence in that divine and wonderful power of working Miracles bestow'd on them by our Saviour, and neither attempted nor knew how to be (a) Embassadors of their Master's Precepts in witness of words and artificialness of language. But they solely made use of the demonstration of the Divine Spirit cooperating together with them, and the power of Christ with which they were fully endow'd, and which by them perform'd Miracles; and so they publish'd the knowledge of the Kingdom of Heaven to the whole world; making it the least of their care to be diligent about writing Books: And this they did, because they were employ'd about a more excellent and more than human work. Indeed *Paul*, who was the most powerful of them all in the furniture of words, and the most able in weighty expressions, hath left in writing nothing more than some very (b) short (b) It is Epistles; although he could have disclosed innumerable whether

*Eusebius* would call *Paul's* Epistles short or few: Both may be said of them; so that, that they are few, being in number not above fourteen; and they are short to them that Piously and Religiously read them. *Origen* in *Libro 5. Exposition. in Evangelii. John*, calls them, *hypsichrous*, that is, containing few Verbs: He that desires to read *Origen's* Words, will find them hereafter quoted in the sixth B. of *Eusebius*, chap. 25. Valef.

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merable secrets, because he attained unto a contemplation of those things that are in the third Heaven, and being caught up into the divine Paradise, was vouchsafed to hear these unspeakable words. Moreover, the rest of our Saviour's Preachers, both the Twelve Apostles, and also the Seventy Disciples, together with innumerable others besides them, were not unexperienced in these things. And yet of all the Disciples of the Lord, only *Matthew* and *John* have left us written Records; who also, as report says, were necessitated to write. For *Matthew*, having preach'd first to the Hebrews, and being about going to other Nations, did in his own Country language open the Gospel according to him; supplying by writing the want of his presence and converse among those, (c) whom he was now to leave. Now, when soon after *Mark* and *Luke* had set forth the Gospels according to them, *John* they say, spent all that time only in Preaching, and at length came to Write for this reason. The three first written Gospels having been now deliver'd into the hands of all, and of *John* himself, they say, that he approved of them, and confirm'd the truth thereof by his own testimony; only there was wanting in writing an account of those things done by Christ at the first beginning of his Preaching. And the thing is true: for 'tis evidently periphrastic, that the other three Evangelists have committed to writing only those things which were done by our Saviour in one years space, after *John* the

did after the Baptist's confinement to prison. And to him that shall attentively consider these things, it will not appear that the Gospels disagree one with the other; seeing the Gospel according to *John* contains the first part of the Acts of Christ; but the remaining three give a relation of what was done by him at the latter end of the time. With good reason therefore has *John* pass'd over in silence the Genealogy of our Saviour after the flesh, as having been before written of by *Matthew* and *Luke*; and has begun with his Divinity, reserv'd as it were by the Divine Spirit for him, as being the more excellent person. Let thus much therefore be spoken by us concerning the writing of the Gospel according to *John*. Now what was the occasion of writing the Gospel according to *Mark* hath been manifested by us in what we said \* before. And *Luke* also himself, in the beginning of his Gospel, hath shew'd the cause for which he compiled that History; for he makes it manifest that, because many had rashly taken in hand to make a declaration of those things which he himself most certainly knew, he judg'd it necessary to disengage us from the uncertain conjectures made by others, and therefore hath in his own Gospel deliver'd a most firm and true account of those things, the evidence whereof himself had sufficiently obtain'd, having been assisted therein both by the company and converse of *Paul*, and also by his familiarity with the rest of the Apostles: And thus much now concerning these things. But at a more opportune season we will endeavour to manifest, by a Quotation of the ancient Writers, what has been said by others concerning this very matter. Among the Writings of *John*, besides his Gospel, also the former of his Epistles hath without controversy been admitted as genuine, both by those men that are Modern, and also by the Antients: the two other Writings of his are question'd. The Opinion concerning his Revelation is even at this time on both sides much controverted among many: But this Controversie also shall at a seasonable opportunity be discuss'd by the authority of the Antients.

## C H A P. XXV.

Concerning those Divine Writings, which are without controversy acknowledged; and those which are not such.

**B**UT it will in this place be seasonable summarily to reckon up those Books of the New Testament which have been before-mention'd. In the first place therefore is to be ranked the four Sacred Gospels: Next to which follows the Book of the Acts of the Apostles: After that are to be reckon'd the Epistles of *Paul*; after which follows that which is called the First Epistle of *John*, and in like manner the Epistle of *Peter* is to be admitted as authentick. Then is to be placed, if you think good, the Revelation of *John*: the Opinions concerning which I will in due place declare. And these are the Books that with general consent are acknowledg'd. Among those which are question'd as doubtful, which yet are approved and mention'd by many, is that which is called the Epistle of *James*, and that of *Jude*, also the Second Epistle of *Peter*, and those called the Second and Third Epistles of *John*, whether they were written by the Evangelist, or another of the same name with him. Amongst the

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(c) *Nicæphorus*, Lib. 2. chap. 45. reads it *το λεγμεν τιν εαυτο παροισι*; and *Rufinus* and *Mysiculus* translate it as we have done. But *Christophorus* interprets it otherwise; thus, and what seemed to be wanting to those from whom he departed whilst he was present with them, that he fully made up by his fidelity and labour in writing. In which translation this is to be blamed, to wit, in that he says *Matthew* wrote his Gospel after his departure from the Hebrews, when as *Eusebius* says the contrary; For in the Greek it is *αφ' ου εσταλλετο*, i. e. from whom he was going. *Athanasius* in his Treatise of Lib. 5. Scrip. and *Christostome*, write that *Matthew* first wrote his Gospel at *Jerusalem*: And *Nicæphorus* and the Author of *Chronica*, *Alexandra*, say he wrote it in the 15th year after Christ's Ascension. *Christophorus* referred those Words *ταυτοι αφ' ου εσταλλετο* to the Words *λεγειν*; whereas they are referred to the Word *απεκλειν*. And in the King's *Mat.* and *Med.* M. 55. after the word *περσους* and *ισραηλ*, the comma is put false.

*Baptist's* being shut up in prison; and that they have expressly evidenc'd the same at the beginning of their History. For, after the forty days Fast, and the Temptation that follow'd thereupon, *Matthew* does plainly set forth the time of his own

\* *Matth.* 4. 12. writing, saying, \* When he had heard that *John* was cast into prison, he departed out of Judea into Galilee. 14. And in like manner *Mark*; † Now after that *John*, says he, was put in prison, *Jesus* came into Galilee.

And *Luke* also, before he begins the relation of the Acts of *Jesus*, does in like manner make this remark, saying, that *Herod*, adding yet this to all the evils he had done, shut up *John* in prison. Therefore they say, that the Apostle *John*, being for these causes thereto requited, has declared in a Gospel according to him, the time pass'd over in silence by the former Evangelists, and what was done by our Saviour therein, (and they were the things that he did before the imprisonment of the Baptist;) and thus he manifests the same things, partly when he says thus; This beginning of miracles did *Jesus*; and partly when he makes mention

of the Baptist, whilst he is speaking of the Acts of *Jesus*, as being at that time \* *Baptizing in Armon*, near to (d) *Salem*: And this he evidently declares by saying thus; For *John*, says he, was not yet cast into prison. Therefore *John* indeed in the penning of the Gospel according to him, declares those things that were done by Christ, the Baptist being as yet not cast into prison; but the other three Evangelists give an account of those things Christ

\* *John* 3. 23, 24. (d) In the most Antient *Man.* M. S. I found it written *αμαρην* with a diphthong, i. e. *Saleim*. Valef.

*Trajan.* the (a) *Spurious* Works let there be rank'd, both the Work intitled *The Acts of Paul*, and the Book called *Pafior*, and the *Revelation of Peter*; and moreover that which is called the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and that named the (b) *Doctrines of the Apostles*; and moreover, as I said, the *Revelation of John* (if you think good) which some, as I have said, do reject, but others allow of, and admit among those Books that are received as unquestionable and undoubted. And among these some do now number the (c) *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, with which those of the *Hebrews* that have embraced the Faith of Christ are chiefly delighted. All these Books may be question'd as doubtful. And I thought it requisite to make a Catalogue of these also, that we may discriminate those Scriptures that according to Ecclesiastical Tradition are true and unforg'd, and with general consent receiv'd as undoubted, from those other Books which are not such, nor incorporated into the *New Testament*, but are question'd as doubtful; which yet have been acknowledged and allow'd of by many Ecclesiastical Persons: And further that we may know these very Books, and those others that have been put forth by Heretics under the name of the Apostles, containing as well the supposed Gospels of *Peter*, *Thomas*, and *Matthias*, and of some others besides them; as also the supposed Acts of *Andrew* and *John*, and other of the Apostles. Of which Books no (d) Ecclesiastical Writer even from the Apostles times hitherto hath in any of his Works vouchsafed to make the least mention. But moreover also, the manner of the Phrase and the Style wherein they are written are much different from the Apostolick natural propriety and innateness; and the meaning and drift of those things delivered in these Books, being mightily dissonant from Orthodoxal truth, doch manifestly evince that they are the forgeries of Heretical Men. Upon which account they are not to be rank'd amongst the *Spurious* Writings, but altogether to be rejected, as wholly absurd and impious. But we will now proceed to what follows of our History.

(a) Concerning this Book in the Learned Arch-Bishop Usher in his Dissertation on *Ignatius's* Epistles, Chap. 7. Edit. Oxon. 1644.

(c) Concerning this Gospel, St. Jerome, in *Catalogo*, where he is speaking of *James* the brother of our Lord, says thus, *Evangelium quod appellatur secundum Hebraeos*; *Quod a me nuper in Græcum Latiniq; Sermonem translatum est*, quo *et Origenes* sæpe utitur, &c. *Julianus Pelagianus*, Lib. 4. speaks of this Gospel, where he accuses *Jerome*, because in his Dialogue against the *Pelagians*, he made use of an authority of a fifth Gospel, which he himself had translated into Latin. But that which *Eusebius* adds, that the *Jews* which embraced Christianity are chiefly delighted with this Gospel, makes him seem to mean the *Nazaræans* and *Ebionites*; for they use to read that Gospel written in Hebrew, as St. Jerome shews, in *Elai*, c. 11. and in *Ezech.* c. 18. *Valf.*

(d) *Eusebius* speaks not here of the Successors of the Apostles, but of the Bishops; but he speaks of the Ecclesiastical Writers, who in a perpetual succession have flourished in the Church. Therefore

*ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, is the same as ἡ τοῦ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ, i. e. of the Ecclesiastical Writers in every Age. For, as heretofore among the Jews there was a succession of Prophets, tho' sometimes interrupted (as *Josephus* says in his first Book against *Apion*;) so in the Church there always was a succession of Learned Men and Writers which were called Ecclesiasticks. Moreover in the M. SS. *Mar. Med.* and *Euk.* it is written *ἡ τοῦ Διαβόλου*, with the Article, *Valf.**

*Trajan.*

## CHAP. XXVI.

### Of Menander the Impostor.

**M**ENANDER, succeeding *Simon Magus*, shew'd himself to be, as to his Disposition and Manners, a second (a) Dart of Diabolical force that no whit inferior to the former. He also was a (b) Samaritan; and, arriving to no less height of pretence, he imposed upon his Disciples, and abounded much more in greater and more monstrous illusions: for he said that he himself was a Saviour, sent from above on this for the salvation of men from invisible ages; and word. *Simon* rendered it, that no man could otherwise overcome the Angels the makers of this world, unless he were first instituted in the magical knowledge delivered by him, and initiated in the Baptism by *Langus* him imparted. Of which Baptism those that were adjudg'd worthy, they, he affirmed, would be partakers of a perpetual immortality in this very life; they should be no longer subject to death; but *Christo* continuing in this present life should be always young and immortal. And indeed 'tis easy to know all this from the Books of *Irenæus*. And *Justin* in like manner having made mention of *Simon*, adds also a Narration of this Man, saying, "And we knew one Menander a Samaritan also of the Village *Caparattæ*, a Disciple of *Simon's*, who being moved by the fury of Devils, and coming to *Antioch*, seduced many by magical art; who also perfwaded his followers that they should not die; and at this time there are some of his Sect that profess the same." Wherefore it was the Diabolical power by such Impostors, going under the name of *Christians*, to endeavour to illuminate by Magick the great Mystery of Godliness, and by them to expose to reproach the Ecclesiastical opinions concerning the Immortality of the Soul, and the Resurrection of the Dead. But those who joyn'd themselves to such Saviours as followers of them, were frustrated of the true hope.

*Hen. Savil's*, I found a far different punctuation of this place from that which *Christophorson* followed, as appears by his Version. For in the said M. SS. it is thus pointed, *ἔπλεον δὲ τῶν ἑτέρων τῶν ἀποστόλων ἡ τοῦ Διαβόλου ἐκκλησία ἐκκλησιαστικὴ ἡ τοῦ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ*. And truly this punctuation is far better than the vulgar. For what can the meaning of these words be [*ἡ τοῦ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ*] ? I know the *Jews* hated the *Samaritians*, as the world of Men; inasmuch that the name of *Samaritan* was accounted by the *Jews* the greatest reproach. But here *Menander's* Country is spoken of; his Manners *Eusebius* speaks of hereafter. Moreover he is said to be a *Samaritan* in the same sense that *Justin* in *Apologet.* and *Clemens* in *Libr. Recognit.* calls *Simon a Samaritan*; i. e. he was of the Province or Country of *Samarita*, he came not out of the very City *Samarita*. For *Simon* was of the Village *Griton*; but *Menander* of the Village *Caparattæ*. *Valf.*

## CHAP. XXVII.

### Of the Heresy of the Ebionites.

**T**HE malicious Devil being unable to remove others from the love of the Christ of God, finding that they might (a) some other way be surpriz'd, he made them his own. These the Antients fitly term'd *Ebionites*, in that they had a poor and low opinion of *Christ*: for they accounted him an ordinary man, and nothing

(a) *Θαλασσοπώτης*. A new word made up of a strange kind of composition of *θαλάσσης*, and *πώτης*, to take or catch on some other side, on some other way. *Valf.*

Trajan.

thing more than a man; justified only for his proficiency in Vertue, and begotten by *Mary's* accompanying with her Husband: And they asserted that an observance of the Law was altogether necessary for them, supposing they could not be saved only by Faith in Christ and a life agreeable thereto. But others among them being of the same name have eschewed the monstrous absurdity of the fore-cited Opinions, denying not that the Lord was begotten of the Virgin by the Holy Ghost: But notwithstanding, these in like manner also, not confessing that he existed before all things, as being God the Word, and the Wisdom of the Father, are led into the same impiety with the former; especially in that they make it their business to maintain and observe the bodily worship of the Law. They also think that all the Epistles of the Apostle *Paul* ought to be rejected, calling him an Apostate from the Law: they made use only of the Gospel called *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*; the rest they made small account of: They observ'd also the Sabbath and all other Judaical Rites in like manner as the *Jews* do; but on *Sundays* they perform'd the same things with us in remembrance of the Lord's Resurrection. From whence, because of such opinions by them held, they got this name, *to wit*, the appellation of *Ebionites*, a name that betokens the poverty of their understanding. For by this name a Beggar is called amongst the (b) *Hebrews*.

(b) *עביון* signifies *Egeuus*, a beggar, in Hebrew; from the theam *עביון* *Voluit, desideravit*; because a beggar desires, or craves supplies for his wants. *Buxtorf's Lexic. Rab.* See *Origen*, Lib. 4. de *Princip.* concerning these Hereticks.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Of the Arch-Heretick Cerinthus.

WE have heard that at the same time there was one *Cerinthus* a Founder of another Heresie. *Cairn*, whose words I before quoted, in that Disputation of his now extant, writes thus concerning him. 'But *Cerinthus* also, who 'by Revelations written by himself, as it were by some great Apostle, hath feign'd monstrous Narrations as if they had been shew'd him by Angels, and sets them abroad amongst us, saying, that after the Resurrection the Kingdom of Christ will be terrestrial, and that men living again in the flesh at *Jerusalem* shall be subject to Desires and Pleasures. He also being an enemy to Divine Scripture, and (a) desirous to induce men into error, says that there shall be the number of a thousand years spent in a Nuptial Feast.' And *Dionysius* also, who in our time was chosen Bishop of the Church of *Alexandria*, (b) in his second Book concerning Promises, speaking something of the *Revelation* of *John*, was from ancient tradition, mentions this Man in these words: 'But *Cerinthus*, the Founder of the Heresie called from him the *Cerinthian Heresie*, was, they say, the Author of that

(a) *ὁ ἐχθρὸς τῆς ἀληθείας*. So it is Printed in *Rob. Stephens's* Edition. I know not by what accident. Which error of the Press the Geneva Edition afterwards followed: But we, from our M.S.S. copies, and from *Nicéphorus* his Book, have made good the true reading of this place, thus, *ἐχθρὸς πλανῶν, desirous to induce Men into error, &c.* Valef.

(b) It should be thus written *ἐν τῷ 2<sup>ῳ</sup> βιβλίῳ περὶ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν*, in his second Book concerning promises. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* wrote two Books of promises, or rewards, which God promised to give to pious Men after this Life. The second of these was written against *Nepos* a Bishop of *Egypt*, who from the *Revelation* of *John* asserted that Christ's Kingdom would be terrestrial, as *Eusebius* declares in his seventh Book. Valef.

*Book*, (c) being desirous to put a creditable name upon his own forgery. For this was one of the Tenets of his Doctrine, that the Kingdom of Christ should be terrestrial: And those things which he, being a lover of his body, and altogether carnally minded, earnestly lusted after, them he dreamt the Kingdom of Christ consisted, *to wit*, in the Satiety of the Belly, and of those parts beneath the Belly; that is, in Meats, Drinks and Marriages, and in those things whereby he thought these might with a greater pretence and shew of piety be procured, that is, in Feasts, Sacrifices, and in the slaying of Offerings.' Thus far *Dionysius*. But the explication of *Irenæus*, in his first Book against Heresies, does recite some more secret false Opinions of this Man's; and in his third Book he delivers in writing a certain Story (unworthy to be forgotten) as from the Tradition of *Polycarp*, saying, that *John* the Apostle going on a time to the Bath to bathe himself, and understanding that *Cerinthus* was within, retired in great haste from that place, and was fled out at the door, not enduring to go under by the same roof with him; and that he perswaded those who were with him to do so also, saying, Let us be gone, lest the Bath fall, *Cerinthus* that enemy of the Truth being within it.

name of *John* the Apostle, that he might get the greater authority for his own Opinions. Valef.

(d) *Christophoros*, in stead of *Χριστοφόρος* read *Χριστομαρτυρος* from B. 7. c. 25. But that place in B. 7. is rather to be corrected by this, than this corrupted from that. Our M.S.S. Copies *Marx* and *Med.* have it written *Χριστομαρτυρος* in B. 7. So also *Nicéphorus* in his 3<sup>d</sup> B. c. 14. Under the name of Feasts and Sacrifices *Cerinthus* hid his Lusts, that he might make a shew of honesty and decency.

## C H A P. XXIX.

Of Nicholas, and those Hereticks who bear his name.

AT this time the Heresie called the Heresie of the *Nicholaites*, continued for a very short time; of which also the *Revelation* of *Sir John* makes mention. These boasted of *Nicholas H. Saviu's* (one of the Deacons, who together with *Stephen* were Ordain'd by the Apostles to minister to the poor) as the Author of their Self. Now *Clement* A. to wit, *Alexandrinus* in the third of his *Stromata* relates thus much of him word for word: 'He, they say, having a beautiful Wife, being after our Saviour's Ascension blamed by the Apostles for his Jealousie, brought his Wife forth, and permitted her to marry whom she had a mind to. For this deed, they report, is agreeable to that saying of his, *to wit*, That we ought to abuse the flesh. Those therefore who follow his Heresie, (b) simply and rashly assenting to this saying, and, imitating this deed, do most impudently give themselves over to Fornication. But I am given to understand that *Nicholas* was made use of no other Woman besides her married; and that those of his Children which ought to be Daughters remained Virgins when they were retired to the

Word [*ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, i. e. assenting to] and not to the Word [*ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων*, i. e. the saying:] Which being not minded by *Christophoros*, he widely mistook *Clement's* meaning. For *Clement* does not say that that fact, or that saying was done or said by *Nicholas* rashly and inconsiderately. Yea, he declares in the 2<sup>d</sup> of his *Stromata* about the latter end, that this saying [*ἡ ἀποστολική ἐκείνη τῇ λέξει*] was one of *Nicholas* his Apophthegms, or Pithy Speeches. Which saying of his, his followers interpreted so, as if *Nicholas* had commanded every one to abuse his flesh with all manner of voluptuousness and lasciviousness: But *Nicholas* meant the clean contrary by this his speech, *to wit*, that the flesh ought not to be indulged to, but to be kept under, and wearied out with continual exercises of Vertue. Valef.

were





## C H A P. XXXII.

How Simeon the Bishop of Jerusalem suffered Martyrdom.

AFTER the Persecution of Nero and Domitian, whose times we now recount, there was a Persecution raised against us by piece-meal throughout every City, which proceeded from a popular Infurrection. In which we have by tradition received,

(a) In the King's MS. it is *Simon*, as *Rob. Stephens* observed. *Jerom*, in *Chronico*, testifies that the name of this Bishop of Jerusalem was written two ways, to wit, *Simon* and *Simeon*. The same *George*, *Spencer* observes, and also the Author *Chronici Alexandrini*. *Valef*.

that (a) *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, who we declar'd was constituted the second Bishop of the Church at Jerusalem, finish'd his life by Martyrdom. And this the same Writer attesteth, several words of whose we have

before quoted, that is, *Hegesippus*: Who, giving a relation of certain Hereticks, adds, that this *Simeon*, being at that time by them accus'd and torment'd divers ways, and for the space of many days, because he was a Christian, struck with a great amazement both the Judge and those about him, and at length died by the same kind of suffering that the Lord did. Nothing hinders but that we may hear the Writer relating these things word for word, thus: 'Some of those Hereticks accus'd *Simeon* the son of *Cleophas*, as being a Descendant from *David*, and a Christian; and so he suffered Martyrdom when he was an hundred and twenty years old, under *Trajan* the Emperor, and

(b) *Atticus* of the Consular Order then President of Syria."

And the same Author says, that those misaccusers, (such as were of the Royal Family of the Jews being at that time sought for) hapned to be convicted, as belonging to that Family. Now, should any one say that this *Simeon* was one of those who both saw and heard the Lord, he would speak what is in no way absurd, having as an undoubted Evidence

thereof the great length of his life, and the mention made in the Gospels of *Mary* the Wife of *Cleophas*; whose Son that he was, \* our former words have manifested. Also the same Writer says, that others, related to one of those called the Brethren of our Saviour (whose name was *Judas*) lived until this Emperor's Reign, after their profession of the Faith of Christ under *Domitian*, \* which we mentioned before. For thus he writeth, "They come therefore and preside over the whole Church, as being Martyrs, and of the Kindred of our Lord. And a profound Peace ensuing over the whole Church, they continued alive till the times of *Trajan* the Emperor, until the fore-said *Simeon*, the son of *Cleophas* (who was (c) *Uncle* to our Lord) being accus'd by the (d) Hereticks, was in like manner also impeach'd for the (e) same thing before *Atticus* the President. And being cruelly tortured for many days he with

constancy profess'd the Faith of Christ; in so much that the President and all those about him wondred greatly, how a man of an hundred and twenty years old as he was, could have endured such torments. And in fine, it was order'd he should be crucified." Moreover the same Man, relating what was done in those times, adds, that until then the (f) Church continued a pure and undefiled Virgin; those who endeavour'd to corrupt the found Rule of wholesome Doctrine, if any such persons there were, absconding themselves hitherto in obscure darkness. But after the sacred company of the Apostles was by various kinds of death become extinct, and that generation of those men, who were accounted worthy to hear with their own ears the Divine Wisdom, was gone, then the conspiracy of impious Error took its rise from the deceit of False Teachers; who, in as much as not one of the Apostles was then surviving, did now at length with a bare face attempt to preach up — the knowledge falsely Thewords so call'd, in opposition to the Doctrine of the Truth.

(g) And thus much this Author, treating of these things, has after this manner said. But we will here proceed to what in order follows of our History.

B. 4. *Ensebius* seems to have attributed that to the whole Church which *Hegesippus* spake of the Church at Jerusalem in particular. *Valef*.

(g) All these Words, to the end of the Chapter, are wanting in the *Max. Med.* and *Ful.* MSS. neither doth *Rufinus* acknowledge them in his translation, as appears therefrom. And this whole Clause seems to me to be Spurious and Supposititious. For whosoever added it, thought the Words that went before were *Hegesippus's*; whereas they are not his, but *Ensebius's*, as we may see from chap. 22. B. 4. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

How Trajan forbade that the Christians should be sought after.

MOREOVER, so great a Persecution rag'd against us at that time in many places, that *Plinius Secundus* the most eminent amongst the Governours of Provinces, being moved at the multitude of Martyrs, gave the Emperor an account of the great numbers of those that were destroy'd because of their Faith; and together therewith certified him, that he found they did nothing of Impiety, nor acted any thing contrary to the Laws; only that they rose at break of day, and sung Hymns to Christ, as unto God; but that they abhor'd the commission of Adultery and Murder, and such-like horrid crimes; and that they did all things consonant to the Laws. Upon account of which *Trajan* made this Edict, That the Christians should not be sought out; but if by accident they were lighted on, they should be punish'd. Which being done, the most vehement hear of the Persecution that lay heavy upon us, was in some measure quench'd: but to those who had a mind to do us mischief there remain'd Pretexts no whit less fair and specious; in some places the People, in others the Rulers of the Provinces, forming treacheries against us; in so much that even when there was no open and general persecution, yet there were particular ones throughout the Provinces, and very many of the Faithful underwent various sorts of Martyrdoms. We have taken this account out of *Tertullian's* Apology, written in Latin (of which we before made mention) the Translation whereof is thus; "But we have found that the inquisition after us has been prohibited. For *Plinius Secundus*, when he was Governour of the Province, having condemn'd some Christians, and deprived other

(f) This *Hegesippus* spake of the Church of Jerusalem in particular, to wit, that it continued a Virgin until the death of *Simeon*, unto *Trajan's* time.

(g) *Hegesippus* you will meet will meet with here-proceed to what in order follows of our History.

chap. 22.

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some

\* Book 3, chap. 11.

+ i.e. *Trajan's*. \* Book 3, chap. 22.

(c) That is, because he married *Mary* Sister to the Blessed Virgin. See Note A in chap. 11. of this Book.

(d) The Author *Chronici Alexandrini* supposeth that the *Cerinthian* Hereticks and the *Nicholaites* are here meant: To whom I do not assent. *Hegesippus* means those Sects which at that time were potent at Jerusalem, to wit, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and others, of whom hereafter, at Book 4. Chap. 22. *Valef*.

(e) That is, because he preach'd the Faith of Christ, as he said before, and says again, Book 4. Chap. 22. *Valef*.

*Trajan.* some, being at length troubled at their great number, asked advice of *Trajan* then the Emperor, what he should do with the residue, saying, that, besides their obstinacy in not sacrificing, he found nothing of impiety in their religious Mysteries, only that they held early Assemblies in singing Hymns to Christ as unto God, and that they had (a) certain Symbol or Signal of their Polity; that they forbade Murder, Adultery, Fraud, Perfidiousness, and suchlike crimes. Then *Trajan* returned answer, that those sort of Men should not indeed be diligently fought out, but if by chance (b) they were lighted on and brought before the Governours, they should be punished." And this was then the posture of Affairs.

(a) He that translated the Words of *Tertullian* into Greek, has rendered them unhappily. For neither

*does symbolus significare disciplinam, nor signaculum, to agree together.* I would therefore rather translate these Words of *Tertullian* thus, *signum* *quodammodo* *significans disciplinam*, i. e. and that they had a certain Symbol or Signal of their Polity. Valef.

(b) Here also the Greek Translator of *Tertullian* hath done ill; for *Tertullian*, or rather *Trajan*, calls those *Oblatos*, who were brought in before the Judges; for so the Latines use to speak. The sense therefore of the Emperor *Trajan's* Rescript against the Christians is this, that the Governours of Provinces should not too diligently hunt after the Christians by sending out Spies and Officers to take them, but if any Christians were by chance found out by their Officers, or if they were made appear to be such by their Accusers, that then they ought to be punished. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

That Evarestus was the Fourth that governed the Roman Church.

*Clement*, one of the Roman Bishops, having left his Episcopal Office to *Evarestus*, finished his life in the third year of the foresaid Emperor's Reign; when he had had the charge of the Doctrine of the Divine Word for full nine years space.

## C H A P. XXXV.

That Justus was the Third that governed the Church at Jerusalem.

BUT moreover, *Simeon* having finished his life after the foresaid manner, a certain *Jew*, by name *Justus*, succeeded in the Episcopal Seat at *Jerusalem*; there being then an innumerable company of the Circumcision (of which he was one) that believed in Christ.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning Ignatius and his Epistles.

MOREOVER, at this time *Polycarp* a Disciple of the Apostles flourished in *Asia*, to whom was committed the Bishoprick of the Church at *Smyrna*, by those that saw and ministered to the Lord. At the same time (a) *Papias* was famous, who also was Bishop of the Church at *Hierapolis*, a man most eminently learned and eloquent, and knowing in the Scriptures. *Ignatius* also, renowned amongst many even to this day, who was chosen Bishop of *Antioch*, being the second in succession there, after *Peter*. Report goes that this Man was sent from *Syria* to *Rome* to be made food for Wild Beasts, upon account of the Pro-

(a) This whole Eulogie of *Papias* is wanting in our MSS. copies, *Max. Med.* and *Fak.* Neither did *Refutius*

read these Words in his Copies, as may be gathered from his Translation. Wherefore I doubt not but they were inserted by some unskillful Scholiast, against the mind and opinion of *Eusebius*. For how can it be, that *Eusebius* should here stile *Papias* a Man most excellently learned, and very skillful in the Scriptures, whereas himself does at the end of this Book expressly affirm, that *Papias* was a Man of an ordinary Wit, and altogether ignorant and simple. Valef.

cession of his Faith in Christ. And being led through *Asia* under the custody of a most watchful Guard, he confirm'd the Churches in every City through which he passed, by Discourses and Exhortations; warning them most especially to take heed of the Heresies, which then first sprung up and increased: And he exhorted them firmly to keep the Traditions of the Apostles, which he thought necessary for the more certain knowledge of Posterity to be put in writing, having confirm'd them by his own testimony. Coming therefore at length to *Smyrna*, where *Polycarp* then was, he wrote one Epistle to the Church at *Ephesus*, mentioning  *Onesimus* the Pastor there; and another to the Church at *Magnesia* standing on the River *Meander*, wherein again he makes mention of *Damas* the Bishop; and another to the Church at *Tralles*, the Governour whereof at that time he declares was *Polybius*. Besides these Epistles he wrote also to the Church at *Rome*, wherein he earnestly beseeches them that they would not intreat him to avoid Martyrdom, lest they should defraud him of his desired hope. Out of which Epistle 'tis worth our quoting some short Passages for the confirmation of what we have said. Thus therefore he writes word for word: 'From *Syria* to *Rome* I fight with Beasts, by sea and land, day and night, bound to ten Leopards, that is, to a File of Soldiers, who being kindly treated by me,

become (b) worse. But by their Injuries I am the more instructed; but for all that I am not justified. Oh! that I might enjoy the Wild Beasts that are provided for me! which I even heartily wish may be found to be fierce! which I will allure to devour me immediately, that they spare me not, as out of fear they have left some untouched. But if they be unwilling to do it, I will compel them by force.

Pardon me; I know what is good for me: Now I begin to be a Disciple:

(c) Let nothing visible or invisible divert me from, or envy my happiness of attaining Christ Jesus. Let Fire and the Crofs, the Assaults of the Wild Beasts, the pulling asunder of

Bones, the cutting off of Members, the stamping in pieces of the whole Body, the punishment of the Devil, come upon me; so I may obtain Christ Jesus. And thus much he wrote from the foresaid City to the Churches before named. Being now gone beyond *Smyrna*, he from *Tras* again sent Letters to those at *Philadelphia*, also to the Church at *Smyrna*, and privately to *Polycarp* the Prelate thereof: To whom, because he well knew him to be an Apostolical Man, he entrusted his Flock at *Antioch*, being a very true and good Pastor; requesting him, that he

should have a diligent care thereof. The same per *Ignatius's* son writing to those of *Smyrna*, borrows some concern- words, which whence he had I (d) know not, ing Christ

out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews; (which was either omitted by *Eusebius*, or unknown to him. *Jerome*, in his Book De *Eccl. Script.* informs us hereof; as also in his 18 B. of Commentaries on *Esaias*. See *Usher's* Annotat. on *Ignatius's* Epistles, pag. 49. number 23.

some

*Trajan.*

(b) In the *Max. Med.* and *Fak.* MSS. 'tis read *sceleriores* *assidui*. A little after I read, with *Isaac Vossius*, *et de* *serpens* *essent* *per* *superstitionem*, that is, which I heartily wish may be found to be fierce, which amendment *Refutius* his Translation confirms. For thus he turns it, *Quos et ergo opio cariores parati*. Therefore *Refutius* reads, *assidui*, not *assidui*, which signifies [soon, or straightways.] The same Error is amended by us hereafter, in the sixth Book; for there *assidui* was printed for *assidui*. Valef. But Bishop *Usher* reads *sceleriores*; and also, *assidui*. See his Annotat. on this Epistle, Number 43.

(c) It is as much as if *Ignatius* had said, Let nothing envy me the Glory of being a Disciple of Christ; Let no Man pluck me from his Embraces. The holy Martyr alludes, as he uses to do, to those Words of St. Paul, *Ipso spoli* *separate* *us* *from* *the* *Love* *of* *Christ* *Rom. 8. 35.* Valef. See Bishop *Usher's* Notes on *Ignatius's* Epistle to the Romans, Number 32.

(d) This

Trajan.

Trajan.

speaking thus much concerning Christ; 'But I both know and believe that after the Resurrection he was in the flesh; and that, coming to Peter and those who were about him, he said unto them, take hold of me, handle me, and see, for I am not an incorporeal Spirit: And straightway they touch'd him, and believed.' *Irenæus* also speaks of his Martyrdom, and mentions his Epistles, saying thus: 'As one of our Men, condemn'd to the Wild Beasts for his Faith in God, said, I am the Bread-corn of God, and I must be ground by the Teeth of Wild Beasts, that I may be found to be pure Bread.' And *Polycarp* mentions the same Epistles in that of his to the *Philippians*, in these very words: 'I therefore beseech you all to obey those that are over you, and to exercise all manner of Patience, which you have evidently seen, not only in those Blessed Men *Ignatius*, *Rufus*, and *Zosimus*, but also in others of us; likewise in *Paul* himself, and in the other Apostles; being fully persuaded that all these ran not in vain, but proceeded in Faith and Righteousness; and that they are in that place due to them from the Lord, together with whom they suffer'd. For they loved not this present World, but him who died for us, and was by God raised for us again.' And a little after he adds; 'Both you and *Ignatius* wrote to me, that if any one went into *Syria*, he should carry your Letters thither: Which I will do if I can get a fit opportunity; either I myself, or some other, whom I will send as a Messenger on purpose for you. Those Epistles of *Ignatius* sent by him to us, and all the other we had here with us, we have sent to you, according as you enjoy'd us; they are made up with this Letter; from which Epistles you may profit very much; for they contain Faith, Patience, and whatever is conducive to our Edification in the Lord.' And thus much concerning *Ignatius*: After whom succeeded *Heros* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning those Preachers of the Gospel who at that time were eminent.

Among those who were illustrious in those times *Quadratus* was one, who, as some say, flourished at the same time with the Daughters of *Philip*, in the gift of Prophecy. Many others also besides these were famous at that time, having obtain'd the first place among the Successors of the Apostles: Who, because they were the (a) eminent Disciples of such Men, built up those Churches, the Foundations whereof were every-where laid by the Apostles; promoting greatly the Doctrine of the Gospel, and scattering the salutary Seed of the Kingdom of Heaven at large over the whole World. For many of the then Disciples, whose Souls were inflamed by the Divine Word with a more ardent desire of Philosophy, first fulfilled our Saviour's Commandment, by distributing their Substance to those that were necessitous; then after that travelling abroad, they perform'd the work of Evangelists to those who as yet had not heard the word of Faith; being very ambitious to preach Christ, and to deliver the Books of the Divine Gospels. And these Persons, having only laid the foundation of Faith in remote and barbarous places, and constituted other Pastors, committed to them

the culture of those they had perfectly introduc'd to the Faith, departed again to other Regions and Nations, accompanied with the Grace and Co-operation of God. For the Divine Spirit as yet wrought many wonderful works by them; inasmuch that at the first hearing, innumerable multitudes of men did with most ready minds altogether admit of and engage themselves in the worship of that God who is the Maker of all things. But it being impossible for us to recount by name all those who in the first Succession of the Apostles were Pastors or Evangelists in the Churches throughout the world, we will here commit to writing the mention of their names only, whose writings, containing the Apostolical Doctrine they delivered, are to this day extant amongst us.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Epistle of Clemens, and those other Writings, which are falsely attributed to him.

AS for example, the Epistles of *Ignatius*, which we have reckoned up, and that of *Clemens* acknowledg'd by all as undoubted, which he wrote in the name of the *Roman* to the *Corinthian* Church. Wherein, seeing he has inserted many Sentences taken out of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and sometimes had made use of the express words of it, it evidently manifests that that Work is not new; whence it has seem'd agreeable to reason to reckon this Epistle amongst the rest of the Writings of that Apostle. For *Paul* having written to the *Hebrews* in his own Country-Language, some say that *Luke* the Evangelist, but others that this *Clemens*, of whom we speak, translated that Work. Which latter seems the truest Opinion, because both the Style both of *Clemens*'s Epistle, and also of that to the *Hebrews* appears to be very like; and the Sense and Expressions in both the Works are not much different. You must also know that there is a second Epistle, which is said to be *Clemens*'s: But we know for certain that this is not so generally acknowledg'd, nor approved of as the former, because we are sure the Antients have not quoted any Authorities out of it. Further also, some have of late produced other voluminous and large Works, as if they were his, containing the (a) Dialogues of *Peter* and (b) *Apion*; (c) of which there is not the least mention extant amongst the Antients; neither does there appear in them the (d) pure Form of Apostolical sound Doctrine. Now therefore 'tis apparent which are the genuine and undoubted Writings of *Clemens*: we have also spoken sufficiently concerning the Works of *Ignatius* and *Polycarp*.

*Antioch* with *Anubion* about the same time that the Apostle *Peter* came thither. But there is nothing hind there of *Peter*'s dispute with *Apion*. What shall we say then? That the Book of *Clemens* which contains *Peter*'s dispute with *Apion* is different from his Books *Recognit.*: To me indeed they seem not to be two Books. For if there had been two Books of *Clemens*'s, the one *Recognit.*, the other containing the dispute of *Peter* with *Apion*, why should *Eusebius* mention one only, and omit the other? There was therefore but one Book of *Clemens*'s, entitled *αρεσκων*, or *αρεσκων* *πιστης*. But 'twas divided into two parts; the former mentioned *Marcus* and *Fausinus* to be acknowledged of their Children; in the second part was contained the Dialogues of *Peter* and *Apion*. Indeed *Rufinus*, who translated that Book of *Clemens*'s into Latin, does tell us, in his Epistle to *Gaudensius* the Bishop, that there were two parts of this Book in the Greek; in the one of which some things occurred which the other had not: He writes also, that on set purpose he omitted some things, because they disagreed from sound Doctrine. (b) This name is written with a double p, in all our MSS, but that of Mr. *Fakett*, where 'tis writ with a single p, as it is in *Yosephus* and others. *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* chap. 112. agrees with our Copies, and

(a) In our MSS, *Mar.* *Alc.* *Tuk.* and *Sir.* *Henry* *Nat.*'s, it is written, *αρεσκων* *πιστης*, i. e. eminent, or excellent Disciples. *Valel.*

(a) In the 10th Book *Recognit.* of *Clemens* *Romans*, there is mention of *Apion*, who is said to have come to

*Antioch* with *Anubion* about the same time that the Apostle *Peter* came thither. But there is nothing hind there of *Peter*'s dispute with *Apion*. What shall we say then? That the Book of *Clemens* which contains *Peter*'s dispute with *Apion* is different from his Books *Recognit.*: To me indeed they seem not to be two Books. For if there had been two Books of *Clemens*'s, the one *Recognit.*, the other containing the dispute of *Peter* with *Apion*, why should *Eusebius* mention one only, and omit the other? There was therefore but one Book of *Clemens*'s, entitled *αρεσκων*, or *αρεσκων* *πιστης*. But 'twas divided into two parts; the former mentioned *Marcus* and *Fausinus* to be acknowledged of their Children; in the second part was contained the Dialogues of *Peter* and *Apion*. Indeed *Rufinus*, who translated that Book of *Clemens*'s into Latin, does tell us, in his Epistle to *Gaudensius* the Bishop, that there were two parts of this Book in the Greek; in the one of which some things occurred which the other had not: He writes also, that on set purpose he omitted some things, because they disagreed from sound Doctrine. (b) This name is written with a double p, in all our MSS, but that of Mr. *Fakett*, where 'tis writ with a single p, as it is in *Yosephus* and others. *Photius*, in *Biblioth.* chap. 112. agrees with our Copies, and

and *Clement* also in B. 10. *Recognit.* where he says that *Apion* *Plistonice* came to *Antioch* with *Andronic*. Lastly *Agellus*, in his 6 B. says *Apion* *Græcus* homo qui *Plistonice* est appellatus. Undoubtedly *Apion* is a Roman name, wrested into a Greek form, as *Isachorus*, *Isaphorus*, and the like. *Apion* was a common name amongst the *Egyptians* derived from *Apis*, whom they worshipped; as, *Serapion*, *Amunon*, and the like. *Protreus* King of the *Cyrene* was called *Apion*. Wherefore seeing this Grammarian the Son of *Plistonice* was an *Egyptian*, it seems that he should be called *Apion*, rather than *Apion*. For *Apion* that was Consul in *Justinian's* time, the Latin Annals call *Apion*, but the *Chronicon Alexandrinum* calls him *Apion*. Valef.

(c) But *Origen*, in his 3d Book *Explanat.* on *Genesis*, makes mention of these Books of *Clement's*; and quotes a passage out of them, which is still extant in the Books of *Clement's* *Recognit.* This quotation of *Origen's* is in the 22 chap. *Philok.* (pag. 81. Edit. Cambr. 1658.) and in the common Editions of that piece the place is said to be taken out of his B. 2. against *Celsus*; but in the Books of *Origen* against *Celsus* now extant, it is not to be found. This quotation out of *Clement* is indeed in his 3d B. *Explanat.* on *Genesis*. — But I have observed that *Origen* does often quote Books, whose Authority is unknown; wherein he does, like the Bee, gather Honey from venomous Flowers. Valef.

(d) *Plinius* testifies the same, chap. 112. *Biblioth.* and before him, *Rufinus* in his Epistle to *Gaudentius* the Bishop, to wit, that in those Books *Recognit.* of *Clement's* there are some things said concerning the Son of God, which disagree from the true rule of Faith, and make for the opinion of the *Arriani*. *Ephraimus*, in *libro* *Editionum* chap. 15, does expressly affirm, that those Books of *Clement Romanus*, entitled *ἀντίστιμις*, were corrupted and falsified by the *Ethiopes*. Valef.

Trajan.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning the Book of Papias.

THE Books of *Papias* now extant, are five in number, which he entitled, *An Explication of the Oracles of the Lord*. *Irenæus* mentions no more than these five to have been written by him, saying thus; 'And these things *Papias*, the Auditor of *John*, the Companion of *Polycarp*, one of the Ancients, attests in writing, in the fourth of his Books; for he completed five.' Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Papias*, in his Preface to his Books, does not evidence himself to have been a Beholder or an Auditor of the Holy Apostles, but only, that he received the Matters of Faith from those who were well-known to them; which he declares in these words: 'But it shall not be tedious to

(a) In the King's MS. it is over-written in this manner, *ἀντίστιμις*, agreeable to our Translation. *Rufinus* reads this place for, as appears by his Translation. For he renders it thus, *Non piget autem nobis tibi omnia quæ quondam a presbyteris didicimus. & hæc retinemus, recordantes exponere cum interpretationibus nostris*. But in the other MSS. *Mar. Med. Fulk.* and *Nicephorus*, it is, *ἐνυλάζω*. Valef.

me, to (a) set down in order, together with my Interpretations, those things which I have well learn'd from the Elders, and faithfully remembred, the truth whereof will be confirm'd by me. For I delighted not in those who speak much, as most do, but in those that teach the truth: Nor in those who recite strange and unusual Precepts; but in such as faithfully rehearse the Commandments given by the Lord, and which proceed from the Truth. Now if at any time I met with any one that had conversed with the Elders, I made a diligent enquiry after their sayings, what *Andrew*, or what *Peter* said; or what *Philip*, or *Thomas*, or *James*, or *John*, or *Matthew*, or any other of the Lord's Disciples, were wont to say; and what *Arifion*, and *John* the Elder (the Disciples of our Lord) utter'd. For I thought that those things contain'd in Books could not profit me so much, as what I heard from the Mouths of Men yet surviving.' In which words 'tis very observable that he recounts the name of *John* twice; the former of whom he reckons among *Peter*, *James*, *Matthew*, and the rest of the Apostles; manifestly shewing thereby that he speaks of *John* the Evangelist: But, making a distinction in his words, he places the other *John* with those who are not of the number of the Apostles; putting *Arifion* before him; and ex-

pressly calls him *The Elder*. So that hereby is shewn the truth of their Relation; who have said that there were two in *Asia* who had that same name; and that there are two Sepulchres at *Ephesus*, and each of them now called the Sepulchre of *John*. Now I judg'd it very requisite to make this observation. For 'tis likely that the second, (unless any one would rather have it to be the first) saw that Revelation which goes under the name of *John*. Further, this *Papias*, whom we speak of, professes he received the sayings of the Apostles from those who had been conversant with them; and was, as he says, the Hearer of *Arifion* and *John* the Elder. Indeed he mentions them often by name, and has set down in his Works those Traditions he receiv'd from them. And thus much has been said by us, not unprofitably, as we judge. It is also worth our adding to the fore-quoted words of *Papias*, other Relations of the same Authors, wherein he gives an account of some Miracles, and other Passages, which he received by tradition. Indeed, that *Philip* the Apostle together with his Daughters lived at *Hierapolis*, has been manifested by what we said \* before. Now \* Chap. we are to shew, that *Papias*, who liv'd at the same time, mentions his receiving a wonderful Narration from the Daughters of *Philip*. For he relates, that in his time a dead was Man raised to life again: And further, that there came to pass another Miracle about *Justus* who was surnam'd (b) *Barabas*, how that he drank deadly *Poison*, and by the Grace of the Lord sustain'd no harm. That this *Justus*, after our Saviour's Ascension, was together with *Matthew* set forth by the Holy Apostles, and that they pray'd that one of them might in stead of the Traitor *Judas* be allotted to fill up their number; the Book of the *Acts* of the Apostles doth after this manner relate — And they appointed two, *Joseph* called *Barabas*, who was surnam'd *Justus*, and *Matthias*. And they pray'd and said. Moreover the same Writer has set down some other things which came to him barely by word of mouth, to wit, certain strange Parables of our Saviour's, and Sermons of his, and some other more fabulous Relations: Among which he says there shall be a thousand years after the Resurrection from the Dead, wherein the Kingdom of Christ shall be corporally set up here on earth: And, I judge, he had this opinion from his misapprehending the Apostolical Discourses, in that he did not see through those things they spake mystically by way of similitude. For he seems to have been a man of a very narrow understanding, as it may be conjectur'd from his Books. Yet he gave occasion to very many Ecclesiastical Persons after him to be of the same erroneous Opinion with him; who had a regard for the Antiquity of the Man, as for example, to *Irenæus*, and to every one also who has declared himself to be of the same Opinion. He relates also in his Books other Interpretations of the aforesaid *Arifion's*, of the sayings of the Lord; and the Traditions of *John* the Elder. To which we do refer the studious Readers, and judge it requisite now only to adjoin to his fore-mentioned words a Passage he relates concerning *Mark* the Evangelist, in these words; 'This also the Elder said; *Mark*, being the (c) Interpreter of (c) *Jerom*, in *Catalo-*

go, calls *Mark* the interpreter of *Peter* from this place of *Papias*, as I judge. Hence 'tis, that many of the Greeks write, that the Gospel of *Mark* was dictated by *Peter*. So *Athanasius* in his Treatise, *de Libris Sacre Scripturæ*. Which, how it's to be understood, *Papias* declares in this place. For it is not to be supposed that *Mark* wrote his Gospel from the mouth of *Peter* dictating to him; but, when he heard *Peter* Preaching the Word of God to the Jews in Hebrew, *Mark* carefully digested those things in the Greek Language, which concerned Christ. Valef.

*Trajan.* Peter, accurately wrote whatever he remembered; but yet not in that order, wherein Christ either spake, or did them: For he was neither an Hearer of the Lord's, nor yet his Follower; but, as I said, he was afterwards conversant with Peter, who preach'd the Doctrine of the Gospel profitably to those that heard him, but not so as if he would compose an History of the Lord's Sayings. Wherefore Mark committed nothing of error, in that he wrote some things so as he had remembered them. For he made this one thing his chiefest aim, to wit, to omit none of those things he had heard, nor yet to deliver any thing that was false therein." Thus

much Papias relates concerning Mark. Concerning Matthew, he says this; Moreover Matthew wrote his Divine Oracles in the Hebrew tongue, and every one interpreted them, as they were able. This Papias also has quoted Authorities taken out of the First Epistle of John, and likewise out of the former Epistle of Peter. He has set down also another Relation about a Woman who was accused of many Crimes before the Lord; which Relation is contain'd in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. And thus much we have usefully and diligently observed, and added to those things which before he had set down.

## THE

FOURTH BOOK  
Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

## CHAP. I.

Who were the Bishops of the Roman and Alexandrian Churches in the Reign of Trajan.

*(a)* In the Chronicon of Eusebius, the beginning of Primus his being charge of that Church. At the same time also, Bishop of Eusebius having finish'd his eighth Year, Alexander undertook the Bishoprick of Rome, who was the fifth in succession from Peter and Paul.

Also the beginning of Alexander's being made Bishop of Rome is placed on the 10th year of Trajan. But in the digesting of the years of the Bishops both of Rome, and also of other Cities, I have observed that Eusebius's Chronicon does often dissent from his Ecclesiastical History. Whether it be the fault of the Transcribers, or of Jerom the Translator, or of Eusebius himself, I cannot positively affirm: For in so great a diversity it's difficult to assign the cause of the mistake. But, seeing that the Ecclesiastical History was written by Eusebius after his Chronicon, wherefore such a disagreement occurs, that seems rather to be followed, which is asserted in the Ecclesiastical History. Valef.

\* Book 3.  
chap. 21.

## CHAP. II.

What the Jews suffer'd in this Emperor's Time.

Moreover, the Doctrine and Church of our Saviour flourishing daily, increased more and more: But the Calamities of the Jews were augmented by continual Mischiefs following one upon another. For, the Emperor entering now upon the eighteenth Year of his Reign, there arose again a Commotion of the Jews, which destroy'd a very great number of them. For both at Alexandria, and over, all the rest of Egypt; and

moreover throughout Cyrene, they being stirr'd up as it were by some violent and contentious Spirit, rais'd Sedition against the (a) Greeks and (a) The Gentiles with whom they dwelt. And they increasing the Faction very much, on the ensuing Year, kindled a great War; Lupus was at that time & Towns Governour of all Egypt. Moreover it hapned that with the in the first encounter they were too hard for the Greeks; who flying to Alexandria, took the Jews, and that were in the City alive, and slew them. But had equal those Jews who inhabited Cyrene, being frustrated of assistance in the War from them, persisterd to infect and destroy the Country of Egypt and all its (b) Prefectures, by Pillages and Robberies, one Lucius being their Leader: Against whom the Emperor sent Marcus Turbo with Horse and Foot, and also with Naval Forces: He in many Engagements, having made the War against them long and tedious, destroy'd many Myriads of Jews, by raised not only of those of Cyrene, but also of those of Egypt, who flockt together to give assistance to their King Lucius. But the Emperor suspecting that those Jews in Mesopotamia would also set upon the Inhabitants there, commanded (c) Lucius Quietus to clear that Province of them: who engaging with them, destroy'd a very great number of them that dwelt there: for which successful piece of service he was appointed Deputy of Judaea by the Emperor. And thus much those Heathens, who committed to writing the Translations of those times, do almost in the very same words relate.

ges they did; on the other hand, the Jews would not live in a meaner condition, than the rest of the Citizens did. Hence arose frequent Contentions, both in Egypt, and also in Syria, as Philo and Josephus do attest. Therefore in our Translation we have inserted both [Grecians and Gentiles] because one word seem'd not to suffice. For the Jews did not only assault the Grecians, but the Natives also of Egypt and Lybia: Nor again, the Gentiles only, but the Christians likewise, of whom there was then no small number in Egypt and Cyrene. Valef.

(b) This destroying of all Egypt and Lybia by the Jews, besides Diof, Orosius mentions, in his 7 B. Valef.

(c) This

(c) This Man was a Moor, not of the Province of Mauritania, but of the barbarous Moors, who were Allies of the Roman Empire. At first he commanded a Troop of Moors; not long after he was condemned for his lewdness, and in disgrace cashiered. But afterwards in the Dacick War, when the Army stood in need of the assistance of the Moors, he did a brave piece of Service. Upon which account being rewarded and honoured, he did more and braver exploits in the second Dacick War. At length, in the Parthian War, which Trajan waged against the Parthians, he was so valiant and fortunate, that he was chosen into the Pretorian Order, bore a Consulship, and Governed the Province of Palestine, which Promotion first made him to be envied, then hated, and at last ruined him. Thus much Dion Cassius relates, in Excerpt. Valef.

### C H A P. III.

Who, in the Time of Adrian, wrote Apologies in defence of the Faith.

Adrian. **W**hen Trajan had held the Empire twenty years compleat, excepting six months, *Adrianus* succeeded in the Government: To whom *Quadratus* dedicated and presented a Book, wherein he had comprized an Apology for our Religion; because certain malicious Men endeavour'd to molest the Christians. This Work is still extant amongst many of the Brethren, and we also have it. From which Book may be seen periphrastic evidences of the Man's Understanding, and of his truly (a) Apostolical Faith and sound Doctrine. The same Writer makes his own Antiquity sufficiently evident, by what he relates in these very words: "The Works of our Saviour were always conspicuous, for they were true. Those that were healed, such as were raised from the dead, did not only appear after they were healed, and raised; but also were afterwards seen of all; and that not only whilst our Saviour was conversant upon earth, but also after he was gone they continued alive a great while; inasmuch that some of them survived even to our Times." Such a person indeed was *Quadratus*. *Aristides* also, a faithful Man of that Religion profess'd by us, left in like manner, as *Quadratus* did, an Apology for the Faith, dedicated to *Adrian*. And this Man's Book is, to this day, preserved by many persons.

to a way or path to go in, which was wont to be cut out that it might be fitter for use; thence the Latin Phrase, *viam facere*, i. e. to cut a way, that is, to go before and direct any in their journey. And with the word [*εὐδοκίαν*, right] joined with it, it is to go before one, and direct him in the straight way to such a place. Hence the Syriack Version of the New Testament renders this Phrase in *Timothy* [*εὐδοκίαν* & *ἀγαθόν*] recte predicare sermone, i. e. rightly to preach the word. Fuller's Miscellan. B. 3, chap. 16.

### C H A P. IV.

Who were embold with the Title of Bishops over the Roman and Alexandrian Churches in this Emperor's Time.

**I**N the third year of *Adrian's* Empire, *Alexander* the Bishop of *Rome* died, having compleated the tenth year of his Administration. *Xystus* was Successor to him: and about that time, *Primus* dying in the twelfth year of his Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church, *Iustus* succeeded him.

### C H A P. V.

Who were Bishops of Jerusalem from our Saviour, even to these Times.

**M**oreover, the space of time which the Bishops of *Jerusalem* spent in their Presidency over that See, I could in no wise find pre-

served in writing. For, as report says, they were very short-lived: But thus much I have been informed of from old Records, that unto the Siege of the *Jews* in *Adrian's* Time, there were in number fifteen Successions of Bishops there: All whom they say, were by birth *Hebrews*, who had sincerely embraced the knowledge of Christ; inasmuch that by those, who were then able to give judgment as to such matters, they were approved to be worthy of the Episcopal Office. For that whole Church at *Jerusalem* was made up of believing *Jews*, who had continued steadfast in the Faith from the Apostles Times even to the then Siege; wherein the *Jews*, revolting again from the *Romans*, were vanquished and destroyed by no small Wars. The Bishops therefore that were of the Circumcision then ceasing, it will be now requisite to give a Catalogue of them in their Order from first to last. The first therefore was *James*, called the Brother of the Lord; after him the second was *Simon*; the third *Iustus*; the fourth *Zaccheus*; the fifth *Tobias*; the sixth *Benjamin*; the seventh *John*; the eighth *Matthias*; the ninth *Philip*; the tenth *Senesca*; the eleventh *Iustus*; the twelfth *Levi*; the thirteenth *Ephraim*; the fourteenth (a) *Ioseph*; the fifteenth and last (a) *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, calls him are now treating of; all which were of the Circumcision. But now, *Adrian* being in the twelfth year of his Empire, *Telephorus* the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded *Xystus*, who had compleated the tenth year of his Episcopal Office over the *Romans*; and within a years space and (b) some months *Eumenes*, the sixth in Order, succeeded in the Presidency over the *Alexandrian* Church; his immediate Predecessor there having *Ierom* and others called *Iofes*. (b) Or, one

*Ephraim* also is, by *Nicephorus*, called *Ephrem*. Valef. months; for *Iulianus* seems to have read in his Copy. Valef.

### C H A P. VI.

The last Siege of the Jews in the Time of Adrian.

**B**UT when the Rebellion of the *Jews* again increased exceedingly, \* *Rufus* the President of *Judea*, having had Auxiliary Forces sent him from the Emperor, marched out against them; and, making use of their Madnes and Desperation as an occasion of his sparing none, he slew on Myriads together both of Men, Women and Children; and by the Law of War reduced their Country to servitude and subjection to the *Romans*. The Leader of the *Jews* at that time was by name *Barchochebas*, a name indeed that signifies a Star, but otherwise he was a Man that was a Murderer and a Robber; who by reason of his name did monstrously pretend to his Followers, being (a) Slaves, that he was a Star come down from Heaven to enlighten them who were now oppressed with servitude. But the War growing sharp in the eighteenth year of *Adrian's* Empire at the City (b) *Bethara*, which was the best fortified place, and not far distant from *Jerusalem*; and the Siege continuing a long time; the Innovators also having been utterly destroyed by famine and thirst; and the Author of this their Madnes undergone

*Adrian.* condign punishment; from that time that whole Nation was (e) altogether interdicted to enter into the Country about *Jerusalem*; the Law, Edict and Sanctions of *Adrian* having commanded them, that they should not so much as from afar off behold their Paternal Soil. *Arifon* of (d) *Pella* relates this. Thus the City being made destitute of the Jewish Nation, and wholly cleared of its old Inhabitants, was possess'd by Foreigners that of B. 8. of dwell there, and (e) afterwards made a *Roman* City; and, changing its name, was, in honour of the Emperor *Ælius Adrianus*, called *Ælia*. And when there was a Church there gather'd of the Nations that dwell in it, *Mark* was the first who, after the Bishops of the Circumcision, undertook Only on the publick Administration of Matters there.

(that whereon *Jerusalem* was taken and destroyed by the *Romans*) the Jews out of all Nations were wont to meet in *Palestine*, and having paid a sum of Money to the Soldiers, they entered into that part of the City where *Solomon's* Temple heretofore stood; and there they bewailed the destruction of the City and Temple. See *Scaliger* in *Animadv.* *Euseb.* p. 198. *Valef.*

(d) That was a City of *Syria*, which, after the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*, was the Seat of the Bishops of *Jerusalem*; as *Eusebius* testifies. This *Arifon* of *Pella* wrote a Book entitled *A Dispute of Jason and Papiscus*; this Book *Origen* makes mention of in his 4. B. against *Celsus*; But the Preface of it is only now extant amongst the Works of *Cyprian*. *Valef.*

(e) *Eusebius* is here doubly mistaken; both in that he says *Jerusalem* was wholly destroyed in *Adrian's* time; and also because he thought that *Ælia Capitolina* was built by the same *Adrian* after the Siege of *Bethera*. As to the first; it's evident from *Josephus*, that *Jerusalem* was totally destroyed by *Titus*, in so much that it was ploughed. As to the second, *Ælia* was so far from being built by *Adrian* after this Victory obtained over the Jews, that this War was begun by the Jews upon that very account. For when the Jews saw the Soil of their City occupied by Strangers; and perceived that in that very place where the Temple had been, *Jupiter Capitolinus* was worshipped and sacrificed to; being not able to endure that, they took Arms, and began this War which *Eusebius* heretelates. Which was begun in the 16 year of *Adrian*, and ended the 18 of his Empire. But *Ælia Capitolina* was built long before, to wit, in the second year of *Adrian*: From whose times to those of *Constantine the Great* it was always called *Ælia*. But from the time of *Constantine the Great* it recovered again the name of *Jerusalem*, both upon the account of the honour of that name, and also because of its Prerogative, being the first Episkopal Seat. *Valef.*

## C H A P. VII.

*Who at that time were the Authors of false Doctrine.*

NOW, the Churches throughout the whole World shining like most bright Stars, and the Faith in our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ flourishing among all Mankind, the Devil that Hater of Good, as being always the Enemy of Truth, and most malicious Impugner of Man's Salvation, using all his Arts and Stratagems against the Church, at first arm'd himself against it with outward Persecutions: But then afterwards being excluded from them, he made his assaults by other methods, making use of evil Men and Impostors, as being the pernicious Instruments for destroying of Souls, and Ministers of Perdition; devising all ways, whereby these Impostors and Deceivers, cloathing themselves with the title of our Religion, might both lead into the Pit of Destruction, those of the Faithful whom they had enticed to themselves, and also divert such as were unskilful in the Faith from the way that leads to the comfortable Word, by such means as they attempted to put in practice. From that

*Menander* therefore, whom we a little \* before manifested to have been the Successor of *Simon*, there was hatch'd a Serpentine Breed, double-mouth'd as it were, and double-headed, which constituted the Founders of two different and disagreeing Heresies; *Saturninus*, by birth an *Antiochian*, and *Basilius*, an *Alexandrian*; whereof

the former in *Syria*, the other in *Egypt*, set up Schools of most detestable Heresies. Moreover, *Irenæus* makes it manifest that *Saturninus* feign'd mostly the same things that *Menander* did; but that *Basilius* under a pretext of more mystical matters, most mightily enlarged his Inventions, forming monstrous and fabulous Fictions for the making up of his impious Heresie. There being many Ecclesiastical Men therefore, who at that time were Defenders of the Truth, and eloquent Maintainers of the Apostolical and Ecclesiastical Doctrine, some of them forthwith comprized in writing explanatory accounts of the fore-manifested Heresies, which they left as Cautions and Preventions to Posterity: of which there is come to our hands a most strenuous Confutation of *Basilius*, of *Agrippa Casar's*, a most eminent Writer in those times; wherein he discovers the horrible imposture of the Man: Disclosing therefore his Secrets, he says that he made four and twenty Books upon the (a) Gospel,

and that he counterfeited for himself Prophets named by him (b) *Barcebas* and *Barceph*, and some (c) others who never were in being; and that he gave them barbarous names to astonish those who were admirers of such things; and that he taught that it was a thing indifferent to taste of Meats offer'd to Idols, and that in times of Persecutions those did not imprudently who abjured the Faith: and that, after the manner of the *Pythagoreans*, he enjoyn'd a five years silence to his Followers: the fore-said Author having recounted these things and others like them concerning this *Basilius*, hath most diligently detected and brought to light the error of the forementioned Heresie.

But *Irenæus* writeth also, that *Carpocrates*, the Father of another Heresie termed the *Gnostick Heresie*, was Contemporary with these. These *Gnosticks* thought that those magical Delusions of *Simon's* were not to be expos'd covertly as he did, but publicly and openly; boasting of amorous Potions accurately and curiously made by them, and of certain Spirits that were causes of Dreams, and (d) Familiars, and of certain other such-like Delusions, as if these were the greatest and only excellent things. And agreeable hereunto they taught, that those who would arrive to perfection in their Mysteries, or rather detestable Wickednesses, must act all things that were most filthy and unclean; being no other waysable to avoid the Rulers of the World (as they call them) unless they distributed to all of them their dues by most filthy and detestable acts of obscenity. The Devil therefore who delights in mischief, making use of these Instruments, it came to pass that he both miserably enslaved such as were seduc'd by them, and so led such them into destruction; and also gave those Nations as those that were unbelievers a great occasion of a report abundantly flandering the Divine Doctrine; a report arising from them being diffused to the reproachful detraction of the whole Christian Religion. help they Upon this account therefore chiefly it happened that an impious and most absurd suspicion concerning us was spread abroad amongst those who

(a) *Eusebius* says not upon what *Gospel Basilius* wrote these Books, perhaps *Basilius* made these Books upon his own Gospel; for he wrote one, and set his own name to it, and called it [the Gospel according to *Basilius*] as *Origen* attests in his 1. Homil. on *Luke*; and *Jerom* in his Preface to *St. Matthew*. These Books were called *Basilius's Exegeticks*. *Clemens* (Lib. 4. *Stromat.*) quotes some places out of the 23d of these Books. *Valef.*

(b) Or, *Barcebas*: Upon these *Prophets, Barcebas and Barceph*, *Ignore* the Son of *Basilius* wrote some Books of Expositions, as *Clemens Alexandr.* shews, B. 6. *Stromat.* *Valef.*

(c) *Eusebius* speaks here of those Prophets whom *Basilius* feigned for himself. Our Author is right in his saying that *Basilius's* Heresie sprang up in *Adrian's* Reign. For then the Hereticks began to creep out of their holes: They thought (the Apostles being all dead) that they had then an opportune time to divulge their Errors. *Valef.*

(d) So they were called, because they were supposed to be familiar with the Devils, and kept them from Men; and used such unclean and filthy things, as if these were the greatest and only excellent things. And agreeable hereunto they taught, that those who would arrive to perfection in their Mysteries, or rather detestable Wickednesses, must act all things that were most filthy and unclean; being no other waysable to avoid the Rulers of the World (as they call them) unless they distributed to all of them their dues by most filthy and detestable acts of obscenity. The Devil therefore who delights in mischief, making use of these Instruments, it came to pass that he both miserably enslaved such as were seduc'd by them, and so led such them into destruction; and also gave those Nations as those that were unbelievers a great occasion of a report abundantly flandering the Divine Doctrine; a report arising from them being diffused to the reproachful detraction of the whole Christian Religion. help they Upon this account therefore chiefly it happened that an impious and most absurd suspicion concerning us was spread abroad amongst those who

then

\* Book 3, chap. 26.

*Adrian.* then were Unbelievers; as if we used detestable carnal Copulation with Mothers and Sisters, and fed upon nefarious Meats. But these Crafts of the Devil's did not long succeed with him; the Truth asserted and confirmed itself, and in process of time shone forth most clearly and apparently. For these Devices of the Adversaries, being repelled by their own force, forthwith became extinct; Heresies of a different sort newly design'd and cut out, and succeeding one after the other, the former forthwith melted and fell away, and being dissolved into kinds that were of divers sorts and fashions, were, some one way, some another, destroy'd. But the brightness of the Catholick and only True Church, being always the same, and so continuing steadfast and like itself, was greatly increased and augmented; the Gravity, the Sincerity, the Ingenious Freedom, the Modesty, and Purity of an Holy Conversation and Philosophical Course of Life, shooting forth a splendor over all Nations both *Grecians* and *Barbarians*. That reproachful Detraction therefore wherewith our Religion had been overspread, was instantly suppress'd. Wherefore our Doctrine continued to be the only, and the (e) prevailing Opinion among all Men, and was confest to be most eminently flourishing upon account of its Gravity, its Prudent Modesty, and its Divine and Wise Precepts; in so much that no one hitherto hath been so audacious, as to charge our Faith with any foul Slander, or any such reproachful Detraction, as those our old Adversaries were formerly ready and willing to make use of. But moreover, in these times the Truth again produced many that were its Defenders, who engaged these impious Heresies, not only with unwritten Arguments, but also with penn'd Demonstrations.

(e) *Kαθα* is the term in the original, hence the Christian Religion was by the Heathens call'd *καθαρίσματα*, i. e. the prevailing opinion; and the Christians were termed *καθαροί* by Porphyrius, in his Book *de Oraculor. Philosoph.* which place Eusebius quotes, in his 9th B. *Preparat. Evangel.* cap. 10. *Valf.*

C H A P. VIII.

What Ecclesiastical Writers there were in those Times.

(a) In my opinion *Hegeppus* is not rightly placed in the times of *Adrian*; neither do his words here quoted by *Eusebius*, evince so much. It's certain, *Hegeppus* wrote his Books when *Eusebius* was Bishop of *Rome*, as he himself attests in the 22 chap. of this Book. He was contemporary therefore with *Irenaeus*, who then compos'd his Elaborate Books against the Heresies. Indeed our *Eusebius*, retracting as it were his former opinion, does, in the 21, and 22 chap. of this Book, place *Hegeppus* in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*. Val. (b) Which was celebrated every fifth year, at *Antininea* in *Arcadia*, says *Plutarchus*, in *Arcad.* Val. (c) Amongst the *Egyptians*, the Chief Priest, who was over the other Priests, and distributed to them the Revenue of the Temple, was call'd a *Prophet*. For the first Officer of the Temple was the *Canon*, then the *Hieroglyph*, after him the *Scriba*, then the *Vestitor*; last of all the *Propheta* took his place, who carried a Water-pot in his bosom. See *Eusebius* in 3 B. *advers. Hæres.* &c. Concerning these *Prophets* of *Antinous* instituted by *Adrian* there is mention made in an old *Greek Inscription*, quoted by *Cajaubon* in his Notes on *Spartianus*. Wherefore it's no wonder that *Antinous*, deified by *Adrian*, had his *Prophets*, seeing he was worshipp'd chiefly by the *Egyptians*. *Valf.*

*Justin*, a sincere lover of the true Philosophy; as yet spent his time about; and was studious in, the Writings of the *Gentile Philosophers*: He in like manner declares this very time, in his Apology to *Antoninus*, writing thus: We judge it not absurd here to mention *Antinous* also who lived very lately; whom all men through fear have undertaken to worship as a God, notwithstanding they evidently know who he was, and from whence he had his Original. The same Author, mentioning also the War then waged against the *Jews*, adds thus much; For in the (d) late Jewish War, *Barchochabas*, who was the Head of the Jewish Rebellion, gave command that the Christians only should be most cruelly tormented, unless they would deny *Jesus Christ*, and blaspheme. But *Justin* moreover, declaring in the same Book, his own Conversion from the *Gentile Philosophy* to the Worship of the True God, that it was not done for the by him rashly and unadvisedly, but with judgment and consideration, he writes thus: 'I also myself, being much addicted to, and affected with the *Platonick Philosophy*, hearing the Christians calumniated, and seeing them undaunted at Death, and at whatever else is accounted terrible, thought it impossible that such Men should live wickedly and be given to Voluptuousness. For, what sensual or intemperate person, and one who accounts Human Flesh good food, could willingly embrace death, which would deprive him of his desires? and would not rather use his utmost endeavour to live continually in this life, and conceal himself from the Magistrates? much less would he voluntarily offer himself to be put to death.' Moreover, the same Author relates, that *Adrian* (having received Letters from that most Eminent Governor (e) *Serenius Granianus* concerning the Christians, setting forth how unjust it was they should be slain uncondemn'd, merely to gratify the clamours of the People, when no accusation appear'd against them) wrote an Answer to (f) *Minutius Fundanus* Proconsul of *Asia*, wherein he commanded that no one should be put to death without a judicially Prosecution, and an Accusation lawful and allowable. And *Justin* there produceth the Copy of the Rescript in *Latin*, the Language wherein it was originally written. But before I he premitteth these words: '(g) And altho' from the Letter of the most Excellent and Renowned *Cæsar Adrianus* your Father, we might request you would give command, that the judiciary Proceedings against us be made according as we desire; yet we crave this, not so much because it was commanded by *Adrian*, but in regard whom we know and understand our Petition to be just: received. And moreover, that you may perceive what we say herein to be true, we have inserted the Copy of *Adrian's* Letter;' which is thus. To these words *Justin* hath annexed the *Latin* Copy of the *Fundanus* Letter; which we, as well as we could, have here done into *Greek*, after this manner.

The reason, as I suppose, might be this; either *Granianus* died soon after he wrote to *Adrian*; or else he left that Government; For the Proconsuls were annual. *Valf.*

(g) *Justin*, in his 2d Apology, as 'tis now commonly written, p. 99. *Val.*

C H A P. IX.

The Rescript of *Adrian*, that we Christians should not be unjustly prosecuted.

TO *Minutius Fundanus*. I received a Letter, written to me, from that eminent Person *Serenius Granianus*, your Predecessor.



*Adrian.* 'for. Indeed, this business, as I judge, is not to be pass'd by undiscuss'd; lest both the Christians be molested, and also an occasion of doing mischief given to Sycophants. Wherefore, if the Men of your Province can by a due way of complaint openly charge the Christians with any accusation, and so do it, as that they appear and answer it before the Seat of Judicature; let them make it their business only to take such a course as this *against them*; but let them not use (a) tumultuous outcries and clamours. For 'tis most requisite, if any person prefers a complaint, that you should have the cognizance of the matter. If therefore any one does accuse *them*, and make out that they do any thing contrary to the Laws, do you give sentence according to the nature of the offence. But if it be certain, that any does frame an accusation merely out of a malicious detraction, do you determine according to the heinousness of the crime, and take care that due punishment be inflicted on him. And thus much concerning the Rescript of *Adrian*.

(a) He means the outcries, which the People were wont to make in the Theatres. The Christians to the Lyons! as Tertullian attests. Some.

times it is happened that the *Proconsuls* and *Governours* were forc'd to yield to their tumultuous Clamours, tho' unwilling to it of themselves. Wherefore the Emperor *Adrian* admonisheth *Fundanus* the *Proconsul* not to suffer himself to be induced by such requests to the persecution and slaughter of the Christians. It was an old custom in the *Roman Empire*, for the populace both in the City and in the Provinces, as oft as they met at the publick *Shows*, to ask of the Emperor, or Governor what they had a mind to, with loud outcries all at once. Instances hereof are frequent in the Writers of the *Roman History*. Valef.

#### CHAP. X.

Who in the Reign of Antoninus were Bishops of the Roman and Alexandrian Sees.

*Antoninus Pius.* BUT, *Adrian* having paid the dues of nature after he had reigned one and twenty years, *Antoninus*, surnam'd *Pius*, succeeded in the *Roman Empire*. In whose first year *Telephorus* departing this life in the eleventh year of his Presidency, *Hyginus* assumed the Episcopal Government of the *Roman Church*. Moreover, *Irenæus* relates that *Telephorus* ended his life with a glorious Martyrdom; manifesting in the same place, that in the times of the foresaid *Hyginus* Bishop of the *Romans*, flourish'd at *Rome* both *Valentinus* the Introducer of his own Heresie, and also *Cerdo* the Founder of the Error of the *Marcionites*; his words are these.

#### CHAP. XI.

Concerning those who were Arch-Heretics in those Times.

FOR *Valentinus* came to *Rome* when *Hyginus* was Bishop there: but he flourish'd in the Times of *Pius*, and continued to those of *Anicetus*. *Cerdo* also, who was Master to *Marcion*, flourish'd in the Times of *Hyginus*, who was the (a) ninth Bishop; he went into the Church, and openly confessing his error, so continued at *Rome*; sometimes teaching privately, other while again acknowledging his error; but being now and then reprehended for his impious Doctrine, he (b) withdrew himself from the Assembly of the Brethren. Thus far *Irenæus*, in his

(a) These Words of *Irenæus* are extant in his 3 B. chap. 4. where the old Translator

seems to have read the eighth: Which reading is most agreeable to *Irenæus*, as appears from the 3 Chapt. of the same Book; where he reckoning up the *Roman Bishops*, counts *Hyginus* the 8th from the Apostles. But in the 1 B. of *Irenæus* chap. 28. it's written [the 9th] is also in *Epiphanius*, in *Heret. Cerdon*, and in the Epistle of *Cyprian* to *Pompeius*. Valef. (b) *Irenæus* does not say he was excommunicated; but that he separated himself from the Church; whence it appears, that *Cerdo* condemned himself, in his own judgment, and so prevented the sentence of the Church. Val.

*Third Book against Heresies.* Moreover, in his First *Antoninus Pius.* Book he again says this concerning *Cerdo*: 'But one *Cerdo*, deriving the original of his Errors from the Tenets of *Simon*, came to *Rome* in the times of *Hyginus* (who was the ninth that in the Episcopal Succession from the Apostles had that See) and taught, that that God, who was preach'd under the Law, and by the Prophets, is not the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: for the one is known, the other unknown; the one is just, the other good. *Marcion* of *Pontus*, an impudent Blasphemer, succeeding him, did mightily propagate that Opinion.' But the same *Irenæus*, having founded the bottom of that immense depth of matter, full of various errors, which *Valentinus* had put together, does fully discover the secret and occult Deceit and Wickedness, that like a Serpent lurking in its hole, lies hid within him. Moreover, he says, there was at the same time another person (by name *Mark*) who was most expert at Magical Delusions; and further he declares their prophane Rites of Initiation, and their most detestable Mysteries in these very words: 'For some of them prepare a Nuptial-Bed, and perform a secret Ceremony by pronouncing some words over such as are to be initiated; and a Marriage, they say, thus made by them, is spiritual, and conformable to the Celestial Nuptials: But others of them bring [those that are to be initiated] to the Water, and dipping them, use this form of words, In the name of the unknown Father of all, In the name of the Mother of all, In Him who descended upon Jesus. Another sort of them pronounce Hebrew names, to put those that are to be initiated into the greater Consecration.' But *Hyginus* dying, (c) after he had been Bishop four years, *Pius* undertook the Government of the *Roman Church*. Moreover, at *Alexandria* *Mark* was chosen Pastor, *Emmenus* having far there thirteen years complete. Which *Mark* dying after he had presided there ten years, *Celadion* assumed the Government of the *Alexandrian Church*: And at *Rome*, *Pius* departing this life in the fifteenth annu year of his Presidency, *Anicetus* was preferred to that See. In whose time *Hegeppus* relates that, he himself came to *Rome*, and continued there *Hyginus*, until *Eleutherus* was made Bishop. But at that dying in time flourish'd *Iustin*, and was singularly eminent, one that in a Philosophical habit was an Assessor of the Divine Word, and earnestly contented for the Faith in his Writings: Who, in Valef.

(c) *Rufinus* seems to have read it otherwise: for *man Church*. Moreover, at *Alexandria* *Mark* was chosen Pastor, *Emmenus* having far there thirteen years complete. Which *Mark* dying after he had presided there ten years, *Celadion* assumed the Government of the *Alexandrian Church*: And at *Rome*, *Pius* departing this life in the fifteenth annu year of his Presidency, *Anicetus* was preferred to that See. In whose time *Hegeppus* relates that, he himself came to *Rome*, and continued there *Hyginus*, until *Eleutherus* was made Bishop. But at that dying in time flourish'd *Iustin*, and was singularly eminent, one that in a Philosophical habit was an Assessor of the Divine Word, and earnestly contented for the Faith in his Writings: Who, in Valef.

(d) Our *Eusebius* forgot himself here, in that he says, that these following Words of *Iustine* were taken out of his Book against *Marcion*: They are taken out of *Iustine's* second Apology, pag. 70. Edit. Paris. Valef. (e) Our *Eusebius* forgot himself here, in that he says, that these following Words of *Iustine* were taken out of his Book against *Marcion*: They are taken out of *Iustine's* second Apology, pag. 70. Edit. Paris. Valef. (f) The Maker of the Universe (e) to be the Father of Christ, and to affirm there is another greater Father of Christ are wanting in the common Editions of *Iustine*; and they seem to be superfluous. *Marcion* asserted, there were two Gods, the one the Creator, by whom this World was made; the other superior to him, who framed the better and more excellent things: This God, he said, we ought to confess, and to deny the other. This is the meaning of *Iustine's* Words; to whom agrees *Epiphanius*, in *Heret. Marcion*. *Marcion* held, that that most High God was the Father of Christ; and that Christ came down from Heaven to reprehend the other God the Maker of this World, whom he called the God of the Jews. Valef.

than

Antonus Plus. than he that made it : And all their Followers, as we said, are called Christians, after the same manner as the name of Philosophers, derived from Philosophy, is in common given to all that profess it, though they differ as to their Sects and Opinions. To this he adds further, saying, "We have compiled a Book against all the Heresies that ever were, which, if you be willing to read it, we will deliver to you." The same *Justin*, having wrote many elaborate Works against the Heathens, dedicated also some other Books, containing an Apology for our Faith, to the Emperor *Antoninus*, surnamed *Pius*, and to the Roman Senate ; for he dwelt at *Rome* : But in his Apology, he makes known himself, who and whence he was, in these words.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning *Justin's Apology* to *Antoninus*.

TO the Emperor *Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius* *Cæsar Augustus*, and to *Venerissimus* his Son the Philosopher, and to *Lucius* (by a) Nature Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, but by Adoption Son to *Pius*) the lover of Learning : To the Sacred Senate also, and People of *Rome*, I *Justin* the Son of *Priscus*, the Grand-child of *Bacchius*, who were of (b) *Flavia Neapolis* a City of *Syria-Palestina*, make my Request and (c) Petition in behalf of those Men (being my self one of them) who are unjustly hated and most injuriously treated by all Mankind." And the same Emperor being address'd to (by) other Brethren, Inhabitants of *Asia*, who were vexed with all manner of Molestations by the Men of their own Province, vouchsafed to send this Edict to the (d) Common-Council of *Asia*.

(a) *Lucius* was by Nature the Son of *Aelius Verus* *Cæsar* whom *Adrian* adopted. Hedyng. *Adrian* adopted *Antoninus Pius*, upon this condition, that *Pius* should adopt *Marcus* and *Lucius* ; as *Spartianus* and *Capitolinus* do declare. But others say, that *Lucius* was adopted by *Marcus* ; so *Capitolinus* in the life of *Marcus*. Wherefore in these words of *Justin*, can be no other Person meant by *Cæsar* the Philosopher, than *Aelius Verus*, whom *Adrian* adopted. For *Justin* says, that *Lucius* was by nature the Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, and the adoptive Son of *Antoninus Pius*. Now, it's evident, *Lucius* was *Aelius Verus's* own Son : Therefore by *Cæsar* the Philosopher must be meant *Aelius Verus*. But there are two things which seem to withstand this Exposition of this Passage. The first is, the surname of Philosopher is no way agreeable to *Aelius Verus*. Indeed, *Aelius Verus* (who was adopted by *Adrian*) was a learned Man, and studious, especially in Poetry, as *Capitolinus* says in his Life : But his Morals were in no wise agreeable to the study and profession of Philosophy. Then further, if *Justin* would here mean *Aelius Verus*, why does he not mention his name? For the Appellation of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, seems not sufficient to evidence him to be meant ; in as much as that Appellation might be common to *Marcus* also. We could easily clear our selves of these difficulties, by admitting the reading of the four MSS. *Mez. Med. Fuk. and Savil.* where this place is thus written [And to *Lucius* the Philosopher, by nature the Son of *Cæsar*] which reading *Cajetan* approves of, in his Notes on *Spartianus*. But we judge it not to be good. For it follows in *Justin* [the lover of Learning] where you see *Marcus* and *Lucius* have each their Epithetes : *Marcus* is termed [the Philosopher] and *Lucius* [the lover of Learning.] Valef.

(b) *Neapolis*, a City of *Palestina*, is called *Flavia*, because there was a Colony brought thither by *Flavius Vespasianus*. Before, it was called *Sidon*. Yet *Pliny* does not say there was a Colony there. Afterwards, the Emperor *Severus* deprived it of its privileges, and reduced it to a Village, because it favoured *Niger's* side. Valef.

(c) In the Original 'tis [ἡ δέξις] *Rufinus* translates it [postulatum, i. e. a Petition]. The Greek Word [ἐκσυγγενία] signifies, to go to the Emperor, and make a request to him ; which was most commonly done in Writing : There is extant a form of such a Petition (presented by *Marcellinus* the Presbyter to *Theodosius Augustus*) which *Syrmundus* published lately : It begins thus ; *Deprecamus majestatem vestram* ; i. e. We earnestly intreat your Graciousness, &c. Valef.

(d) See Note B, in the following Chapter.

## C H A P. XIII.

The Rescript of *Antoninus* to the Common Council of *Asia*, concerning our Religion.

THE Emperor *Cæsar* (a) *Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus Armenicus, Pontifex Maximianus*, Tribune of the People XV. Consul III. to mislike the (b) Common [Council] of *Asia*, sendeth Grec- in attributing this Rescript to *Antoninus Pius*, when as it was *M. Aurelius's* (as appears by the Title) written in the first year of his Reign, when he was Consul III. See *Onuphrii* *Fast.* ad ann. Vrb. 914. The testimony of *Melito* (which *Eusebius* produces to confirm his opinion in this point) destroys it. For *Melito*, in his Apology, reckons up all the Rescripts of *Antoninus Pius* in favour of the Christians ; so viz, his Epistle to the *Larissans*, to the *Thessalonians*, to the *Athenians*, and to all the *Grecians* : Now if this Rescript to the Common Council of *Asia* had been *Antoninus Pius's*, doubtless *Melito* (being of the Province of *Asia*) would not have omitted it. For he could not be ignorant of it, since it was publish'd at *Ephesus* : And, when he had reckoned up the other Rescripts of *Pius*, why should he not make mention of this, which was written to the people of his own Province? Valef.

(b) *Eusebius*, i. e. Council, is to be understood. For the *Asians* had a Common Council of the whole Province, to which each City sent its Representatives ; as *Arifides* declares, in the 4. of his *Orat. Sacr.* And the same Author says there, that this Council met in the upper *Phrygia*, that is, at *Apamea*, or *Synnada*. Yet as it seems, they met in other Cities. There were, in the other Roman Provinces, such Councils as these. Valef.

(c) It should be *your*, i. e. *your* ; and are careless both of all other [religious per- as it is in *formance*,] and also of the worship of the Im- mortal God : And the Christians, who adore Apology, him, you are enraged at, and persecute even Valef.

(d) Although this Rescript be not *Antoninus Pius's* ; yet it's here produced in an opportune place. For in it is mention made of that Epistle which *Antoninus Pius* wrote to the Governors of Provinces, when they enquired of him what they should do with the Christians, *Melito* makes mention of this Epistle of *Pius's* ; whose words *Eusebius* quotes in chap. 26. of this 4. Book. Valef.

(e) To some Laws in the *Codex Theodosianus*, there is put [P. P.] which mark signifies that that Law of the Emperor was made Publick in such a City. For the Emperors, as oft as they would have any Edict be taken notice of and known to all, were wont to write with their own hand this word [Proponatur, i. e. Let it be publish'd.] Valef.

*Antonicus* (f) publick Assembly of *Asia*. Tharthese things were thus done, *Melito* Bishop of the Church at *Sardis* (who flourish'd in the same times) does evidently attest, by what he has said in his most useful Apology, which he made to the Emperor *Verus*, for our Religion.

*Antonicus* Pius. (f) That is, in the room or place where the Council met. It may also be taken for the Temple which the Province of *Asia* built in honour of *Rome* and *Augustus*. There is extant an old Coin of *Claudius Augustus* wherein there is a Temple to be seen with this Title [R. & A. U. G.] and this Inscription [COM. ASIÆ.] on both sides of the Temple. This Temple, I suppose, was at *Ephesus*, wherein all the Cities of *Asia* met to solemnize their Religious Rites for the prosperity of the Emperor and the Roman People: And this Temple was for the use of all *Asia* in common, being built at the publick charge. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIV.

Some Memoirs of Polycarp the Disciple of the Apostles.

AT this time, *Anicetus* presiding over the Roman Church, *Irenæus* relates that *Polycarp* (who till now survived) came to *Rome* and discoursed *Anicetus* about a Question that arose concerning *Easter-Day*. And the same Author delivers another Relation concerning *Polycarp*, (in his Third Book against *Heresies*) which I judg'd requisite to adjoin to what has been mention'd concerning him; it is thus: "And *Polycarp*, who was not only instructed by the Apostles and conversant with many that saw Christ, but also was by the Apostles ordained Bishop of the Church of *Smyrna* in *Asia* (whom we also saw in our younger days; for he lived to a great age, and being very ancient, ended his life by a glorious and most renowned Martyrdom) *This Polycarp*, I say, continually taught what he had learned of the Apostles, such Points as the Church now teacheth, and such only as are true: All the Churches throughout *Asia* do attest this, and also all those who to this day have been Successors to *Polycarp*; who doubtless is a Witness much more worthy to be credited, and gives a firmer assurance to the Truth, than either *Valentinus* or *Marcion*, or any other Authors of corrupt Opinions. This *Polycarp* coming to *Rome* in the Times of *Anicetus*, converted many of the foresaid Hereticks to the Church of God, declaring that he had received the one and only Truth from the Apostles, which was taught by the Church. And there are some yet surviving, who heard him relate, that *John* the Disciple of the Lord going into the Bath at *Ephesus* to wash himself; and seeing *Cerintus* in it, leapt out, having not bathed himself, but said, let us make haste away, lest the Bath fall, *Cerintus* that Enemy of the Truth being within it. This same *Polycarp* also, when *Marcion* on a time came into his presence and said to him, (a) Take acquaintance of us; return'd him answer, I take notice of thee to be the first begotten of the Devil. So exceedingly cautious were the Apostles and their Disciples, not to much as by speech to have any converse with such as were corrupters of the Truth; as *Paul* also said, \* A Man that is an Heretick, after the

(a) In the Original the term is [ἐπιπροσέτις] which in this place is the same almost in signification with the word [Salutare, i. e. to salute]. For therefore would *Marcion* have had himself taken notice of, that he might be saluted. So, anciently in the Church, when the Faithful approach the Holy Table, the *Deacon* was wont to cry aloud often [ἐπιπροσέτις ἀλλήλους, i. e. acknowledge one another] to wit, let any prophane Person or Jew should come to the Sacrament. *Valef.* St. *Paul* uses this term [1 Cor. 16. 18.] where our Translation renders it [acknowledge.]

\* Tit. 3. 10, 11.

first and second Admonition, reject: knowing that he Antonicus Pius. that is such a subverted, and smeth, being condemned of himself. There is extant also of this *Polycarp's* a most incomparable Epistle, written to the *Philippians*; from which those who are desirous to be careful about their own Salvation, may learn the Character of his Faith, and the Publication of the Truth." Thus far *Irenæus*. But *Polycarp*, in his said Epistle to the *Philippians*, which is still extant, quotes some Authorities out of the First Epistle of *Peter*. Moreover *Antonicus*, surnamed *Pius*, having completed the two and twentieth year of his Reign, died, and was succeeded by *M. Aurelius Verus* (who also was named *Antoninus*, and was his Son) and his Brother *Lucius*.

## C H A P. XV.

How, in the Reign of Verus, Polycarp, together with others, suffered Martyrdom in the City of Smyrna.

AT this time, when most fore Persecutions were stir'd up in *Asia*, *Polycarp* ended his Life by Martyrdom: [The Account of] whose Death (as it is yet extant in writing) we judg'd most requisite to be inserted into this our History. It is an Epistle, written from the Church over which he presided, to the Churches throughout (a) *Pontus*, which sets forth the Sufferings of *Polycarp* in these words: "The Church of God of [x] which is at *Smyrna*, to the Church at *Philomelium*, and to all the Congregations of Holy Ca-  
tholick Church everywhere, the Mercy, Peace, the readings, as I judge, should be [x] *everywhere*, i. e. *everywhere*; which is confirmed by the Inscription of the Epistle, which is thus, [x] *everywhere*, &c. i. e. *everywhere*, &c. Neither is there any mention of the Churches of *Pontus* in the title of this Epistle. For *Philomelium* is not a City of *Pontus*, but of *Lycania*, as *Pliny* says, or (as others) of *Pisidia*. For so in the Acts of the Council of Chalcedon, one *Paul*, a *Philomelian*, is named among the Bishops of *Pisidia*. *Valef.* In Robert Stephens Edit. it is [x] *everywhere*, i. e. *everywhere*. (b) This whole Epistle, concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, is put out by the Learned Bishop *Usher*. Our *Eusebius* does not insert the whole Epistle; the Learned Reader may see it entire in that Edit. of Bishop *Usher*.

with Scourges even as deep as their inmost Veins and Arteries; (insomuch that the hidden parts of their Bodies, and their Bowels were visible;) then laid upon the Shells of a sort of Sea-fish, and on some very sharp Heads of Darts and Javelins strew'd on the Ground, and undergoing all sorts of Punishments and Torments; and in fine, thrown to the Wild Beasts to be devour'd." But most especially they relate, that *Germanicus* (c) In *Bi-* was most signally courageous, who being (c) corroborated by Divine Grace, overcame that fear Edit. of of bodily Death implanted by Nature on the Mind of this Epistle of Man. For when the Proconsul, desirous by this place persequation to prevail upon him, proposed to rent from what this is. The Words there are these, [x] *everywhere* & *everywhere* *Germanicus* strengthened the imbecility of others by his great patience in undergoing the Tortures.

him

M. Aure-  
lius and  
L. Verus.

him his youthfulness, and earnestly entreated him that, being young and in the prime of his years, he would have some compassion on himself: He made no delay, but readily and courageously enticed the Wild Beast to devour himself, and almost forced and stimulated it, that he might the sooner be dismiss'd out of this unrighteous and wicked life. Immediately upon his glorious death, the whole Multitude, greatly admiring the Courageousness of the Divine Martyr, and the Fortitude of all the other Christians, on a sudden began to cry out, *Destroy the Impious: Let Polycarp be fought after.* Moreover, there following a great tumult upon these clamours, a Man, by name *Quintus*, by extract a *Phrygian*, lately come out thence, seeing the Wild Beast, and the other tortures they threatened to make use of, was daunted and dispirited, and at length gave way to a desire of saving his life. The Contents of the foresaid Epistle do manifest, that this *Quintus* (together with some others) ran with too much rashness, and without any religious consideration, to the place of Judicature; but being forthwith apprehended, he gave all Men a signal example, that none should be so audacious, as to precipitate themselves into such Dangers without a considerate and pious Circumspection. But thus far concerning these Men. Now the most admirable *Polycarp*, when he first heard these things, was not at all disturb'd, but continued to keep himself in a steadfast, serene, and unmoved temper of mind; and resolv'd with himself to continue in the City. But his Friends and those who were about him, beseeching and entreating him, that he would withdraw himself, he was prevailed with, and went out of the City to a Country-house not far distant therefrom; where he abode with a small company, spending the time day and night (being intent upon nothing else) in continued Prayers to the Lord; wherein he craved and made humble supplications and requests for the Peace of all the Churches throughout the World: For that was his constant and continual usage. Moreover, three days before his apprehension, being at prayer in the night-time, and falling into a sleep, he thought he saw the Pillow, whereon his Head lay, on a sudden consumed by a flame of fire. Whereupon being awaked out of his sleep, he forthwith expounded the Vision to those who were then present, and having little less than predicted what was in future to be, he expressly declared to those that were about him, that he should be burnt to death for [the testimony of] Christ. Further, when those that sought for him used their utmost care and diligence to find him out, he was again constrained through the love and affection of the Brethren to remove, as they say, to another Country-house: Whither his Pursuers soon after came, and catch'd up two Boys that were there; by the one of which, after they had scourged him, they were conducted to the House where *Polycarp* lodg'd; and coming in the Evening, they found him reposing himself in an upper Room: Whence he might easily have removed into another House, but he would not, saying, *The Will of the Lord be done.* Moreover, when he understood they were come, as that Epistle relates, he went down, and with a very cheerful and most mild countenance talk'd with the Men: inasmuch that they (to whom *Polycarp* was before unknown) thought they saw a wonder, when they beheld his exceeding great Age, and his venerable and grave (d) Behaviour: and they admired so much diligence

should be used to apprehend such an old Man. *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. But he, making no delay, presently order'd the Table to be spread for them; then he invites them to a sumptuous Feast, and requested of them one hours space, which he might without disturbance spend in prayer: When they permitted him that, he arose and pray'd, being so full of the Grace of the Lord, that those who were present and heard him pray were struck with admiration, and many of them alter'd their minds, and were now very sorry that so Venerable and Divine an old Man was forthwith to be put to death. Afterwards, the foresaid Epistle contains word for word this subsequent relation concerning him; 'But after he had ended his Prayer (wherein he made mention of all Persons who at any time had

been (e) conversant with him, both small and great, noble and obscure; and also of the whole Catholic Church throughout the World) the hour of his departure being now come, they set him upon an Ass, and brought him to the City on the day of the (f) great Sabbath: *Herald* the (g) *Eirenarch* and his Father *Nicetas* met him; who taking him up into their Chariot, as they lay together, endeavoured to persuade him, and said,

*For what harm is it to say these words, Lord Caesar, and to sacrifice, and so to evade punishment? He at first made them no answer; but they continuing to be importunate with him, he said, I will never do what you endeavour to induce me to. They, despairing of persuading him, gave him opprobrious language, and thrust him out of their Chariot so hastily, that in his going down he very much bruised the fore-part of his Leg. But he, no more concern'd than if he had suffer'd no harm, went on cheerfully and made haste, being brought by [a Guard] to the † Stadium: but (there being so great a noise made in the Stadium that few could perfectly hear) this voice came from Heaven to *Polycarp* as he entered the Stadium, *Be courageous, Polycarp, and behave thyself valiantly.* No person indeed saw him that spoke, but many of us Christians heard the voice. When therefore he was brought before the Tribunal, a great shout was made, because the Multitude heard*

(e) In the *Mat.* and *Ald.* MSS. in stead of *συμμεσθοντων*, i. e. *amicis hospitibus, &c.* the reading is [*συμμεσθοντων*], i. e. *which had been conversant* and so *Rufinus* read this place, as appears from his Version: And the old Translator of this Epistle, put forth by *Bishop Usher*, is found to have read it so likewise. *Valg.* In *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is *συμμεσθοντων* *δωτων*, i. e. *which had bestowed to him.*

(f) So it was called whenever the first day of the feast of unleavened Bread fell on the Sabbath-day. See *Jo. 19. 31.* & *7. 37.* For that which among the Jews is *† a feast*, *סבב* *†* is the day of solemn assembly in any feast, (and such were the first day, and the last of the feast of Tabernacles; the first and seventh of the feast of unleavened Bread, and the day of Pentecost) is by the Jews, writing in Greek, called *πασιμα ημερα*, a great day. So the 72 render it, *† 1. 13.* where we read *calling of assemblies.* See *Scalig. prol.* de *Emend. Temp.* p. 6, & 7. *Bishop Usher* (in his *Tract De anno Naccedon.* chap. 3.) says, that the great Sabbath mentioned here, was that which immediately preceded *Easter*; the Learned Reader may see the Author and his Reason.

(g) It was the Office of this Magistrate to apprehend seditious Persons, and Disturbers of the publick Peace, and, having before sent their Indictments, to bring them to the places of Judicature: So says *August.* in his 140, and 159 Epist. Hence 'tis here said, that *Herald*, the *Eirenarch* of *Smyrna*, took up *Polycarp* into his Chariot, whom he had commanded to be found out and apprehended by his guards. These *Eirenarch*s were made of some of the Members of the Court of Judicature, as the 49th Law in the *Code Theodos.* does shew. At last *Theodosius* Junior wholly abolished that Office in the East: His Constitution is extant in the *Code Theodos.* They had under their Command Horse-men, and the *Diognites*, [i. e. *pursuers*], a sort of Soldiers, that were lightly armed, and so more expedite to pursue and take such as were Thieves. *Valg.*

† That was the place where their sacred Games and Shews were exhibited.

(b) This happened. After that, when he was come near *Proconflus* him, the (k) *Proconflus* ask'd him whether *Statius Quadratus*; for 'tis truly Printed in the old Latin translation of his Epistle, which the most learned *Arch B. Usher* published. This Man, as I judge, was the same Person with *L. Statius Quadratus*, who was Consul in the reign of *Antoninus*, anno urb. condit. 895. *Arifides* makes

(d) Or, countenance; for in *Rob. Stephens* Edit. it is [*επισημοτης*]. But in the King's MS. it is [*τετρας*]; i. e. *behaviour*, or, *carriage*; as we translate it. *Valg.*

makes mention of this *Proconful of Asia*, in the first and fourth of his *Sacred Orations*: Where he also calls him a *Rhetorician*. I doubt not therefore but he was the same Man with *Quadratus* the Consul, who, as *Philoftratus* says, was the master of *Varus Sapphila*, who was wont to declaim *extempore* upon any subject given; and was a great Emulator of *Favonius Sapphila*. In what year he bore the Office of *Proconful of Asia*, *Aristides* indeed says not. But that, as it seems to me, may be made out from his Relation. For, in the 4 of his *Orat. Sac.* *Aristides* says, that a little after that Plague which rag'd in *Asia*, *Severus* was *Proconful*. *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places that Plague on the 8 year of *M. Aurelius Antoninus*. Therefore *Severus* was *Proconful of Asia* in the 9 of *M. Aurelius*. When he was *Proconful*, *Aristides* writes, that he received Letters out of *Italy* from the Emperors; to wit, from the senior *Augustus* and his Son; where by the name of *Augustus* he understands *Marcius*; and the Son of the Emperor is *Commodus*, who was then called *Cæsar*. Next before *Severus*, *Pollio* was *Proconful*, as *Aristides* attests in the same place; and immediately before *Pollio*, our *Quadratus* was the *Proconful of Asia*: For so says *Aristides* in the same Oration. So that *Quadratus* was *Proconful of Asia* in the 7 of *Marcius*'s Empire. On which year also *Eusebius*, in his *Chronicon*, places the Martyrdom of *Poly carp*. They are in an Error therefore, who say the Martyrdom of *Poly carp* happened on the ninth of *Marcius*. For, whereas 'tis manifest from the attestation of *Aristides*, that *Quadratus* (under whom *Poly carp* suffered) bore the *Proconfulat* of *Asia* in the seventh year of *Marcius*, the death of *Poly carp* is necessarily to be placed on the same year. *Valef*.

Al. Aurelius and L. Verus. he were *Poly carp*; and when he had confessed he was, the *Proconful* endeavour'd to perswade him to renounce [Christ] saying, *Have a reverent regard to thine Age* (and some other words agreeable hereto, which 'tis usual for them to speak) *swear by the Fortune of Cæsar, change thy mind, say, destroy the Impious*: But *Poly carp*, beholding with a grave and severe countenance the Multitude that was in the *Stadium*, stretch'd forth his Hand towards them, and sigh'd, and looking up towards Heaven, said, *destroy the Impious*. When the Governour was urgent with him, and said, *Swear and I will release thee, speak reproachfully of Christ*; *Poly carp* made answer, *I have served him these eighty and six years; during all which time he never did me injury; how then can I blaspheme my King, who is my Saviour?* But when the *Proconful* was again instant with him, and said, *Swear by the Fortune of Cæsar*: *Poly carp* said, *Because you are so vain-glorious as to be urgent with me to swear by the Fortune of Cæsar, (as you call it), pretending your self ignorant who I am; bear me plainly and freely making this Profession; I am a Christian: now if you are desirous to learn the Doctrine of Christianity, assign me a Day, and you shall hear it*. The *Proconful* said, perswade the People: I have thought good (answer'd *Poly carp*) to give you an account; for we are taught to attribute due honour (such as is not prejudicial to our Profession) to Magistrates and Powers which are ordain'd of God; but I judge them unworthy of having an account given them of our Faith. The *Proconful* said, I have Wild Beasts, to whom I will cast thee, unless you alter your mind. Command them to be brought forth (said *Poly carp*) for our minds are not to be alter'd from better to worse; but we account that change good, which is from Vice to Virtuous Actions. He said again to him, since you condemn the Wild Beasts, I will give order that you be consumed by Fire, unless you change your mind. You threaten me (replied *Poly carp*) with Fire that burns for an hour, and soon after becomes extinct; but you are ignorant of that Fire of the future Judgment and eternal Punishment, which is reserv'd for the Impious; but why do you make delays? order (i) which you will to be made use of upon me. When he had spoken these and many other words, he was filled with confidence and joy, and his

Countenance was replenish'd with a comely gracefulness: inasmuch that he was not only not overwhelmed with terror at what was said to him, but, on the contrary, the *Proconful* stood astonish'd; and sent the Cryer to make Proclamation thrice in the midst of the *Stadium*, *Poly carp* professeth himself to be a Christian: At which words utter'd by the Cryer, the whole Multitude both of *Heathens* and *Jews* who were Inhabitants of *Smyrna*, in a most furious rage and with a great noise cried out, This is the Teacher of *Asia*, The Father of the Christians, The Destroyer of our Gods, who gives command to many Men not to sacrifice, nor adore the Gods. Having said these words they cried out and requested *Philip* the (k) *Affarch* to let forth a Lion upon *Poly carp*. But he made answer, that that was not lawful for him to do, because the *Amphitheatrical Shows*, or the hunting of the Wild Beasts were concluded. Then they all cried out with a joynt consent, that *Poly carp* should be burnt alive. For it was necessary that the Vision which appeared to him upon his Pillow should be fulfilled; when, being at Prayer, he saw that burning, he turn'd to his Brethren that were with him, and said prophetically, I must be burnt alive. These things therefore were with no less celerity done than they had been spoken; the Multitude immediately brought together Wood and dried Branches of Trees out of their Shops, and from the Baths; but the *Jews* especially most readily (as it was their usage) assisted in this business. Now when the Pile of Wood for the Fire was made ready, *Poly carp*, having unloathed himself, and unloos'd his Girdle, endeavour'd also to put off his own Shoes; a thing which before he never committid. because every one of the Faithful continu'd ally strove who should soonest touch his Skin: so that For he was always revered for his godly course of life, even before he came to be gray-headed, presently therefore all the (l) Instru-

is, the common Priesthood of *Asia*; and those who executed this sacerdotal Office (which consisted in the managing their publick Sports or Spectacles) were termed *Affarchs*. These *Affarchs* were elected after this manner: Each City of *Asia*, at the beginning of every year (that is, about the Autumnal Equinox) had a publick meeting, wherein they appointed one of their own Citizens to be an *Affarch*; then they sent Deputies to the Common-Council of the Province, who declared to them his name whom they had made choice of at home: After which the Common-Council chose about ten to be *Affarchs*, out of the number of all those, whom each City had elected to that Office. See *Aristides*, in *Orat. Sac.* art. 24. Now the difficulty is, whether all these, who were elected by the Common-Council, executed this Office all together, or whether only one of them was *Affarch*; *Valef*us thinks there was but one *Affarch*; his reasons are these: Though more than one were elected by the Senate of *Asia*, yet that perhaps was done that out of them the *Roman Proconful* might choose one, as he usually did in the Election of the *Treacher*: Again, the Senate might elect more than one, because if the first that was chosen *Affarch* should die, before he had ended his year, there might be another to supply his place: Lastly, that there was but one *Affarch* every year, is apparent from the Words at the latter end of this Epistle (which *Eusebius* leaves out in his quotation, but the Learned Reader may see them in Arch-Bishop *Usher*'s Edit. of it) where 'tis said, *Poly carp* suffer'd under *Philip* the *Affarch*, and *Statius Quadratus* *Proconful of Asia*. This is the opinion of *Valef*us, and these are his Reasons for it. On the other side, the incomparably learned *Usher* affirms, that there were more *Affarchs* than one at the same time; which he collects from *Acts* 19. 31. with whom agrees the learned *Dr. Hammond* in his Paraphrase and Notes on that Text, and also Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, pag. 49. of his Works, Edit. Lond. 1665. This Office (says *Valef*us) was very chargeable, therefore the richest Persons were elected to it. Hence 'tis that *Strabo* affirms, that the *Affarchs* were commonly chosen out of *Tralis*, the Citizens whereof were the wealthiest of all *Asia*.

(l) That is, the Ropes, (to which skins as were to be burnt were bound) the Nails, the Flakes, and the *Tunica mellea* (mentioned by *Juvenal*) which was a Coat, daub'd all over with Pitch and Brimstone, and put upon the Person who was to be burnt. *Valef*.

(i) To wit, either the Fire, or the wild Beasts.

For the reading in the *Alat. Mss. Etk. and Scitil MSS.* is [ships à brûle] in the plural number; and so we translate it. *Valef*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

ments prepared for the fiery Pile were applied to, and put about him; but when they went about to nail him to the Stake, he said, *Let me be as I am; for he that gives me strength to endure the Fire, will also grant that I shall continue within the Pile unmoved and undisturbed by reason of my pain, even without your securing me with Nails:* So they did not make him fast to the Stake with Nails, but only bound him to it. He therefore, having put his Hands behind him, and being bound, (as it were a select Ram, pick'd out of a great Flock, to be offer'd as an acceptable Holocaust to Almighty God) said; *Thou Father of thy well-beloved and blessed Son Jesus Christ; through whom we have received the knowledge of thee! Thou God of Angels and Powers, and of the whole Creation, and of all the Generation of the Just who live in thy presence! I bless thee because thou hast vouchsafed to bring me to this Day and this Hour, wherein I may take my portion among the number of the Martyrs, and of the Cup of Christ, in order to the Resurrection both of Soul and Body to Eterial Life, in the Incorruption of the Holy Spirit; among whom let me (I beseech thee) be this day accepted in thy sight, as it were a Sacrifice fat and well-pleasing to thee, according as thou hast prepared, foreseen, and fulfilled, thou God of Truth who canst not Lye: Wherefore also I praise thee for all these things; I bless thee, I glorifie thee, through the Eternal High-Priest Jesus Christ thy Well-beloved Son, through whom to Thee, together with him, in the Holy Ghost be glory both now and*

(m) From this passage I conjecture, that Polycarp said this foregoing Prayer of his with a low voice; but pronounced Amen aloud. That this of old was the custom of the Christians (that is, loudly to recound the Amen at the end of the Prayer) the rite now observed in the Church does demonstrate, to wit, that after each Prayer repeated by the Priest, all the People do with a loud voice answer, Amen. Valef.

others what then hapned) saw a wonderful sight. For the Fire, composing it self into the form of an Arch or Half-circle (like the Sail of a Ship swell'd with the Wind) immured within a holly space the Body of the Martyr; which, being in the middle of it, look'd not like burnt Flesh, but like Gold, or Silver refined in a Furnace; and forthwith we smelt a most fragrant Scent, as if it had been the smell of Frankincense, or of some other of the precious sweet-scented Spices. In fine therefore, when those impious Wretches saw the Body could not be consumed by the Fire, they commanded

(n) This Officer's charge was (not to fight with the wild Beasts, as the *Bestiarii* did, but) to dispatch them, if at any time they were enraged, and like to endanger the Spectators, as sometimes it hapned. They were also called *Lancarii*. Valef.

in that there was so great a difference shew'd between the Infidels and the Elect: Of which number this most admirable person was one, who was the Apostolick and Prophetical Doctor of our Age, and Bishop of the Catholick Church at Smyrna. For every word which proceeded out of his mouth, either hath been, or shall be fulfilled. But the envious and malevolent Devil, that deadly Enemy to the Generation of the Just, understanding the courageousness of his Martyrdom, and his unblameable Conversation

even from his youth, and [perceiving] that he was now encircled in a Crown of Immortality, and had most undoubtedly obtained the glorious Reward of his Victory; the Devil, I say, used his utmost diligence that his Body should not be born away by us Christians, altho' many of us were desirous to do it; and to have (e) been conversant with his sacred dead Body. Some therefore suggested to Nicetas the Father of Herod, but the Brother of (p) Dalcis; to address to the Governour, that he would not give us his Body; lest (as they said) they leave him that was crucified, and begin to worship this Person: And this they spoke upon account of the Sugession and Importunity of the Jews, who very diligently watch'd us when we were about to take his Body out of the Fire: but they were ignorant, that we could never at any time relinquish Christ (who suffer'd for the salvation of all those throughout the World who were to be saved) nor yet worship any other. For we adore him as being the Son of God; but we have a worthy affection for the Martyrs (as being the Disciples and Followers of the Lord) because of their most exceeding great love shewn to their own King and Master; whose (q) *Companions and Fellow-Disciples* we wish our selves to be. The Centurion therefore perceiving the contentious obstinacy of the Jews, caused the Body to be brought forth, and (as 'tis customary with them) burnt it; and so we at length gather'd up his Bones, more highly to be prized than the most precious Gems, and more refined than the purest Gold, and deposited them in a decent place of burial: whereto being assembled together, the Lord grant we may with joy and gladness celebrate

the (r) Birth-day of his Martyrdom, both in memory of those who have heretofore undergone and been victorious in this glorious conflict, and also for the instruction and preparation of such as hereafter shall be exercised therein. Thus much concerning the Blessed Polycarp, who together with (s) twelve Philadelphians was crown'd with Martyrdom at Smyrna: who alone is so eminently famous and memorable amongst all Men, that (and trust) even the Hearthens every-where do make mention of him. (t) Such was the glorious Exit of Usher's Edit. dit. thus

(e) This the Phrase in the Original is this [συναίσιον τοῦ ἀπὸν ἀντὶ σκεπτικῆ] συναίσιον [says Eusebius] of μετὰ τὸν θάνατον, ἢ μετὰ τὸν ἀποθανόντα πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνίσιον, i. e. They are said to communicate, who distribute to one another, and they that partake and receive from one another, whether friendship, or knowledge. Whence it appears that the word [συναίσιον] is applicable to friendship or society, which the Primitive Christians express'd to the Martyrs, &c. departed, when, meeting yearly at the place where their Sacred Reliques were interred, they celebrated the Anniversary Day of their Martyrdom: Thus they maintained a friendship or society (as it were) with the departed Martyr. The following Words of this Epistle do declare the resolution of the Church of Smyrna about the Celebration of the Day of Polycarp's Martyrdom, after this manner, and also the reason of that their so doing.

(p) Or, Alas, for so it is in Bishop Usher's Edit. Valef.

(q) In the learned Usher's Edit. 'tis συναίσιον [that is, Companions; from the verb [συναίσιον] us'd here in the same sense, as we said (note o.) it is sometimes taken to signify,

(r) Ἡμετέραν ἡμετέραν is the original phrase: So the primitive Christians called the days whereon the Martyrs suffered, because at their deaths they were born Sons (as it were) and Heirs of the Kingdom of Glory.

[who together with those of Philadelphia was the twelfth that suffered Martyrdom in Smyrna.] So that those Martyrs of Philadelphia were not twelve in number, but eleven only; and Polycarp was the twelfth. Valef.

(s) Eusebius purposely omitted the conclusion of this Letter, as being unbecomingly to his present design; and because he had inserted the entire Epistle into another Work of his, to wit, into his Book concerning the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs: The Learned Reader may see this whole Letter (as before we intimated) put forth by Arch B. Usher, from the conclusion whereof he may observe, (1.) that this Epistle was not written immediately after Polycarp's Martyrdom, but that there was some distance of time between that and the Writing thereof: For the Philomelan,

*Philometian*, hearing a report of the suffering of *Polycarp*, sent Letters to the Church of *Smyna*, desiring an account of all Particulars that happened at the suffering of this B. Martyr: Which chose of *Smyna* willingly undertook, and wrote them this Letter, most part whereof of *Eusebius* quotes in this Chapter. (a) That *Polycarp's* Martyrdom is there called Evangelical; and the reason is given, to wit, because *Polycarp* fled from those who pursued him, (agreeable to the example of our Saviour.) Lastly, 'tis observable therefrom, that *Polycarp* was Martyr'd the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, that is, the 7th of the *Calendar*, of *March*. Valef. But Arch B. *Usher* differs (in this particular, that is, concerning the day of *Polycarp's* Martyrdom) from *Valefius*, as the Learned Reader may see in his Notes on that Epist. and in his *Traſt De Anno Solar. Maced. & Afian*.

M. Aurelius and the Admirable and Apostolick *Polycarp*, whose Story the Brethren of the Church in *Smyna* have in the fore-cited Epistle recorded: And to the same Writing concerning him are annex'd other Martyrdoms undergone at the same City of *Smyna*, and at the (u) same Period of Time wherein *Polycarp* suffer'd. Amongst which number *Metrodorus*, supposed to be a Presbyter of the Sect of the *Marconites*, was burnt to death. But the most famous and eminent Martyr of those Times was one *Plinius*: whose particular Professions, boldness and freeness in speaking, Apologies and most learned Orations in defence of the Faith, made both before the People and in the presence of the Governours; and moreover his affectionate Invitations and Encouragements to those who in time of Persecution fell into temptation, and the consolatory Speeches he us'd to such Brethren as made him Visits during his Imprisonment; and further than all this, the Torments, and besides them the exquisite Tortures he endur'd, his being nailed to the Snake, and his Fortitude amidst the fiery Pile, and lastly his Death which was subsequent to all these miraculous Sufferings; whosoever are desirous to know all these Particulars, we remit them to the Epistle (which contains a most ample account concerning him) which we have inserted into that Collection we made of the Sufferings of the Primitive Martyrs. Moreover, there are extant the Acts and Monuments of others who suffered Martyrdom at *Pergamus*, a City of *Asia*, to wit, of *Carpus* and *Papulus*, and of a Woman named *Agathonica*, who after many and most eminent Confessions of our Faith, were made perfect by a glorious Death.

## C H A P. XVI.

How *Justin* the Philosopher, asserting the Christian Religion at the City of Rome, suffered Martyrdom.

AT the same time also *Justin*, of whom we made mention a little before, having presented (a) a second Apology to the aforesaid Emperors in defence of our Faith, was crowned with Divine Martyrdom. *Crescens* the Philosopher (whose Life and Manners were answerable to the appellation of a *Cynick*; of which Philosophical Sect he was a Follower) form'd and contriv'd the treacherous Plot against him; because *Justin* confuted him often in several Disputes had in the presence of many Auditors, at length by his own Martyrdom he obtain'd the reward of that Truth he was an Assertor of. Thus much this most famous Follower of the Truth (perceiving beforehand what was about to befall him) does, in his *fore-said* Apology, expressly predict in these famous words; (b) And I also my self do expect to be treacherously betray'd by some one of those cal-

led [Philosophers] and (c) put in the Stocks; M. Aurelius and perhaps by *Crescens* that illiterate Fellow, and one who is a lover of vain-glorious boasting: L. Verus. For the Man is unworthy the name of a Philosopher, because he declares in publick such things as he is altogether ignorant of, and affirms the Christians to be impious and irreligious Persons, merely to please and delight the Multitude; (d) committing herein a great error: For, in that he inveighs against us, having never read the Doctrine of Christ, he is abominably wicked, and much worse than the vulgar sort of Men, who most frequently are cautious in their discourses concerning those things they are ignorant in, and avoid speaking falsely thereof. But if he has read our Doctrine, and understands not the majestic Sublimity thereof; or if he understands it, and behaves himself thus because he would not be suspected [to be a Christian:] then he is far more base and wicked, in that he makes himself the Slave of popular Applause and irrational Fear: For I would have you to know that when I propos'd to, and ask'd him some such questions as these, I perceived and was convinced he indeed understood nothing at all: And that you may know I speak what is true, I am ready (if those our Disputations have not come to your knowledge) to propose the *Queries* again even in your presence. And this Exercise will by no means be becoming your Imperial Majesty. But if both my Questions, and also his Answers have been made known to you, then it will be apparently manifest to you that he is altogether ignorant of our Religion: But if he understands it, but dares not freely declare himself because of his Auditors; he is no Philosopher, (as I said before,) but is manifestly evidenced to be an affecter of popular applause, and has no esteem for that most excellent (e) saying of *Socrates* [to wit, That no man is to be preferred before the truth.] Thus far therefore *Justin*. And, that he was put to death (according to his own Prediction) by a treacherous Plot, of which *Crescens* was the framer, *Tatianus* (a man who in the former part of his life had been a (f) Teacher of *Rhetorick*, was well-learn'd in the Grecian Learning, and obtain'd no small repute by his being conversant therein; who in the original has left his Works many Monuments of his signal Ingenuity) does relate in the (g) Book he wrote which sometimes taken in that signification *Eusebius* here uses it in; yet by other Writers (and particularly by *Tatianus* in his Book here quoted by *Eusebius*, about the end of it) it is used in such a sense, as to comprehend all the Learning of the Grecians, and the liberal Sciences. Valef. (h) This Work of *Tatianus* is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyr's* Works, Edit. Paris. 1636. It is there call'd *Tatiani Agrippina contra Grecos oratio*. This passage here quoted by *Eusebius*, occurs p. 157. 158. where the Translator renders these words [*ἡμεῖς δὲ καὶ ἐν Μεγαλόπολιν*] But we, following *Valefius*, have translated it thus [in the great City, i. e. Rome.]

*M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*

against the *Grecians* in these words: 'And the most admirable *Justin* said truly, that the fore-said Persons were like Thieves.' Then, interposing some words concerning these Philosophers, he adjoins thus much; 'Indeed *Crescens*, who had made his Nest in the great City [*Rome*,] was most notorious for the Sin of Bugging Boys, and above all Men most addicted to Covetousness; and he who exhorted all Men to despise Death, did so mightily dread it himself, that he made it his business to procure *Justin* to be put to death, (as judging that to be the worst of Evils) because he preach'd the Truth, and manifestly proved, that the Philosophers were Gluttons and Deceivers. And this indeed was the true cause of *Justin's* Martyrdom.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning those Martyrs, whom *Justin* makes mention of in his Apology.

THE same *Justin*, before his own Martyrdom does in his (a) first Apology make mention of some others who suffer'd as Martyrs before him: Which words of his, because they are accommodate to our Subject, I will here recite: He writes thus; 'A certain Woman had a Husband who led a lascivious and libidinous course of life; the herself also had formerly been addicted to lightness and dishonest behaviour; but after she had been acquainted with the Doctrine of Christ, she became modest and chaste, and made it her business to persuade her Husband to live in like manner continently and chastly; adverting him of the Christian Precepts, and declaring to him the future punishment in eternal Flames prepared for such as lead an obscene and disorderly course of life. But he persevering in his wonted Lasciviousness, by such his doings, alienated his Wife's Affection from him.

(a) It should be in his second Apology, &c. as the learned Peravius has conjectured (in his Notes on Hierol. 46. Epiph.) For *Eusebius* does not recount the Apologies of *Justin* in the same order elsewhere in they are now Printed. For that which in the ordinary Editions is termed the second, and is dedicated to *Antoninus Pius*, *Eusebius* calls the first, as appears from Chap. 12. Book 2. and from Chap. 12. and 18. Book 4. And that, which in the vulgar Editions is said to be his first Apology, is dedicated to the Senate, *Justin* calls the second, (see Chap. 16. of this Book,) and says (Chap. 16. and 18 of this 4. Book,) it was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, after the death of *Pius*. As to the order of *Justin's* Apologies I agree with *Eusebius*, and do grant that to be the latter which in the vulgar Editions, is inscribed to the Senate. But whereas *Eusebius* says, *Justin's* former Apology was presented to *M. Aurelius Antoninus*; I cannot assent to him. For, in the beginning of that Apology *Justin* says, That the Woman (which was a Christian) being accused by her Husband, presented a Petition to the Emperor [and she presented a Libel to thee, O Emperor:] (See these Words in this Chapter.) Now if that Apology had been presented to the Successors of *Antoninus Pius*, as *Eusebius* thinks it was, doubtless *Justin* would have used the plural number, and said [To you, O Emperors:] For *Marcus* and *Pius* were both Emperors together. Again, *Justin* says, that one *Lucius*, seeing *Ptolemaeus* a Christian had away to be put to death, used these Words to the Judge, [These judicious Proceedings are misbecoming both *Pius* the Emperor, and the Son of Caesar the Philosopher, &c.] (in Chap. 32. of this 4th Book, the reading is better, thus, [And the Philosopher] which is confirmed by our MSS.) Who therefore sees not, that *Antoninus Pius* is meant in these Words? For his surname [*Pius*] evidently shews so much; and [the Philosopher the Son of the Emperor] manifestly confirms this our Opinion. Lastly, *Urbicus* the Prefect (See Note d. in this Chap.) whom *Justin* there mentions, lived in the times of *Antoninus Pius*. For he was that *Lollius Urbicus*, who, being the Emperor's Deputy, appeased the Rebellion of the Britains, as *Capitolinus* relates in the Life of *Antoninus*. *Apuleius* (in the beginning of his Apology) affirms that this *Lollius Urbicus* was Prefect of the City in the Reign of *Pius*. These are the reasons by which I am induced to affirm, that the latter Apology of *Justin* was not presented to *M. Aurelius*, but to *Antoninus Pius*: Under which Emperor he suffer'd Martyrdom, and not under *Marcus Aurelius*, as *Eusebius* here places his Martyrdom: But, in his *Chronicon* (whom *Georg. Syncellus* also follows) he seems to place it in the Reign of *Antoninus Pius*; and so does *Mith. Glycas*, in *Anad.* *Valer.* *Mr. Tho. Lydiate*, in his *Eminent. Tepp.* says *Justin* suffered under this Emperor *Antoninus Pius*.

For the Woman at last judg'd a wicked thing for her to co-habit with a Husband who wholly practis'd all manner of lustful courses, contrary to the Law of Nature, and disagreeable to Justice and Honesty; and therefore she resolved to be divorced from him. But the Woman was obedient to the Instructions of her Friends, who advised her to continue married a while longer, in expectation that her Husband would in future alter his mind, and ere long lead a more regular course of life; so the constrain'd her self and continued with him. But after this her Husband, having made a journey to *Alexandria*, was discover'd to have committed more notorious acts of lewdness: The Woman therefore (fearing, that by her continuing married to him, and by her being his Consort at bed and board, she should be partaker of his Wickednesses and Impieties) sent him that which we call a Bill of Divorce, and departed from him. But this excellent Fellow her Husband (who ought to have rejoiced, because his Wife (who formerly had committed lewdness with Servants and mercenary Fellows, and took delight in Drunkenness and all manner of Vice) did now both desist from those wicked doings, and also desired him to leave them off; which because he would not do she was divorc'd from him) drew up an Accusation against her, and said she was a Christian. And the presented a (b) Libel to thee, O Emperor; wherein she requested liberty might be allow'd her first to set in order her Domestic affairs; after which settlement she promised to put in an answer to her accusation. And you granted the Woman's petitions: but her (heretofore) Husband, being within that space (c) unable to say any thing against her, set upon one *Ptolemaeus* (whom (d) *Urbicus* put to death) who had been the Woman's Instructor in the Christian Religion, after this manner: He persuaded a Centurion, who was his Friend, to apprehend *Ptolemaeus*, and having put him in Bonds, to ask him this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And *Ptolemaeus*, (being a lover of Truth, and no deceitful Person, nor Falstifier of his own Judgment) confessing that he was a Christian, the Centurion caus'd him to be bound in Fetters, and afflicted him with a long imprisonment. At length, when the Man was brought before *Urbicus*, he was again ask'd this one question, Whether he were a Christian? And he, assuredly knowing that he should obtain Glory and Happiness by the Doctrine of Christ, again made profession of that Divine and Virtuous Institution. For he that denies himself to be a Christian, declines the Confession of that Religion, either because he is a disavowal as a denier of it, or in regard he knows himself to be unworthy of, and estranged from its Rules and Precepts; neither of which can happen to him that is a true Christian. When therefore *Urbicus* had given command that *Ptolemaeus* should be led away to be put to death, one *Lucius*, (who also was a Christian,) considering the injustice of the Sen-

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(b) That is, a Petition wherein the Woman requested of the Emperor, that the proceedings against her might be deferred, which delay was usually granted as well to the accused, as to the Accuser. See *Cod. Theod. Tit. 36. ut intra annum, &c. Valer.*  
(c) To wit, which was prefix'd by the Emperor; who had granted the Woman's Petition, in regard it was reasonable and just. *Valer.*  
(d) This *Urbicus* was Prefect of the City; whose sentence, pronounced against the two Christians *Ptolemaeus* and *Lucius*, was the occasion of *Justin's* writing this Apology. He was called *Q. Lollius Urbicus*, as an old Inscription at *Rome* attests. See *Apuleius*, in *defens. sua*! Yet, 'tis strange that in all our Copies he is written *Urbicus*. In *Justin* he is now and then rightly called *Urbicus*, to wit, in the beginning of his Apology, and a little after that. *Valer.*



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tence that was pronounced, spake thus to *Urbicius*; what reason is there that thou shouldst have condemn'd this Man, who is neither Adulterer, nor Fornicator, nor Murderer, nor Thief, nor Robber, and who is not in any wife convicted of any other wicked fact, but only owns and acknowledges the appellation of a Christian? Such Judiciary Proceedings as these, O *Urbicius*! are misbecoming both *Pius* the Emperor, and the Son of *Cæsar* the Philosopher, and also the Sacred Senate. But *Urbicius* made *Lucius* no other answer, only said thus to him: You also seem to me to be such an one, and when *Lucius* had said that he was, *Urbicius* again gave command that he also should be led away to be put to death. *Lucius* acknowledg'd himself much obliged to him; for I shall be deliver'd, said he, from such wicked Masters, and go to a gracious God, who is my Father and King. And a third, stepping forth, was also condemn'd to undergo the same Punishment. After this, *Justin* does pertinently and agreeably introduce those words (which we quoted before) saying, 'And I also my self do expect to be treacherously betray'd by some one of those called Philosophers,' and fo forth.

### C H A P. XVIII.

*What Books of Justin's are come to our hands.*

(a) Or, mind; as it is in the King's MS. Valerius In Robert Stephens Edit. t. i. c. 1. c. understanding.

**T**HIS person has left us many Monuments of his learn'd and most accomplish'd (a) understanding, and also of his sedulous diligence about Divine matters, full of variety of profit; to which we will remit such as are lovers of learning, after we have usefully remark'd such of them as are come to our knowledge. The first therefore of his Books is his Supplication to *Antoninus* surnamed *Pius*, and his Sons, and to the Roman Senate, in behalf of our Religion; the second contains another Apology for our Faith, which he presented to *Verus* (who was Successor to, and bore the same name with, the foresaid Emperor *Antoninus*) whose times we are now giving an account of. There is also another Book of his against the *Gentiles*; wherein he treats at large, both of many Questions that are usually disputed both amongst us and the *Gentile-Philosophers*; and also declares his Opinion concerning the Nature of Spirits; which 'tis of no importance for us here to insert. And further there is another Work of his against the *Gentiles* come to our hands, which he entitles, *A Confutation*; and besides these another, concerning the Monarchy of God; which he confirms not only by the Authority of the Sacred Scriptures, but also from the Testimonies of the Writers amongst the *Gentiles*. Moreover, he wrote another Book, the Title whereof is *Palæstina*; and another, containing (b) some short Notes concerning the Soul; wherein he propoſeth divers Questions pertinent to the Explication of that Subject, and produces the Opinions of the Philosophers amongst the *Gentiles*, which he promiſeth to con-

(b) The term in the original is παλαιστίνη among the Gentiles, which he promiſeth to con-

The ancient *Gracianus* called [Scholia] some short Notes; and distinguish'd them from *Exegetics*: For *Exegetics* were long and large Expositions, and explain'd the whole Work of a Writer: But *Scholia* were put to explain particular Words, or to expound one Sentence. Sometimes *Scholia* are called short Expositions of more obscure Words and Sentences. Such were *Cyrill's* Scholia concerning the Incarnation of the only-begotten Son of God, which are now extant, and are nothing else but some short Expositions of the more obscure Questions concerning the Incarnation. And of this sort was *Justin's* Book of the Soul; to wit, some Questions and Opinions, concerning the nature and origine of Souls; to which were added *Justin's* Exposition and Demonstration thereof. *Jerom* calls them *Excerptia*, which *Origen* termed *σέλα*. Valer.

and to set forth his own Opinion thereof in another Work of his. He also compos'd a Dialogue against the Jews, being a Conference which he had at the City of *Ephesus* with one *Trypho* the most famous person amongst the Jews at that time. In which Book he manifests, after what manner Divine Grace incited him to embrace the Doctrine of the true Faith; and with what sedulous earnestness he before that set himself about the study of Philosophy, altho' with how great arduousness of mind he was laborious in finding out the truth. Moreover, in the same Book he relates concerning the Jews, how that they formed treacherous Plots and Contrivances against the Doctrine of Christ; and useth these express words to *Trypho*: 'So far were you from a Repentance of your impious Doings, that you chose out some Men fit for such a design, and at that time sent them forth from Jerusalem over the whole World, to publish this, that there was an impious Sect called Christians sprung up; and to divulge the same reproaches, which all those that are ignorant of our Religion do now fasten upon us; so that, you are not only the Authors of your own Wickedness and Error, but also give the sole occasion thereof to all other Men.' He says also, in the same Work, that the Gifts of Prophecy even in his time shone forth upon the Church. Moreover he has mentioned the Revelation of *John*, and says expressly it was written by that Apostle. Also he recites several Testimonies of the Prophets, which in his Dispute with *Trypho* he evinces were cut out of the Bible by the Jews. Several other Works also of his are extant amongst many of our Christian Brethren. Further, the Books of this person were so highly esteemed by the Ancients, that *Irenæus* quotes some Expressions of his; partly in his fourth Book against *Heresies*, where he produces these words of his: And *Justin* says well, in his Book against *Marcion*, I would not have credited the Lord himself, if he had preached any other God than him, who was the Maker of the World; and partly, in his fifth Book of the same Work, where he quotes these words of his: It was well spoken of *Justin*, to wit, that before the coming of our Lord, Satan never durst blaspheme God, because till then he did not certainly (c) know his own Condemnation. And let thus much be here necessarily said by us, to incite such as are lovers of Learning, to have an high esteem for the same and accurately to read over, his Books. Thus opinion.

In his *Panarium* (lib. 1. Heref. 39. pag. 289. Edit. Petav.) he proposeth to us, as a certain Truth, that the Devil, before the coming of Christ, — *ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔδειξε αὐτῷ τὸ ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἐλπίσκειν ἐν ὁπῶς χάρις καὶ ἄφεσις*; and that out of this persuasion of his, he never all that while heid himself refractory towards God; but that having understood by the manifestation of our Saviour, that there was left him no hopes of Salvation, he from thenceforth had grown exceedingly enraged, doing as much mischief as possibly he could against Christ, and his Church. But this opinion (as the learned *Petavius* has observed in his Note on that passage) *Fulgens* non probatur, i. e. is not generally approved of, as true.

### C H A P. XIX.

*Who, in the Reign of Verus, presided over the Churches of Rome and Alexandria.*

**N**OW the foresaid Emperor being in the eighth year of his Reign, *Anicetus*, having compleated the eleventh year of his Episcopal Dignity over the Roman Church, was succeeded by *Soter*. And moreover, *Celadion*, having presided fourteen years over the Church at Alexandria, *Agrippinus* was his Successor in that See.

C H A P.

*M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*

## CHAPTER XX.

*Who then govern'd the Church of Antioch.*

AT that time also *Theophilus*, the sixth from the Apostles, flourish'd in his Presidency over the Church at *Antioch*: For *Cornelius*, Successor to *Heros*, was the fourth that presided there; after whom *Eros*, in the fifth remove from the Apostles, succeeded in that Episcopal See.

## CHAP. XXI.

Concerning the Ecclesiastical Writers who flourish'd in  
that Age.

**I**N those times *Hegesippus* flourish'd in the Church, of whom we have made frequent mention in the foregoing Book; and *Dionysius* Bishop of the *Corinthians*; also one *Pinytus* Bishop of the *Cretians*. Moreover, *Philippus*, *Apollinarius*, and *Melito*; *Musianus* also, and *Modestus*, and lastly *Irenaeus*. All which Persons wrote Books that are come to our hands, containing the sound Doctrine and true Faith, delivered by the Apostles.

## CHAPTER XXII.

*Concerning Hegesippus, and those he makes mention of.*

**M**oreover, *Hegesippus*, in his five Books of Historical Memorials, which are come to our hands, has left a most full and compleat account of his own Faith and Opinion. Wherein he declareth, that travelling as far as *Rome*, he discoursed with many Bishops, and from them all heard one and the same Doctrine. You may please to hear him ( *a* ) after some words of his concerning the Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians* ) continuing his discourse thus : ‘ And the *Corinthian* Church continued in the true Faith until *Primus* came to be Bishop there ; with whom I had some discourse in my Voyage to *Rome*, and was conversant with the *Corinthians* a sufficient time ; wherein we received mutual refreshment from the true Faith. But arriving at *Rome*, I ( *b* ) stay’d there till *Anicetus*’s time, whose Deacon *Eleutherius* then was : After *Anicetus* succeeded *Soter*, and next to him *Eleutherius*. Now in every Succession [of Bishops] and throughout each City the Doctrine is conformable to what the Law, the Prophets, and our Lord preach’d.” And the same Author subjoyns an account of the Heresies which were broach’d in his Age, in these words : ‘ And after *James* the *Just* had suffer’d Martyrdom (as the Lord had also) for the Preaching of his Doctrine, *Simoon* the Son of *Cleophas* ( which [ *Cleophas* ] was Uncle by the Mother’s side to our Saviour ) was constituted Bishop in his room ; whom all preferr’d to be second Bishop there, because he was the Lord’s ( *c* ) Cousin-German by the Mother’s side. Upon

whether the *Learned Knight* created this passage from his own  
 or by the authority of some *Manuscript*, it is to ascertain  
 this Ennodius is very necessary. *Eusebius* quotes  
 the passage of *Hegesippus* in chap. 11. of this Book; between which  
 and this here there seems to be some disagreement. For *Euse-*  
*bius* is there, that *Hegesippus* came to *Rome* in the times of *A-*  
*ndreas* and staid there till *Eletutherius* was promoted to that See.  
*Hegesippus* himself does not say so here, only, that he staid  
 until *Anicetus* was Bishop there. Therefore *Hegesippus* came  
 out the latter end of *Pius's* Reign. *Vale!*

(c) See Note (a) on Chap. 11, Book 3.

which account that Church was styled a *Vir-*  
gin; for it was not hitherto corrupted with  
vain Opinions. (d) *Thebuthii* (because he was  
not made a Bishop) was the first that began to  
violate. This Man was  
(e) one of those that took  
his Rise from the Seven  
Sects, which were amongst  
the [ *Geniv* ] People: of  
which, *Scav* was another

(c) That is, he was one that gathered up his Errors from the false Opinions of those seven Sects amongst the Few; as did also Simon, Cleobius, Dositheus, &c. Vale.

(f) Some think that this *Dof-theans* was much antecedent than these times he is there mentioned to have lived in. *Draful* (in *Reponf. ad Minerali Strati*, cap. 1c.) afferts he lived in the times of *Sennacherib* King of *Afflyria*; and *Tetron* is of that opinion, as appears by what he says in *Dialog. Advers. Luciferian*. But *Statius* (in *Elencho tribueri*.) and *Origen* (Book 1. against *Celfus*) affirm he lived since our Saviour's incarnation, and was co-temporary with *Simon Magus*. See *Photic Bibliotheca*, cap. 23o. *Valef.*

pinion. From these came the False Christs, the False Prophets, and the False Apostles; who rent asunder the Unity of the Church by their corrupt Opinions brought in against God, and his Christ." Moreover, the same Writer gives an account of the Heresies which were heretofore amongst the *Jews*, in these words: 'There were divers Sects and Opinions in the Circumcision among the Children of *Israel*, which were opposite both to the (b) Tribe of *Judah*, and also to Christ; to wit, the (i) *Essaens*, the (k) *Ga-  
lileans*, the *Hamorobaptists*, the (l) *Maibothaens*, *Hegzippus* the *Samarites*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Pharisees*.' (h) By this passage seems to have  
And he writes many other things, of which we thought have partly made mention before, and inserted the Tribe in his Relations in their proper and opportune places and times. Also, he produces several Passages out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews; out of the *Syriac* [Gospel,] and particularly out of the Hebrew Tongue; whereby he plainly intimates himself to have been converted from being a *Jew* to the Faith of Christ. He makes mention also of other things as contain'd in the un-  
and *Pharisees*, &c. But this is very improvable. *Hegzippus* said it only in favour of that Tribe, from whence Christ sprang. *Valef.*

(i) These were the seven Sects amongst the Jews; of which *Hegesippus* makes frequent mention, as may be seen from some quotations out of him, which occur in the foregoing Books. *Iustin* (in *disputat. advers. Triplicem*). *Heriffs*, *Galileans*, *Helienians*, *Pharisees*, and *Baptists*. *Epiphanius* terms them, *Scribes*, *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, *Essens*, *Nazareans*, *Hemerobaptists*, and *Herodians*. Valef.

(h) *Yuda Galileen* was the original Author of this Sed, (says *Josephus* *Antiq.* B. 18. chap. 2.) who having joyned *Sadduck*, a Pharisee, to him, solicited the People to defection, telling them, that God was their only Prince and Master, and no Mortal to acknowledge such; that the requiring a Tax from them, if it were by them paid, was a manifest profession of servitude, and that 'twas their duty to vindicate their Liberty; by which means he raised a great Sedition among the Jews, and was the cause (under pretence of defending the Publick Liberty) of innumerable mischiefes to the Nations. See *Joseph. Antiq.* B. 18. chap. 2.

(1) They are called also *Marboreans* and *Morboreans*; they must be distinguished from those whom *Hegesippus* mentions a little before; for these here were one of the seven Sects amongst the *Jews*; but those were propagated from the seven Sects; as were also the *Simonians*, *Posibbeans*, &c. *Valef.*

*M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*  
written Traditions of the *Jews*. Now, not only he, but also *Irenæus*, and all the Ancients, do call the *Proverbs* of Solomon, the *Book of Wisdom* that (m) contains the Precepts of all Virtue: and, treating of those Books which are termed *The Apocrypha*, he relates that some of them were forg'd by certain Hereticks in his times. But we must now proceed to another Writer.

called *The Wisdom of Jesus the Son of Sirach*, (in his Preface to the Books of Solomon) his Words are these: *Foras Getaneos Jesu filii Sirach libris, et alius pseudographus, qui sapientia Solomonis insinibatur. Quorum proterbum Hebraicum reperi; non Ecclesiasticum, ut apud Latinos, sed parabola; praxantatum, &c.*

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning Dionysius, Bishop of the Corinthians, and the Epistles he wrote.

AND first we are to speak of *Dionysius*, who had the Episcopal Chair of the *Corinthian* Church; and liberally and copiously communicated his Divine Labours, not only to those committed to his charge, but also to such as inhabited Countreys remote and at a great distance; rendering himself most servicable and useful to all persons, by those general Epistles he wrote to divers Churches. Of which number one is that to the *Lacedæmonians*, containing the first Rudiments of, and Institutions in, the true Faith; and moreover an Exhortation to Peace and Unity. Another of them is that to the *Athenians*, which is excitatory to Faith, and to lead a life answerable to the Precepts of the Gospel: In which Point he reproves the negligence of [the *Athenians*] who had in a manner apostatized from the Faith, since the time that *Publius* their Bishop suffer'd Martyrdom, during the Persecutions which then

(a) This *Quadratus*, I judge, is not the same Person with that *Quadratus*, the Disciple of the Apostles, mentioned by *Eusebius* (Book 3. chap. 37.) For the *Quadratus* last-named was not a Bishop, as it plainly appears from the forecited place of *Eusebius*. But, that *Quadratus* (spoken of by our Author at the beginning of this fourth Book) who presented an Apology to *Adrian* for our Religion, was the Disciple of the Apostles, as *Eusebius* in his *Chron.* expressly affirms. Now this *Quadratus* here spoken of (who was Bishop of the *Athenians*) must, as I said, be distinguished from *Quadratus* the Disciple of the Apostles: For this latter lived not beyond the times of *Adrian*; but he that was Bishop of the *Athenians*, governed that Church in the times of *M. Antoninus*, as 'tis evident from *Dionysius*'s Epistle to the *Athenians*; for he speaks of him, as being his co-temporary: Now *Dionysius* Bishop of *Corinth* flourish'd in the Reign of *M. Antoninus*. Valef.

*Gortyna*, and to the rest of the Churches in *Creet*; and commands *Philip* their Bishop, because the Church under his charge was renown'd for many signal Acts of Fortitude; and admonishes them to use caution against the Deceit and Perverseness of Hereticks: And in the Epistle he wrote to the Church of *Amasria*, together with the other Churches throughout *Pontus*, he mentions *Bacchylides* and *Elpisus*, as being the Persons that incited him to write: He annexes likewise several Expositions of Holy Scripture, and by name mentions *Palma* their Bishop. He recommends to them many things concerning Marriage and

Chastity, and commands those that recover from any Lapse whatsoever, (whether *Viciousness*, or *Heretical Error*) to be affectionately receiv'd. In the same Volume is contain'd another Epistle to the *Gnosians*, wherein he admonishes *Pinytus* the Bishop of that Church, not to impose the heavy Yoke of Continency upon the Brethren, as if 'twere necessary; but to have a regard to the Infirmary of most Men. To which *Pinytus* returning an answer, does greatly admire and extol *Dionysius*; but withal exhorts him, that in future he would impart stronger Food, and nourish up the People under his charge by sending again to them some Letters that contain more perfect and solid Doctrine; left being continually accusom'd to such milky expressions, they should grow old in a childish Discipline. In which Epistle, both the Orthodox Faith of *Pinytus*, and his solicitude for the Proficiency of those under his care; his Eloquence also, and Understanding in Divine matters, is most accurately and to the life represented. Moreover, there is extant an Epistle of *Dionysius*'s to the *Romans*, supercrib'd to *Soter*, at that time the Bishop there; out of which 'tis not amiss here to insert some words, wherein he much commends the usage and custom of the *Romans*, observ'd by them even until the times of the Persecution rais'd in our own (b) Age. He writes thus: "For this hath been (b) your custom even from the beginning [of your Conversion to Christianity] to be divers ways beneficial to all the Brethren, and to send relief to most Churches throughout every City; sometimes supplying the Wants of such as are in necessity; at others, furnishing those Brethren with Necessaries that are condemn'd to work in the Mines. By such charitable Gifts, which from the beginning you have been accusom'd to transmit to others, being *Romans*, you retain the custom receiv'd from your *Roman* Fore-fathers. Which usage your blessed Bishop *Soter* has not only diligently observ'd, but greatly improv'd; being both instrumental, and ready in the conveyance of your Bounty design'd for the Saints; and also comforting with blessed words (as a tender and affectionate Father does his Children) those Brethren that come as (c) Strangers to you." In the same Epistle also he makes mention of the Epistle of *Clement* to the *Corinthians*, and manifests that

(c) *Dionysius* means those Brethren, who usually came from remote Countreys to *Rome*, to procure some relief for such as in their own Country were in distress, and necessity. Valef.  
"twas very anciently customary to recite it publickly in the presence of the Church: for he says, (d) This day therefore, being the Holy-day of the Lord, we have now pass'd over, wherein we fragment read over your Epistle; which (as also the former Epistle of *Clement*'s written to us) we continue to read henceforward, shall abound with most excellent Precepts and Instructions." Further, *Clergy*, is ther, the same Writer speaking of his own Epistles to be join'd which by some Forgers were corrupted, says thus: "For I wrote some Epistles, being thereto requested by the Brethren; but the Emiliars of the Devil have fill'd them with Darnel; expunging some Passages out of them, and adding other some; for whom a *Woe* is reserv'd." This no wonder therefore, that some attempt to adulterate the Holy Writings of the Lord, since they have basely falsified such as are of an inferior Authority." Besides these, there is extant another Epistle of *Dionysius*'s, written to *Chrysothora* a most faithful Sister, to whom he writes what is agreeable, and imparts to her such Spiritual Food as is convenient for her. Thus much concerning the Writings of *Dionysius*.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning Theophilus, Bishop of the Antiochians.

(a) Concerning this Hermogenes, and his Heresie, see Baronius, ad annum Christi 170. But, I cannot give my assent to him, as to what he affirms, viz. that Hermogenes taught in Asia. Valef. The Heresie of this Hermogenes is related by Theodoret. (Hæret. fab. l. i. cap. 19.)

There are extant of this Theophilus's (whom we declared to have been Bishop of the Antiochian Church) three Books written to Autolycus, containing the first Rudiments of the Faith. He has another Tract also extant, entitled, *Against the Heresie of (a) Hermogenes*, wherein he quotes Authorities out of the Revelation of St. John: There are besides some other Books of his, wherein are deliver'd the first Principles of our Faith. Moreover, whereas in that Age the Hereticks (like Darnel) did nevertheless corrupt the pure Seed of the Apostolick Doctrine, the Pastors of Churches were every-where very earnest and industrious to chase them away (being as it were Savage and Wild Beasts) from the Sheep of Christ; partly by admonishing and exhorting the Brethren; and partly by encountering valiantly with the Hereticks themselves; whom they either confuted by dint of Arguments and unwritten Questions propounded face to face, or else disproved their Opinions by written Treatises most accurately compiled. That Theophilus therefore did, together with others, engage these Hereticks, is manifestly apparent from that elaborate piece, (not unworthy of himself) which he wrote against Marcion; which Book, together with those others we have recounted, is at this present time extant. Further, Maximinus, the seventh from the Apostles, succeeded this person in the Bishoprick of the Antiochian Church.

ἡρώδης (ὁ ἑρμῆνης) τὸ κενεῖν τὸ σῶμα ἐν τῇ ἡλῷ ἔπειν ἀποδείκναι, & ὁ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκ τῶν ὁμῶν ἀναστρέφοντα. i. e. This Hermogenes asserted, that the Body of the Lord was deposited in the Sun: And that the Devil and the Evil Spirits should be turned into Matter. The Seleucian and Hieronymian taught the same; to wit, That the Body of Christ ascended no farther than the Sun; the occasion of which assertion they took from those Words of the Psalmist, Psal. 19. 5. which in St. Jerome's Translation is thus rendered, *In sole posuit tabernaculum suum*: But in the Psalms used in our Liturgy 'tis thus worded, *In them hath he set a Tabernacle for the Sun*. See Dr. Hammond on that Text. The same opinion Gregory Nazianzen attributeth to the Manicheans, Epist. 1. ad Cledonium, and S. August. Tract 34. in Job. This opinion is more largely and clearly set down, but without a name, in the *Catena patrum* on Psal. 18. where 'tis said, that these Hereticks assert, that after his Resurrection, our Saviour deposited his Body in the Sphere of the Sun, to be preserved there till his second coming.

C H A P. XXV.

Concerning Philipppus and Modestus.

Moreover, Philipppus (who, as we are inform'd by the words of Dionysius [even now quoted] was Bishop of the Church at Gortyna) compiled also a most elaborate piece against Marcion: So likewise did Ireneus, and Modestus. But this person last-named did most excellently (even better than the other Writers) detect the Errors and Frauds of the Man, and exposed them to the view of the World. Several others also wrote, whose Labours are to this day with exquisite care preserv'd by many of the Brethren.

C H A P. XXVI.

Concerning Melito, and what he has made mention of.

Also, at that time Melito, Bishop of the Church at Sardis, and Apollinarius Prelate of the Church at Hierapolis, flourish'd and were eminently famous. Each of which Persons did severally dedicate an Apology written in de-

fence of our Faith to the foresaid Roman Emperor, M. Aurelius who reign'd at that time. The Books of each of them, which are come to our knowledge, are these that follow. Two Books of Melito's concerning Easter; one of his,

(a) concerning the true way of Converse, and of the Prophets: another concerning the Church; and a third, concerning the Lord's Day: Moreover, one, concerning the Nature of Man, and another, about the Frame and Composure of Man; and one, concerning the (b) Obedience of the Senses and their Subjection to Faith; and moreover, one Book, concerning the Soul, the Body and the Mind: a Book, concerning Baptism; one, of Truth; one, concerning the (c) Origination and Generation of Christ: his Book of Prophecy; another, concerning Hospitality; and that entitled, *The Key*: besides one, concerning the Devil, and, of the Revelation of John; and another, about the Incarnation of God; and lastly, his Apology to Antoninus. Now, in his Books concerning Easter, to wit, in the beginning of that Work, he declares the time when he wrote, in these words,

Servilius Paulus being Proconsul of Asia, at that time when Sagaris suffer'd Martyrdom, there arose a great Controversie at Laodicea concerning Easter, which hapned to fall on those days in its due season; at which time I wrote these Books." Clemens Alexandrinus makes mention of this Book, in his Piece concerning Easter; which Book of Melito's was, as he says, the occasion of his composing that Work. Now, in that Book dedicated to the Emperor, he relates what was acted against us Christians in his Reign. For now, says he, that sort of Men who are pious and holy are persecuted, (a thing which was never before done) and molested with new Decrees through-

out all Asia. For most impudent Informers, who are desirous to possess themselves of other Men's Goods, taking an occasion from the Imperial Edicts, do openly commit Robberies, and day and night take away the Goods of innocent Persons." And, after some words, he continues thus: Now, if all this be done by your command, let it pass for an orderly and due way of proceeding. For a just Emperor can never decree or authorize any thing that is unjust: and we willingly undergo the Reward of such a death. This request only we humbly make to you, that you yourself would first take

(a) In all our MSS. Copies this title concerning the true way of converse, and of the Prophets, evidently appears to be the title but of one Book. Jerome (in his Book de Eccl. Script. which is almost wholly taken out of Eusebius) entitles this piece of Melito's thus [*De vitæ Prophetarum*, i. e. concerning the life of the Prophets. Valef.]

(b) Melito wrote a Book upon this Subject, because there were some Hereticks who asserted, that such Men as were carnal, believed by the help of their senses; but those were spiritual believed by reason. So Hieroclius expounded that Text in St. John's Gospel, (chap. 4. 48.) *Except ye see signs and wonders, ye will not believe*. Which words Hieroclius said, were properly directed to those, who by works and their senses had a notion of obeying, but not of believing their reason. Origen (Tome 13. Enarrat. on St. John's Gospel) mentions, and confutes this Opinion: Where he declares, that neither spiritual nor carnal Men can believe, unless it be by sense. Valef.

(c) In the Map. Med. and Fab. MSS. and in Nicephorus, this Book of Melito's is intitled [*de Origine, &c.*] i. e. concerning the Origination, &c. which reading, we doubt not but is true. Rufinus, as appears by his Version, and Robertus Stephanus, as may be seen in his Edit. read [*de stirpe, &c.*] i. e. concerning Faith, &c. The ancient Fathers, who lived before the Nicene Council, meant (by the word [*stirps*]) not only such creation as is made out of nothing, but also all sort of production on whatsoever, and therefore the divine Origination of the Word. Those Words of the Apostles (Colos. 1. 15.) *The first-born of every Creature*, they asserted, were to be understood of the eternal Generation of the Son. Valef. But as Dr. Hammond observes in his Notes on that Text; *γεννητός* i. e. first-born, is used sometimes for a Lord, or Person in power, who hath the privilege of the first-born, dominion over all his brethren: And according to this notion (*continues he*) 'tis used commonly in Scripture for a Prince, or principal Person. See Psal. 53. 27. Job 18. 13. Or it may peculiarly refer to his Resurrection, in which he was the first-born from the dead. See Hammond on Col. 1. 15.

M. Aurelius and L. Verus. take cognizance of (d) them that are Sufferers of this vexatious Molestation; and then determine impartially, whether they are worthy of Punishment and Death; or deserve to live in peace and quietness. But if this Decree, and this new Edict (which ought not to have been

(d) These words are to be understood of the Christians; which appears from what follows. For Melito defines of the Emperor, that he would first look into and examine the cause of the Christians; and then determine, whether they deserved to be punished, or rather preserved in safety. Valef.

(e) So he terms the Jews, amongst whom the Christian Religion first sprang up. Upon this account Porphyrius (whose Words Eusebius quotes Book 6, chap. 19. of this work) termed the Christian Religion [*ἡ ἐκ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*] i. e. an audacious Self that had its beginning amongst Barbarians. Valef.

it began to be eminent and conspicuous in Your Provinces; it brought with it most fortunate and prosperous success to Your Empire. For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented. Of which Empire You by succession are the most acceptable inheritor: that could be wish'd for, and shall so continue, together with your (f) Son,

(f) From this place it is evident, that Melito the Bishop prefixed his Apology to M. Antoninus after the death of Aurelius Verus. For, if Verus had been then living, when Melito wrote this Apology, he would doubtless have mentioned him here; and in stead of these words [*together with your Son*] would certainly have said [*together with your brother*]. For L. Verus was the adopted Brother of M. Aurelius. Seeing therefore, Melito does here mention only the Son of M. Antoninus (to wit, Commodus) 'tis manifest, as I said, that this Apology was presented to Marcus after the death of L. Verus. And therefore Eusebius (in his *Chronicon*) places it on the tenth year of M. Aurelius, to wit, the year after Verus's death. Valef.

no unsuccessful accident hath intervened; but on the contrary such splendour and magnificence hath always attended Your Empire, as is agreeable to the Desires and Prayers of all men.

Of all the Emperors, only (g) Nero and Domitian (induced thereto by the persuasion and advice of some malevolent persons) endeavour'd to fix a calumny and reproach upon our Religion. From whom that false and malicious detraction hapned to be convey'd down to succeeding times, agreeable to the usage of the rude Multitude, which irrationally gives credit to such groundless rumours. But Your pious Ancestors corrected their ignorance; and by frequent Rescripts reproved such as audaciously attempted to be insolent and vexatious towards those of our Religion. Amongst whom Your

Grandfather Adrian wrote both to *Fundanus Proculus* of Asia, and also to many other [Governors of Provinces,] and (h) your Father, even at that time when You were his Colleague in the Empire, wrote to the Cities that they should not raise Tumults, nor commit any Insolencies (here meant) in favour of the Christians, is now extant. 'Tis mentioned in the Rescript of M. Aurelius Antoninus to the Cities of Asia, which Eusebius has set down in chap. 13. of this Book. Valef.

against us; namely to the *Larissians*, to the *Thebaisians*, the *Athenians* and to all the *Grecians*. M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

But we most confidently perfwade our selves that You (who retain the same Opinion concerning us that your Ancestors had; yea, who are inclined to be much more gracious and mild towards us, and to entertain wiser and discreeter thoughts concerning us,) will do whatsoever we request of you." This Passage is extant in the fore-mentioned Apology of Melito.

The same Author (in that Book of *Extracts and Collections* written by him) does, at the beginning of that Work, make a Catalogue of those Books of the Old Testament that by general consent are acknowledged as Canonical: Which Catalogue I judg'd necessary to be here inserted: It is word for word thus: "*Melito to Onesimus the Brother* sendeth greeting. Whereas, because of your love to, and diligence bestow'd about, the Word of God, you have often requested me to make you some short *Collections* and *Excerptions*, both out of the Law and the Prophets, about those things that belong to our Saviour, and all the Articles of our Faith; and moreover, you being very desirous to have an accurate account of the Books of the Old Testament, how many they are in number, and in what order they were written; I have made it my business to do all this, and to satisfy your desire herein. For I well know with what an ardour of Faith you are inflamed, and how earnest your desires are after Knowledge; and that, by reason of your love of God, you greatly prefer these before all other things, striving earnestly to obtain eternal salvation. When therefore I travelled into the East, and came into that Country where these things were heretofore preach'd and done, I made an accurate enquiry about the Books of the Old Testament, a Catalogue whereof I have herewith sent you. Their names are these: *The five Books of Moses, to wit, Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy; Joshua, Judges, Ruth; the four Books of the Kings; the two Books of the Chronicles; the Psalms of David, the Proverbs of Solomon, which is also called the Book of Wisdom; Ecclesiastes, the Song of Solomon, Job, the Prophecies of Isaiah, and Jeremiah: one Book of the Twelve [minor] Prophets, Daniel, Ezekiel, Ezechiel. Out of these I have made some short Collections, which I have divided into six Books.*" But thus much concerning the Writings of Melito.

## C H A P. XXVII.

Concerning Apollinaris, Bishop of the Hierapolitan Church.

(a) ALtho' several Books written by Apollinaris are extant among many Men, yet these only of his are come to our knowledge; to wit, His Apology to the foreaid Emperor; his five Books against the Gentiles; his two Books concerning the beginning of a new chapter, but this 27. chap. which treats concerning Apollinaris, and the following chap. concerning *Musanius*, are both annex'd to chap. 26. the title whereof in our said MSS. is this [*Concerning Melito, and what he has made mention of, Apollinaris, and Musanius;*] which division Robert Stephens followed in the body of this fourth Book. For in the Contents prefix'd before this 4th Book, he follows the King's MS. and makes three chap. here, to wit, one of Melito, another concerning Apollinaris, and a third concerning *Musanius*; But in the body of that Book he follows the Med. MS. (as he always does in this particular) and has put no distinction of a new chap. here; but hath made all the three chapters into one. We following the authority of the King's MS. have divided them into three chap. and the same was done before, in the Genoa-Impression of Eusebius's History. Valef.

*M. Aurelius and L. Verus.* Truth; and his (b) two Books against the Jews. Also, those Books he wrote afterwards against the Heresie of the (c) Cataphrygians, which not long after occasion'd great Disturbances; but at that time it began to make its first appearance, *Montanus* with his False Prophets then laying the foundation of his Error. And this is what he had to say concerning *Apollinaris*.

(b) These Words [His two Books against the Jews] are not in the *Mat. Med. nor Fulk. MSS.* nor in that Copy *Rufinus* made use of, as appears from his Version; nor yet in *Jerom's B. de Eccl. Scriptor.* where he reckons up all *Apollinaris's* Books. But *Nicophorus* mentions them in his History. *Valef.* (c) *Mr. Tho. Lydiate* (in his *Emend. Tempor.*) says, this Heresie began in the times of *M. Aurelius and L. Verus*; the Author whereof was *Montanus*.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning Musanus, and his Writings.

There is extant of *Musanus's* (whom we mention'd a little before) a most sharp piece written by him to some Brethren, who turn'd to the Heresie of the *Eneratites*; which then first sprang up, and introduced a new and most pernicious false Opinion into the World. *Tatianus*, as report says, was the Author of this Heresie.

## C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning Tatianus and his Heresie.

WE mean that *Tatianus*, whose words we quoted a little before, treating concerning the admirable *Justin*; who, we told you, was a Disciple of that Martyr's. *Irenaeus* evidences this in his first Book against Heresies, where he writes thus concerning this *Tatianus* and his Heresie. From (a) *Saturninus* and *Marcion* sprang those Hereticks called *Eneratites*, who taught that Marriage was unlawful; rejecting that primitive Institution of God, and tacitly accused him, because he created Male and Female for the Propagation of Mankind. They were assertors also of an Abstinence from the eating those things, that (as they termed them) had life; shewing hereby their Ingratitude towards God who created all things. They deny likewise that the first Man was saved. And this is a Tenet lately invented amongst them, of which impious assertion one *Tatianus* was the first broker. Who having been an Auditor of *Justin*, as long as he convers'd with him, disclosed no such false Opinions: But after his Martyrdom, he revolted from the Church, and being arrogant and puffed up

(b) *Jerom* (in his Book of *Scriptor. Eccl.*) takes the word [*Didascalus*] in such a sense as to signify a master of Eloquence. Such an one *Tatianus* was before his conversion to the Christian Religion, as may be seen from chap. 16. of this 4th Book. But I rather think, that by [*Didaskalos*] (which is the term in the original) should be meant [an Ecclesiastical Doctor] (which sense of that term the following Words of *Irenaeus* do confirm; for he says, *He was the composer of a new form of Doctrine of his own making.* *Valef.*

ments to disprove the Salvation of Adam. Thus far *Irenaeus* [concerning the Heresie of the *Eneratites* which then was brought.] But not long after, one whose name was (c) *Severus* did consolidate and

strengthen the foresaid Heresie, and so was the occasion that the Followers of that Sect were called, by reason of his name, *Sewerians*. They approve indeed of the Law, the Prophets, and the Gospels, expounding the sentences of Holy Scripture according to a peculiar sense and meaning of their own; but they speak reproachfully of the Apostle *Paul*, and reject his Epistles; neither do they admit of the Acts of the Apostles. But *Tatianus*, their first Founder, put together a confused heap of Collections extracted out of the four Gospels, which he entitl'd (d) *Diatessaron*, i. e. a Gospel made up of the four Gospels: Which Book is at this time extant in the hands of some Men. They say also, that he was so audacious as to alter some sayings of the Apostle *Paul's*, and to express them in more elegant terms, undertaking to correct the Composition and Order of his Phrases. He left a very great number of Books, among which, his (e) Book against the *Grecians* is look'd upon to be an excellent piece, and is commended by most Men: In which Work, giving an account of the Series of Times in the former Ages of the World, he has made it evident that *Moses* and the Prophets amongst the *Hebrews*, were much more ancient, than all the famous Men amongst the *Grecians*. Indeed that Book of his seems to possess, be the best and most useful piece of all his Writings. But thus far concerning these things.

before *Tatianus*, makes mention of the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, as *Eusebius* tells us, chap. 12. of this Book: *Papias* also quotes a passage out of that Gospel, as our Author asserts about the close of the 3d Book. *Valef.* (e) That is, his Oration against the *Grecians*, which is extant at the latter end of *Justin Martyr's* Works, Edit. Par. 1636. At pag. 171: he begins the proof of this point, viz. the Antiquity of *Moses* and the Prophets.

## C H A P. XXX.

Concerning Bardesanes the Syrian, and those Books of his that are extant.

Further, in the Reign of the same Emperor, when Heresies were numerous in (a) *Mesopotamia*, one *Bardesanes* a most eloquent Man in the Syrian tongue, and an excellent Disputant, wrote the some Dialogues against *Marcion* and several others, who were Authors and Assertors of different Opinions, which he publish'd in his own Country-language; as also many other Works in which his Scholars (for he had very many Auditors, and was a powerful Maintainer of our Faith) translated out of the Syriack into the Grecian language. Amongst which is his Dialogue concerning Fate, written to (b) *Antoninus*, an incomparable piece. 'Tis said he wrote several other Tracts, upon occasion of the Persecution at that time rais'd against us. This Man was at first a Follower of be *Valentinus's*; but having mislik'd that Heresie, and confuted many of the fabulous Tenets of the Founder thereof, he was satisfied in himself that he had turn'd to a truer Opinion; but notwithstanding he did not wholly clear himself of the filth of his ancient Heresie. Moreover, at the same time *Soter Bishop* of the Roman Church departed this Life.

*Valentinus* in the Churches of *Ostrogno*. *Valef.* (b) It's doubtful whether *Antoninus* the Emperor, or one of that name, who was a follower of *Tatianus's*, be here meant. It is not likely that *Bardesanes* should dedicate his Books to the Roman Emperor, which he wrote in the Syriack language. Besides, *Eusebius* (in his 6 B. de preparat.) does declare that *Bardesanes* dedicated his Dialogues to his Followers and Friends. *Valef.*

THE  
FIFTH BOOK  
Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

The PREFACE.

**M**OREOVER, SOTER Bishop of the Roman Church having presided there eight years, ended his Life. *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. In whose place succeeded Eleutherus, the twelfth from the Apostles. It was then the (a) seven-teenth year of the Emperor Antoninus Verus; at which time a more sharp Persecution being in *L. Verus*. some Parts of the World raised against us by a Popular Incursion throughout every City; how vast the Number was of such Persons as were dignified with Martyrdom over the whole World, may be conjectured from what happened in one Province. Which things were by accident put in writing and transmitted to Posterity, as being truly worthy of an indelible remembrance. Now the Acts, which contain a most perfect and compleat Account of these things, are set down entire in that Collection we made of the Martyrs; which comprehends not only an Historical Relation of what was done, but also Rules and Precepts of Piety and Holiness: But notwithstanding, we will from thence at present make a Selection of such Passages as are agreeable to the Subject we now have in hand, and here insert them. Other Historians indeed have nobly made it their business to record in their Works warlike Victories, and Trophies erected against their conquer'd Enemies; the Valour of Generals, and brave Children, Country, and Estate: But we, who set forth the History of a Divine Society of Men, will record upon immortal Monuments, inscribed with indelible Characters, the most pious Wars, waged for the obtaining of Spiritual Peace; and the valiant Acts of those Persons who in such Encounters commended more for the Truth than their Country, and for Religion rather than their dearest Relations: publishing for the perpetual remembrance of Posterity, the continued earnestness of those Champions who fought for Piety, their Fortitude in undergoing manifold Torments, the Trophies erected against the Devils, the victorious Conquests obtain'd over invisible Adversaries, and last of all, their Crowns.

and that not by the Edict of the Emperor, but by a tumultuous Insurrection of the Populace against them: Where it lasted to the end of that Emperor's Reign, as 'tis evident from these Words in *Melito's* Apology [For from that time the power of the Roman Empire began to be eminently great, and was much augmented: Of which Empire you by Succession are the most acceptable Inheritor that could be wish'd for, and shall so continue together with your Son, &c. See chap. 26. B. 4. note (f).] Now, *Commodus* was by his Father received as his Partner in the Empire, when *Melito* presented this Apology to the Emperor. His being made Colleague in the Empire, 'tis evident, happened about the latter end of *M. Antoninus's* Reign: Wherefore the Persecution of the Christians in *Asia* must necessarily have lasted till that time. But this Persecution was more sharp and violent in *Asia*, in the *Gallias*, and in other Provinces, in the seventeenth year of the said *Antoninus*, as *Eusebius* does here say expressly. See *Baronius*, ad annum Christi 179. Valef.

CHAP. I.

*How many, in the Reign of Verus, underwent most sore Persecutions in France for Religion; and after what manner they suffered.*

**N**OW France was the Country, wherein the place for performance of the forementioned Combats was appointed. The chief Mother-Cities whereof, (and which be more eminently famous than the other Cities there) are *Lyons* and *Vienna*; through both which the River *Rhone* passes, encompassing with a great and rapid Stream that whole Region. The Churches therefore that were most eminent in those Parts sent an account in writing concerning their Martyrs to the Churches throughout *Asia* and *Phrygia*; relating, after this manner, what was done amongst them: for I will insert their very words: (a) The

*Vienna* and *Lyons* were joyned together, not only by vicinity of place, but also by the bonds of mutual Love. And seeing they had together been engaged in the same Persecution, they jointly wrote an Epistle concerning their own Martyrs. Besides, both Provinces seem at that time to have been under the jurisdiction of one President; which may be conjectured from hence, because as well they of *Vienna*, as those of *Lyons*, are in this Epistle said to have been by the President apprehended, and condemned for the Faith of Christ. These therefore are the reasons why they wrote jointly. For that which some have supposed, (to wit, that then there was but one Bishop of *Vienna* and *Lyons*) is easily confuted out of this Epistle, which says that *Pothinus* was Bishop of *Lyons*, but not of *Vienna*. Moreover, those of *Lyons* do, out of respect, set the name of those of *Vienna* first, whereas notwithstanding they of *Lyons* wrote the Epistle concerning the things which were done at their own City. Which respect also may seem to be attributed to the antiquity, and nobility, of the Colony at *Vienna*. As to the second query, we may understand from this Epistle, that there were many *Grecians* in the Church of *Lyons*, as was *Aitalus*, and *Alexander* the *Phrygian*, and *Alcihiade*, who was by original extract a *Phrygian* also, as I think: Also *Ireneus* was born in *Asia*, and, when he was very young, had, together with *Florinus*, been an Auditor of *Polycarp's* at *Smyrna*; as he himself evidences. The very name also of *Pothinus* the Bishop shews him to be originally a *Grecian*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that those who came out of *Asia* into the *Gallias*, should write to their Brethren that were in *Asia* concerning their Affairs; from whom, as 'tis probable, they had before received that Epistle concerning the Martyrdom of *Polycarp*, and others. I suppose *Ireneus* to have been the Author of this Epistle, who at that time was a Presbyter of the Church at *Lyons*. Valef.

M. Aure-  
lius and  
L. Verus.

Servants of Christ which inhabit Vienna and Lyons in France, to the Brethren throughout Asia and Phrygia, which have the same Faith and Hope of Redemption with us; Peace, Grace, and Glory from God the Father, and from Christ Jesus our Lord.\* Then, having after this by way of Preface premised some words, they begin their Relation with these: 'Now the sore Affliction amongst us, the great Rage of the Heathens against the Saints, and what the Blessed Martyrs endured, we are neither able accurately to express, nor indeed can it be compriz'd in writing: For the Adversary invaded us with his utmost vigour, shewing forth even then his arrival amongst us, and some beginnings of his future cruelty. For he left nothing unattempted, whilst by way of practice he prepared, and before-hand exercised his Ministers against the Servants of God. So that we are

(b) The term in the original is [ἀνέκδοτον] which signifies only private Houses, from which the Christians were then driven, that is, from the Houses of their Friends, Relations, &c. For I agree not with Rufinus, who thought that the Christians were prohibited to inhabit their own Houses.† Valef.

(c) Ἀγορὴ is the term in the original, which signifies any promiscuous or popular assembly; these (setting aside the sacred assemblies, which are otherwise expressed) are principally of two sorts, either (1.) to buy and sell, or (2.) to resort for justice; and the word here used commonly signifies both, or either of these, (1.) a fair or market, (2.) a place of judicature, an hall, or court of judgment. The Romans termed this place Forum; which word they used in the same Latitude that the Greeks did Ἀγορὴ. At this place, and hereafter, we have made use of the Latin term in our Translation; and we therefore put this Note in here, that the English Reader might understand the meaning of it.

\* Rom. 8. 'haunted unto Christ; truly demonstrating, \*that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed to us.'

First therefore, they courageously underwent whatsoever [abuses] were cumulated on them by the whole Multitude, to wit, the Shouts against them, the Stripes, the Draggings up and down, the taking away of their Goods, the casting of Stones at them, their being (d) shut up within their own Houses; and all things which an exasperated Multitude do usually undertake against their Enemies and Adversaries: Then, being brought into the Forum by the Tribune of the Soldiers, and the (e) Magistrates of the City, they were examin'd in the presence of the whole Multitude; and, having made their Confession were shut up in prison until the arrival of the (f) President. Afterwards, when they were

wherein Imprisonment can have no place. For the Judges, and not the People, had power to imprison those that were guilty. Rufinus therefore translates [ἐν οὐρανοῖς] consilii, i. e. to be shut up. For the Heathens shut up the Christians within their own Houses, and would not suffer them to come abroad. Valef.

(e) He means the municipal Magistrates, who were also called the *dumoviri*. Although the term *ἀνέκδοτον* (here used) is usually meant of those Judges which have the power of the Sword; (See *Ulpian*, in *tit. de Jurisdic.*) yet it denotes the municipal Magistrates also, who, as the *Civilians* phrase it, have *modicum coercitivum*. Valef.

(f) Ἡγεμὼν (the term that occurs here) has a general signification. For all Governors of Provinces are so called, he they *Procurators*, *Proconsuls*, or *Deputies of Caesar*. It may therefore be deservedly questioned

of which of these three sorts the Governour of the Province of Lyons was. Indeed, I think he was the Deputy of Caesar. Which I am inclined to suppose, (1.) because there is mention here made of the Tribune of the Soldiers. For that agrees very well with the Deputy of Caesar, who look'd after the Military Affairs. (2.) In the old Inscription, which *Gruter* speaks of, pag. 427. he is termed Deputy of the *Lugdunensis* Province. See *Gruter*, *Inscript.* pag. 427. Lastly, *Spartianus* (in *Severo*) attests, that the Province of Lyons was in the Reign of *M. Antoninus* governed by *Deputies of Caesar*. And perhaps in this Epistle of those of Lyons, *Severus* is meant: For he was Deputy of the *Lugdunensis* Province under *Adrianus*. *Junius Rufus* also (whom *Tacitus* in the B. 1. of his History calls Governor of *Gallia Lugdunensis*) was Deputy of this Province; and so was *Vitellius Pellio* in the times of *Adrian*. Valef.

were brought before the Governour, (who exercised all manner of cruelty against us) (g) *Vettius Epagathus*, one of the Brethren, who had arriv'd to an immense degree of love to God and his Neighbour; whose course of life had been so exact and accurate, that although he was a young Man, yet he deserved the Elogy of *Zachariah Senior*; for he had walked in all the Commandments and Ordinances of the Lord, blameless; double, and was most ready to perform all good Offices towards his Neighbour, being full of the Zeal of God, and fervent in Spirit: This Person, MSS. For I say, being such an one, was not able to bear *Vettius* for those to unjust proceedings against us, but was a *Roman* greatly mov'd with indignation, and requested that he also might be heard to make a Defence *Cicerō*, in behalf of the Brethren, [and to manifest] that and yu- there was nothing of Impiety or Irreligion amongst us. But when those about the Tribunal cried out against him, (for he was an eminent Personage,) and when the Governour refused the request so justly propos'd by him, and only ask'd him whether he also were a Christian; he confess'd it with a most loud voice, and was receiv'd into the number of the Martyrs, being term'd by the Governour the Advocate of the Christians: But he had within himself an Advocate, to wit, the Holy Spirit, in a greater degree than (h) *Zachariah* had; which he evidently manifested by his abundant love, in that he was well-contented to deposit his own Life for the defence of the Brethren. For he was, and the Priest, is, a genuine Disciple of Christ, following the Lamb whithersoever he goeth. Then others (i) were diligently prov'd and examin'd; and they were illustrious and ready Proto-Martyrs, who with all alacrity of mind accomplish'd the solemn Confession of Martyrdom. Moreover, those who were unprepared, unexercised, as yet weak, and unable to undergo the severity of so great a Combat, were then apparent; of whom about ten in number fell away, which was the occasion of great Grief and immeasurable Sorrow to us, and disturb'd that alacrity of Mind in others who were not yet apprehended; who although they suffer'd all sorts of misery, yet were present with the Martyrs, and departed not from them. At that time we were all in a great Contemnation of Mind, because we were dubious about the [perseverance of such as were to] confess [themselves to be Christians:] nor that we fear'd the Torments that were to be inflicted; but, revolving in our Minds the issue of Affairs, we were fearful lest any one should fall off from

M. Aure-  
lius and  
L. Verus.

(g) This Martyrs name should be written with a double, as it is in the MSS. and Full.

Valef.

(h) They mean *Zachariah* the father of the Baptist, whom they call *Senior*, comparing *Epagathus*, a young Man, with him. Valef.

(i) *ἀνέκδοτον* is the term here used. It seems to be a Metaphor taken from Champions, who before they engaged in the Combat, were wont to be examined and proved, whether they were Free-Men, and of the age that Champions should be. And those that were admitted to the Combat, were said *ἀνέκδοτον*, such as were reprobated *ἀνέκδοτον*, the examination itself was call'd *ἀνέκδοτον*, as I collect from this place. Indeed this Epistle is very full of *Athletical* terms, as 'tis manifest from this place, and as we will shew more plainly hereafter. Valef.



*M. Aurelius*  
and *L. Verus*.

(k) *To wit*,  
in the  
Church of

Vienna and in that of Lyons. But these Words are in an especial manner to be taken notice of, because from thence it appears manifestly, that the Church of Vienna, as well as that of Lyons, had at that time its Bishop. For by ancient Writers it is not called a Church unless it be a Mother-Church, which we call a Cathedral. *Ado Viennensis* (in his *Chronicon*) says *Justus* was Bishop of Vienna at that time; who having been macerated with a long Exile, was at last Crowned with Martyrdom. *Valer.*

(l) The Story goes, That this *Thyestes* eat part of his own Son; whom *Atreus* his Brother (to be revenged of him for committing Adultery with his Wife) made ready and let before him.

(m) He (not knowing her to be so) married his own Mother *Jocasta*, (having before out of ignorance slain his own Father *Laius*) of whom he begot four Sons.

from the Faith. Now there were daily taken such as were worthy to fill up their number; so that those who were most eminent in (k) both the Churches, and by whom essential Matters here had been settled, were all pick'd out and apprehended. Some Heathens also, our Servants, were seiz'd upon; (for the President did in publick give command that we should all be diligently search'd out;) which Persons, by reason of the treachery of Satan, being afraid of the Torments which they saw the Saints undergo, the Soldiers inciting them thereto, rail'd lyes against us, and reported that we used the Suppers of (l) *Thyestes*, and the incestuous carnal Collocation of (m) *Oedipus*, and such other things as 'tis neither lawful for us to utter, nor to think of, nor to believe, that any such fact was ever committed among men. These Stories being spread abroad, all persons were enrag'd against us; insomuch, that if there were any who before had been moderate towards us by reason of Akinity or Friendship; even these were then greatly displeas'd with, and mightily incens'd against us. Thus was fulfilled that which our Lord had said, that the time should come wherein *"nobody ever kills thee, but thou shalt kill him."* From thenceforth therefore the Holy Martyrs underwent such Torments as are inexpressible and above all declaration: Satan endeavouring with much earnestness that some slanderous and reproachful words might be utter'd by (n) them also. But the whole rage both of the Multitude, of the President, and of the Soldiers did in a more violent manner fall upon (o) *Sanctus* of Vienna, a Deacon, and upon *Maturus*, a person indeed who had been lately baptiz'd, but yet prov'd a courageous Champion of *Christ* upon *Attalus* also, by Country a *Pergamian*, who always was a Pillar and Prop of the Churches here, and lastly upon *Blandina*; by whom *Christ* demonstrated, that those things which

among Men seem vile, obscure, and despicable, are by God accounted worthy of great honour, by reason of the love shewn to him, which is actually and powerfully manifested, and not in pretence and shew boasted of. For when we were all afraid, and she that was her Mistress after the Flesh (who also was one of the Champions of the Martyrs) fear'd, left, by reason of the Imbecility of her Body, she should not be able with boldness and freeness to make her Confession: *Blandina* was supplied with so great strength, that those who by turns tortured her all the time from Morning till Evening, became feeble and weak; and confess'd themselves

overcome, having nothing further to do to *M. Aurelius* and *L. Verus*. her: They admired also that she yet continued to breathe, her whole Body having been mangled and pierced through; and they attested, that one sort of torture was sufficient to have bereaved her of life, much more so many and so great torments. But this blessed Woman, like a courageous Champion, recover'd fresh supplies of strength during her Confession: And it was a refreshment, and an ease to her, and abated the pain of those Torments that were inflict'd on her, to pronounce these words, to wit, *I am a Christian, and there is nothing of wickedness ascribed amongst us*. But *Sanctus*, having in an extraordinary, and more than humane, manner, courageously endured all the torments Men could invent, (the impious Wretches hoping by reason of the continuedness and exquisite nature of his torments to have heard some indecent expressions from him,) withstood them with so great a degree of courage, that he declared neither his own name, nor that of his own Country, nor of the City where he was born, nor yet whether he were a Servant or a Freeman; but to all the Interrogatories, he made answer in the Roman tongue, *I am a Christian*: This he declared time after time successively, in stead of [acknowledging] his Name, his City, his Kindred, or any thing else: neither could the Heathens get any other words out of him. Upon which account the rage both of the President and of the Tormentors against him was exceeding great, and their endeavours to master him were obstinate and earnest. Insomuch that when they had nothing further to torture him with, at last they clapt plates of Brass that were red hot upon the most tender Members of his Body; which Parts of his Body were burnt indeed; but he stood upright without bending of himself at all, was invincible, and continued stedfast and constant in his Confessions; being bedew'd and strengthen'd with that Celestial Fountain of living Water which flow'd out of the *Belly of Christ*. His Body was a sufficient evidence of what had hapn'd, being all over full of Wounds, and Prints of Stripes, (p) bowed and drawn together, and having lost the external form and shape of a Man; in which *Christ* suffering accomplished'd therein great glory, vanquishing the Adversary, and demonstrating for the information of others, that there is nothing formidable where the Love of the Father is, nor any pain where the Glory of *Christ* is present. For when those impious Wretches some few days after began again to torture the Martyr, and suppos'd that if they should make use of the same torments whilst his Body was swell'd, and the (q) Wounds thereof (q) *Soud-* inflamed, either they might master him, when he could not endure to be touch'd by hands, of the original that he would die under his torments, and so inflict a terror into others; not only no such success (as by thing hapned concerning him, but also, contrary to the opinion of all Men, his Body became erect and was repair'd in these latter tortures) and he recover'd his former shape, and the use of his limbs. So that his being tormented the second time was not a punishment to him, but by the Grace of *Christ* prov'd to be his remedy. Moreover, the Devil caus'd one *Biblis* to be brought forth to punishment, (being one of those who had renounced *Christ*) whom he suppos'd to be by him already devoured, but was further desirous

\* Joh. 16.  
2.

(n) The Servants of the Christians (before-mentioned) being afraid of the Tortures they were threatened with, had confess'd that they Christians killed Infants, and committed Incest: And here the Devil endeavour'd, that the Christians themselves, which were apprehended, should after the same manner calumniate the Christian Religion. Therefore the Judges tortured them all manner of ways, that they should confess, that they eat Children, and committed Incest. Upon this account *Blandina* (as hereafter it follows) cried out amidst her Tortures—*I am a Christian, and there is nothing of wickedness ascribed amongst us*. *Valer.*

(o) This *Sanctus* was born at Vienna, but was a Deacon of the Church at Lyons. *Valer.*

among Men seem vile, obscure, and despicable, are by God accounted worthy of great honour, by reason of the love shewn to him, which is actually and powerfully manifested, and not in pretence and shew boasted of. For when we were all afraid, and she that was her Mistress after the Flesh (who also was one of the Champions of the Martyrs) fear'd, left, by reason of the Imbecility of her Body, she should not be able with boldness and freeness to make her Confession: *Blandina* was supplied with so great strength, that those who by turns tortured her all the time from Morning till Evening, became feeble and weak; and confess'd themselves

(p) That is, by reason of the greatness of his Torments. For they who were tortured in the *Engines* (see in *Turnebus* his *Adversus* *Lib. 4. c. 39.*) were forced to bow their Heads very much. *Valer.*

(q) *Soud-* inflamed, either they might master him, when he could not endure to be touch'd by hands, of the original that he would die under his torments, and so inflict a terror into others; not only no such success (as by thing hapned concerning him, but also, contrary to the opinion of all Men, his Body became erect and was repair'd in these latter tortures) and he recover'd his former shape, and the use of his limbs. So that his being tormented the second time was not a punishment to him, but by the Grace of *Christ* prov'd to be his remedy. Moreover, the Devil caus'd one *Biblis* to be brought forth to punishment, (being one of those who had renounced *Christ*) whom he suppos'd to be by him already devoured, but was further desirous



*M. Aurelius and L. Verus.*

the public place, where the inhumanity of the Heathens was exhibited; (u) a day for fighting with the Wild Beasts being granted purposely upon the account of those of our Religion. And

(u) The meaning of this place is, that the *Presidents*, or *Deputy* of the Province of *Lyons*, granted the People an extraordinary show of fighting with the wild Beasts; a Day being appointed for that purpose, because of the Christians, who were condemned to the Beasts. For the *Romans* had for days for these Spectacles, which fell on the month of *December*, as may be seen in the *Calendar of Hermartius*. Except on these Days, it was unlawful for the *Dumviri* (on whom the charge of these Shows was imposed) to exhibit these Spectacles of fighting with Wild-Beasts to the People. But those Judges, who had the power of the Sword, and of condemning Persons to the Beasts, exhibited these Shows as often as they pleased, that they might delight the People by destroying of Offenders. *Valef.*

(x) We noted before, that many *Athletical* terms were made use of in this Epistle. Amongst which is which occurs here. For the Champions, who were to contend in the Games, were wont to be drawn forth by lot, which, after what manner it was done, *Lucian* (in *Hermotimus*) tells us. There was a little Slave *Telamon*, dedicated to the God that presided over the Games, into which the Lots were cast. Upon two the Letter *A* was written; upon other two the Letter *B*, and so on. Then the Champions drew these Lots out of the Box. Those two, who drew forth the Letter *A*, engaged one with the other, and fought in the first place: And this was the [αἰματόεσι]. In like manner, they that drew the Letter *B*, engaged one another in the second place. So the Lot and the Urn assigned every one his Antagonist. He that vanquished his Adversary, was not immediately Crowned, but engaged in another encounter with those others who had conquered their Adversaries, until there remained only one Victor over all. Upon which account they drew Lots several times. Hence 'tis, that in the *Farnesian* Inscription (which *Gruter* speaks of, pag. 314.) one *Alepiades* is said to have gotten the victory in many Encounters, πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας πρὸς ἀλλήλους, i. e. after the first or second casting of Lots, having vanquished the Antagonists the second, or third time. For this was usual for that reason I mentioned, as often as there were many couples of Champions. For the Conquerors engaged one another, and there was a second and third drawing of Lots amongst them, until the Victory remained to one. And this is that which, in this Epistle, is called *πρὸς ἀνδράσιν καὶ γυναῖκας*. *Valef.*

them, that he might persuade those which believe in him, that whosoever suffers for the Glory of Christ hath eternal Communion with the living God. Now when none of the Wild

Beasts would then touch her, she was taken from the Stake, and cast again into prison, being reserv'd for another Combat; that so, having been(y) Conqueror in many Encounters, she might render the Condemnation of the crooked Serpent inexorable; also she encouraged the Brethren: And

tho' she was a person of small estimation, infirm, and despicable, yet having cloth'd herself with the strength of Christ that great and invincible Champion, the vanquish'd the Adversary in many Encounters; and after a glorious Combat, was encircled with a Crown of Incorruption. *Attalus* also was by the Multitude most earnestly required to be deliver'd up to Punishment, for he was an eminent Person, and by reason of the clearness of his Conscience proceeded forthlike a Champion prepared for the Combat, in that he had been perfectly and thoroughly exercised in the Christian Discipline, and always a Witness of the Truth amongst us: And after he had been (a) led round the

*Amphitheatrum*, (Tables being carried before him, whereon was written in the *Roman* Tongue, *This is Attalus the Christian*;) and the People had vehemently swell'd with rage and anger against him; the President having understood that he was a *Roman*, commanded he should again

be committed to custody amongst the rest that were in prison. Concerning whom he wrote to *Cæsar*, and expected an Edict from him. Now this interval of time was spent neither idly nor unfruitfully by them, but by their patient Sufferance, the immeasurable Mercy of Christ was made apparent: for those Members of the Church that were dead, were by the Living revived; and the Martyrs conferr'd \* Kindnesses upon \* That is, those who were no Martyrs; and there was a by many great Joy begotten in the Virgin Mother [the Church] the having again received those alive whom by Abortion she had cast forth as dead. *Valef.*

For through the means of the Holy Martyrs; many of those who had renounc'd the Faith, were newly formed in the Womb, born again, had their vital Heat rekindled in them, and learn'd to confess themselves to be Christians. And having now recover'd life and strength, they came before the Tribunal, (God, who desireth not the death of a Sinner, but is indulgent and kindly invites him to repentance, (a) infusing a sweetness into them) that they might again be interrogated by the President. For *Cæsar* had signified by his Rescript, that those [who confess'd themselves to be Christians,] should be (b) tortured; but if any renounced the Faith, they should

which is used as well in an active as passive sense. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from the wild Olive-tree, which being grafted, grows sweet; of which *St. Paul* speaks. *Valef.*

(b) *ἁγιστομαρτυρία*. Lexicographers differ very much in their giving the signification of this term (which here occurs.) *Stephens* (in his *Theaurus*), renders it, *justitibus conciliis*, i. e. to be beaten with Clubs: *Varinus*, *πρὸς κλαβὰς ἀπομαρτυρία*, i. e. to be beaten: The *Etymologicum* (publish'd by *Sylbergius*) says it signifies, *ἐν ἀσπίδι καὶ πανόλκιμα ἅλα τυμπανία* &c. ἵνα ἐκείνους ἀνδράσιν καλέσῃ, not barely to be put to death, but to be kill'd with the Tympanum, which is a piece of Wood call'd a Cudgel: The Reader will find a large and learned account of this term, and of this Engine of Torture, in *Dr. Hammond's* Note on *Hebr.* 11. 35. Where he makes it appear, that this sort of punishment was very painful, contumelious, and capital.

be dismiss'd from their Imprisonment. Now, the Publick (e) Assembly here (which is frequented by a numerous concourse of People of all Nations that meet together at it) being newly begun, [the President] order'd the blessed Martyrs to be brought before the Tribunal, making them a Gazing-stock, and by way of Offentation, on producing them as a pompous Shew to the Multitude. When therefore he had again interrogated them, as many as were found to have the Privilege of being Free of the City of Rome, he order'd they should be Beheaded; the rest were cast to the Wild-Beasts. But Christ was greatly glorified thro' those who formerly had renounced the Faith, but then (contrary to the expectation of the Heathens) became to be Confessors: For these Persons were interrogated apart, as being, in all probability, forthwith to be set at liberty; but, having confess'd themselves to be Christians, they were added to the (d) number of the Martyrs. Now, they continued without, who never had the least impression of Faith, nor a sense of the Wedding-garment, nor a thought about the fear of God; but by their Conversation defam'd the way of Truth, that is, were the Sons of Perdition: But all the rest were added to the Church; during whose Examination, one Alexander, by Country a Phrygian, by Profession a Physician, a person who had dwelt many years in the Gallias, and was known almost to all Men by reason of his love to God, and his boldness and fearlessness in preaching his Word, (for he wanted not Apostolick Grace;) standing near to the Tribunal, and by Words encouraging them to a Confession of the Faith, appear'd to those who stood round the Tribunal, as if he endur'd the pangs of Child-birth: Now the Multitude being in a great frame, because those, who had before renounc'd the Faith, did now again make Confession of it, cry'd out against Alexander, as if he were the occasion thereof: And the President (having commanded him to be (e) set before him, and ask'd him who he was, and he having said that he was a Christian) being in a rage, condemn'd him to be cast to the Wild-Beasts. And the day following he enter'd the Amphitheatre together with Attalus; (for the President, to gratify the Multitude, did again deliver Attalus to the Wild-Beasts;) which two persons, having undergone all the Instruments of torment in the Amphitheatre that were invented to torture them with, and endured a great combat, were at last (f) run through with a Sword. Alexander indeed did neither sigh, nor utter any expression at all; but in his heart spake to God, and continued praising of, and praying to him: But Attalus, when he was let in the Iron-Chair, and scorch'd all over, (when the savour of his burnt flesh ascended from his Body) said to the Multitude in the Roman tongue, behold, this that you do, is to devour Men; but we neither devour

men, nor practise any other thing that is evil. Being ask'd also what name God had, he answer'd, God has not a name, as Man has. Infine, after all these persons, on the (g) last day of the Gladiators Combats, Blandina was again brought forth, together with Ponticus, a Youth about fifteen years old; (who allow'd every day led in, to see the Tortures of the rest) and they constrain'd them to swear by their Idols: But because they continu'd firm and constant, and contemn'd their Gods, the Multitude was so enrag'd against them, that they neither had compassion on the age of the young Man, nor shew'd any reverential respect towards the Sex of the Woman, but expos'd them to all manner of cruel Tortures, and made them pass thro' the whole Circuit of Torments, now and then compelling them to swear, but were unable to effect that. For Ponticus, being encouraged by his Sister, (inasmuch that the Heathens perceived it was she that encouraged and strengthened him) having courageously undergone all sorts of tortures, gave up the ghost. But the blessed Blandina, the last of all, having like a noble and valiant Mother encouraged her Children, and sent them before as Conquerors to the King; after she had measured over the same course of Combats that her Sons had pass'd through, hastned to them, being glad, and rejoicing at her Exit, as if she had been invited to a Nuptial Supper, and were not to be cast to the Wild-Beasts. And after she had been scourged, expos'd to the Fury of the Wild-Beasts, and set in the

(b) Iron-Chair, at last she was inclosed in a Net, and thrown before a (i) Bull: By which Beast, after she had been very much toss'd (having been all along wholly insensible of the Tortures she underwent, because of her hope and her retaining a firm assent to those things she believ'd, and also by reason of her familiar converse in prayer with Christ,) she also was run through with a sword; and the very Heathens themselves confessed, that there never was any Woman among 'em, which suffer'd so many and so great tortures. But their rage and cruelty towards the Saints was not thus satiated: For the savage and Greek barbarous Nations, having been stir'd up by that (k) fierce Wild-Beast, could not without great difficulty be appeased; but their cruelty was begun afresh, in a new and peculiar manner, against the Bodies of the Saints. For they were so far from being ashamed that they had been vanquish'd by the Martyrs (because they were destitute of human reason and consideration,) that their rage was more enkindled; both the President and also the People (like a fierce Beast) most unjustly demonstrating the same degree of hatred against us: That the Scripture might be fulfilled, (l) He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he that is filthy, let him be filthy still; as the reading in the original is here; we now read (m) *ὁ ἀδίκος ἀδικησάτω ἄδικον, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ῥυπαρῶς*, i. e. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; See the original of the Text.

(h) *Θήραν* is the Greek term; which Rufinus translates *craticulam*, i. e. a Grid-iron: It is the same, which before is called the Iron-Chair, on which the Martyrs being let, were broyled, as it were on a Gridiron. Thus the Christians were used before they were cast to the Wild-beasts. (i) Amongst the Sports of an Amphitheatrical show, this was one; a Bull was brought in, to whom (being first enraged) they cast Offenders inclosed in a Net; whom, like Bulls, he toss'd on high. Martial's Verse on this Subject is well known, *Taurus ut impoſitas jaſtat ad aſtrapilam*. Valef.

(k) That is the Devils. (l) That is the Devils. (m) *ὁ ἀδίκος ἀδικησάτω ἄδικον, καὶ ὁ ῥυπαρὸς ῥυπαρευθήτω ῥυπαρῶς*, i. e. He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; See the original of the Text.

(d) In the King's MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

(e) In the Mar. Med. MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

(f) In the Mar. Med. MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

(g) In the Mar. Med. MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

(h) In the Mar. Med. MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

(i) In the Mar. Med. MS. and in Robert Stephens Edit. the reading here is [the number of the Martyrs].

*M. Aure-  
lius and  
L. Verus.*

and he that is righteous let him be righteous still. For those who had been suffocated in Prison, they cast to the Dogs; watching continually night and day, lest any of us should intert them; then having exposed the pieces of the Bodies, as well what were left undevour'd by the Wild Beasts, as what remain'd unconsumed by the Fire, partly torn, and partly burnt, also the Heads of the rest together with their Trunks, they kept 'em likewise unburied with a guard of Soldiers for the space of many days. And some were full of Indignation, and gnash'd their Teeth at the Dead, being desirous to take some further revenge of them. Others insulted over and derided them, extolling their Idols, and attributing the Punishment of the Martyrs to them. But those that were more mild, and who seem'd in some measure to sympathize with us, upbraided us very much, saying, Where is their God? and what Emolument hath this Religion brought them, which they prefer'd before their own Lives? And such variety was there in the Heathen's behaviour towards us: But we were affected with a great Grief, because we could not hide the Bodies in the earth; for neither was the night assitant to us therein, (*m*) neither would Money persuade them, nor could our Prayers induce them to grant our request; but they watch'd the Bodies with all imaginable care and diligence, as if they were to gain some great matter, if they should not be buried." After these words, having interposed some other expressions, they proceed, saying; 'The Bodies therefore of Martyrs, having undergone all manner of ignominious usage, and being exposed in the open air for six days space, were afterwards burnt; and being reduced to Ashes, were by those *impious Wretches* (*n*) swept into the River Rhone, which runs hard by; that so no Remains of them might be any longer visible upon earth. And this they did, as if they were able to have vanquish'd God, and deprive them of a Resurrection; that so (as they said) they might have no hope of rising again; of which being fully persuaded, they introduce a strange and new Religion amongst us, and, condemning the most exquisite Torments, do readily, and with alacrity of mind, willingly undergo death. Let us now see whether they shall rise again, and whether their God is able to assist them, and deliver them out of our hands.

[*m*] Their words [*n*] *Wretches* (*n*) swept into the River Rhone, which runs hard by; that so no Remains of them might be any longer visible upon earth. And this they did, as if they were able to have vanquish'd God, and deprive them of a Resurrection; that so (as they said) they might have no hope of rising again; of which being fully persuaded, they introduce a strange and new Religion amongst us, and, condemning the most exquisite Torments, do readily, and with alacrity of mind, willingly undergo death. Let us now see whether they shall rise again, and whether their God is able to assist them, and deliver them out of our hands.

## CHAP. II.

*How the Martyrs beloved of God, kindly receiving such as fell away in the Persecution, wrought a Cure upon them.*

SUCH were the Calamities which beset the Churches of Christ, in the times of the foresaid Emperor; from which may be conjectured what also was done in the other Provinces. It is worth our adjoining hereto some other words out of the same Epistle, whereby the Meekness and Humanity of the forementioned d Martyrs is describ'd in these very words; 'Who also were so far from lowering and imitators of Christ, (*\* Who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God*), that altho' they were in such an height of Glory, and had suffer'd as Martyrs not once, nor twice, but often, and had been taken from the Wild Beasts and (*a*) committed again to

\* Phil. 2. 6.

(a) Sir H. Savil, at the Margin of his MS. Copy, has mended this place thus, *ἐν τοῖς θύλασις ἐν ἡμέραις τῆς ἐκείνης, ὡς αὐτοὶ ἐν οὐδὲν ἀπαρνησάμενοι, ἰ. c. and had*

been cast to the Wild-Beasts, and taken from them again: Which Emendation is put in the Margin of the Geneva-Edit. Indeed *Christophorus* read this place thus, as appears from his Translation; but 'tis uncertain whether he did it by conjecture, or from the authority of some old Copies. Our MSS. alter not the reading here. Moreover, *ἐν οὐδὲν ἀπαρνησάμενοι* (which is the term in the Original) signifies in this place, to be cast into Prison; in which sense 'tis twice used in the foregoing Chapter. *Valf.*

Prison; altho' they had the Marks of Fire, the Scars of Stripes, and Wounds all over their Bodies; yet they neither declared themselves to be Martyrs, nor would they suffer us to call them by that name: But if at any time any one of us, either by Letter or in Discourse, term'd them Martyrs, they reprov'd us sharply: For they readily allow'd the appellation of Martyr to Christ, (who is the faithful and true Witness, and the First-begotten of the Dead, and the Prince of the Life of God;) they commemorated also those Martyrs who were already departed this life, and said, those are now Martyrs, whom Christ vouchsafed to assume whilst they were making their Confession, he having seal'd their Martyrdom by their Death: But we are mean and humble Confessors: And with Tears they beseeched the Brethren, entreating them, that earnest Prayers might be made that they might be perfected: They also in reality demonstrated the Power and Efficacy of Martyrdom, using much freedom of speech in their Answers before all the Heathens, and manifested their excellency by their patient Sufferance, Fearlessness, and undaunted Courage: But they refused the appellation of Martyrs given them by the Brethren, having been filled with the Fear of God." Again, after some few words they say: They humbled themselves under the mighty Hand, by which they are now highly exalted: Then also (*b*) they excused themselves to all Men, but accused none; they looked all Men and bound none; yea they pray'd for those who tormented them, as did Stephen that perfect Martyr, [saying, \* *Lord, lay not*

this sin to their charge. Now if he pray'd for those who stoned him, how much more [is it credible that he pray'd] for the Brethren?" Again also, after some other words, they say; 'For this was the greatest encounter they had with the Devil, to wit, upon account of their genuine and sincere Charity; because the Serpent, being strangled, vomited up those alive, whom he supposed he had digested. They did not proudly triumph over those that fell; but bestow'd, on such as were indigent, those good things with which they abounded, having Motherly Bowels of Compassion, pouring forth many Tears for them before [God] the Father. They asked life, and he gave it them; which also they imparted to their Friends; being Victors (*c*) over all, (*c*) They went to God: Having always loved Peace, and continually exhorted [us] to it, they departed in peace to God; leaving no Grief to their Mortal-ther, no Faction nor Disfention amongst the Brethren, but Joy, Peace, Concord, and Love." i. e. over all. *Valf.*

Let thus much be here profitably placed, concerning the Brethren that fell; upon account of the inhuman and merciless Disposition of (*d*) those, (*d*) who afterwards behaved themselves most cruelly towards the Members of Christ.

Novatians, who afterwards excluded such as fell in time of Persecution from all hope of Abolution. *Valf.*

M. Aurelius and L. Verus.

## C H A P. III.

What a Vision appear'd to the Martyr Attalus in his sleep.

Moreover, the same Epistle of the foremention'd Martyrs, contains also another relation worthy to be remembred; which, for the information of the Readers, we will very willingly insert: Thus it is: "For when *Alciades*, one of the Martyrs, (who led an austere course of life; and in the foregoing part of his life he had fed on nothing at all, but only made use of Bread and Water) attempted to lead the same course of life during his Imprisonment; it was revealed to *Attalus* (after the first Combat which he finish'd in the Amphitheatre) that *Alciades* did not well, in his not making use of God's Creatures, and leaving an Example of Scandal to others. But *Alciades* submitted, fed on all Meats afterwards promiscuously, and gave God thanks: For they were not destitute of the Grace of God, but the Holy Spirit was their Director." These things were after this manner. Now, when

of the Church at Lyons) to the foremention'd Bishop of Rome, giving the Man a very good Testimony, as their own words do manifest, which are these: "We pray that you may in all things and always rejoice in God, Father (*c*) *Eleutherus*; (*c*) The King's, Maty, and Fulk MSS. read *Eleutherus*; as do also *Nicophorus* and *Rufinus*. But there are some who call him *Eleutherus*. Valef. we have entreated *Irenæus* our Brother and Companion to bring you these Letters, and we beseech you that you would have him recommended, being a Follower of the Testament or Covenant of Christ. For if we knew that place would procure any Man righteousness, we would chiefly have recommended him as being Presbyter of the Church, which degree he is of." What there are need we recount the Catalogue of the Martyrs in the forefaid Epistle; some whereof were persecuted by being beheaded, others were cast for food to the Wild Beasts, and others again died in Prison? Or what need we reckon up the number of the Confessors which till that time survived? For he that is desirous, may easily and fully know all these things, by taking into his hands that Epistle, which, as I said, is inserted entire into our Collection of the Martyrs. And such were the things that happen'd in *Antoninus's* Time.

## C H A P. V.

How God, having from Heaven heard the Prayers of some of our Religion, sent Rain to Marcus Aurelius Cæsar.

Report says, that when (*a*) *M. Aurelius Cæsar*, (*a*) Eusebius Brother to this Emperor, had drawn up his bus is mistaken, who says, that *M. Aurelius* was Brother to *Augustus* the Emperor, whereas *M. Aurelius Antoninus* was one and the same Person. His Adoptive Brother was not named *Marcus*, but *Lucius* *Ælius* *Verus*, as all Men know. But he, who fought against the *German* and *Sarmatian* (to whom God granted a sudden shower to allay his Soldiers thirst,) was not *L. Ælius* *Verus*, but *M. Aurelius Antoninus*, as all Historians do attest, which our *Eusebius* does confirm also in his *Chronicon*, where he says this was done in the 14th year of *Antoninus*, that is four or five years after the death of *L. Ælius* *Verus*. Valef.

(*b*) *Melitina* is a Country of *Capadocia*, situate between *Comagenes* and *Catalonia*, says *Strabo* in his 12 Book; who also relates, that that Country had no Cities. But afterwards *Melitina* became a famous City, which, upon a new division made of the Province, was attributed to *Armenia* the less; to says *Amm. Marcellinus*, who always calls it *Melitina*. Valef. That is, the name of that Legion; he means not the very Persons, which then were in it.

Rain, which fell upon that Army who had pray'd to God, and refresh'd it, when all the Men in it were just ready to perish with thirst. Which Story is related both by those Writers, (who are wholly estranged from our Religion,) whose care it was to commit to writing matters done in those times; and is also set forth by our own Writers. But the (*c*) *Heathen Historians*, because they are Heathen Writers, who have mentioned this thing, say the Rain was procured by the Incantations of Magicians: Others assert it to have been done by the Prayers of *Marcus* the Emperor. So *Capitolinus* in the Life of *Marcus*, and *Claudian* in the sixth Consulate of *Honorius*. Moreover, they have set forth the very Words of the Prayer, that *Marcus* used; which are these, *Flamme dextera ad te, Jupiter, tendo, que nullius unquam sanguinem fudit*; i. e. I stretch forth this right hand to thee, O Jupiter, which never shed the Blood of any Man. Valef.

(*a*) This *Alciades* must be distinguished from *Alciades* mentioned a little before in this Chapter. He, that is first named in this place, was a Companion of the B. Martyrs of Lyons. This Person here was (together with *Montanus* and *Theodotus*), a singler of the sect of the *Catharists*. Concerning whom see Chap. 16, and 17 of this Book. Valef.

arose a Dissention concerning these forefaid persons, the Brethren that were in *Gallia* did again subjoin their private Opinion also concerning these Men, (which was Religious and most Orthodox,) and annex'd several Epistles of those Martyrs that had ended their lives amongst them; which, being yet in Bonds, they wrote to the Brethren in *Asia* and *Phrygia*, and also to (*b*) *Eleutherus* then the Bishop of Rome, being (*c*) Embassadors for the Peace of the Church.

(*b*) *Eleutherus* Bishopp of Rome, was first deceived by the *Montanists*, who craftily hid their Error under the pretence of a feigned Piety. Moreover, being moved thereto by the Letters and Exhortations of the Martyrs of Lyons, he wrote an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, concerning the receiving of the *Montanists* into the Church. But being soon after admonished by one *Praxeas* of *Asia*, he revoked his pastick Letters which he had sent; and following the authority of his Predecessor *Anicetus*, refused to admit of a new Prophecy. So *Tertullian*, in his Book, against *Praxeas*. Valef.

(*c*) That is, the Brethren of *Asia* and *Phrygia*, as well as *Eleutherus*, were Embassadors for the Peace of the Church. See Book 3. Chap. 24. Note (*a*).

## C H A P. IV.

How the Martyrs, by their Epistle, recommended Irenæus.

BUT the same (*a*) Martyrs recommended (*b*) *Irenæus* (who at that time was a Presbyter of Lyons) to the same Emperor, giving him a very good Testimony, as their own words do manifest, which are these: "We pray that you may in all things and always rejoice in God, Father (*c*) *Eleutherus*; (*c*) The King's, Maty, and Fulk MSS. read *Eleutherus*; as do also *Nicophorus* and *Rufinus*. But there are some who call him *Eleutherus*. Valef. we have entreated *Irenæus* our Brother and Companion to bring you these Letters, and we beseech you that you would have him recommended, being a Follower of the Testament or Covenant of Christ. For if we knew that place would procure any Man righteousness, we would chiefly have recommended him as being Presbyter of the Church, which degree he is of." What there are need we recount the Catalogue of the Martyrs in the forefaid Epistle; some whereof were persecuted by being beheaded, others were cast for food to the Wild Beasts, and others again died in Prison? Or what need we reckon up the number of the Confessors which till that time survived? For he that is desirous, may easily and fully know all these things, by taking into his hands that Epistle, which, as I said, is inserted entire into our Collection of the Martyrs. And such were the things that happen'd in *Antoninus's* Time.

(*a*) *Blasius* (in his Apology, Chap. 3. p. 26.) denies that the Martyrs of Lyons wrote to *Eleutherus*. For he asserts, that the Martyrdom of *Pothinus*, and the *Lugdunensis*, happened on the seventh year of *Marcus* the Emperor, on the year of Christ 167; at which time *Soter* was Bishop of Rome. The Martyrs of Lyons therefore could not write to *Eleutherus* who then had not succeeded *Soter*. But our *Eusebius* does refute *Blasius*, saying plainly, "That the same Martyrs recommended, &c. Valef. (*b*) *Valefius*, in his Note here, will not allow that *Irenæus* did actually go this journey to Rome; the Martyrs indeed, says he, had desired him, and he had promised to undertake it; but the heat of the Persecution coming on, and he being fix'd in the Presidency over the Church, could not be spared personally to undergo it. But since *Eusebius* clearly intimates, and *St. Jeron* (in Catalogo) and *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 179) do expressly affirm, that the Martyrs sent him upon this Errand, 'tis safest to grant his journey thither, tho' it must be while he was yet Presbyter, for so they particularly say he was in their Epistle to the Bishop of Rome, part of which our *Eusebius* has here inserted. See the Learned Dr. Cave's *Apollonii*; in the Life of *St. Irenæus*; p. 165. Edit. Lond. 1677.

Mr. Aurelius  
L. Verus.

alienated from the Faith, have mention'd the wonder indeed, but confels not that it was done by the Prayers of those of our Religion. But our Men, in that they are lovers of truth, have delivered what was done in a plain and ingenuous manner. Amongst which number is *Apollinaris*; who says, from that time that Legion, which by prayer had wrought that Miracle, had a name given it by the Emperor, accommodate to what was done, being call'd in the Roman tongue (d) *Fulminata*. *Tertullian* also is a Witness of this matter worthy to be credited, who dedicated to the Roman Senate an Apology for our Faith ( which we have before made mention of;) wherein he confirms this Story by a greater and more manifest Demonstration.

Thus therefore he writes, saying, (e) that the Letters of the most Intelligent Emperor *Marcus* were extant in his time; wherein he attests, that his Army in Germany, being ready to perish for want of Water, was preserv'd by the Christians Prayers. He says moreover, that this Emperor threaten'd those with death, who attempted to accuse them of our Religion. To which the foremention'd Writer adds these words also: (f) What manner of Laws therefore are these, which the impious, unjust, and cruel persons bring against us? Such Laws as *Vespasian* did not observe, altho' he had conquer'd the Jews; which *Trajan* in part dissannul'd, forbidding that the Christians should be sought for; which neither *Adrian*, (altho' an inquisitive searcher into all things that were curious,) nor he who was surnam'd *Pius*, did make authentic. But let every one determine, concerning these things according to his own pleasure; we will proceed upon the Series of the subsequent Parts of our History. *Pothinus* therefore having finish'd his life, (together with those that suffer'd Martyrdom in Gallia,) when he was ninety years old compleat, (g) *Irenaeus* succeeded in the Bishoprick of Lyons, which See *Pothinus* presided over. This *Irenaeus* was, we understand, an Auditor of *Polycarp's* in his younger years. This person setting down (in his third Book against *Heretics*) the Succession of the Bishops of the Rome, closes his Catalogue with *Eleutherus*, (whose Name and Actions we now make our Researches into) because in his time he compiled that elaborate of the same Work: He writes thus.

Christians Soldiers, we do readily give credit to the attestation of *Apollinaris* and *Tertullian*; but *Apollinaris* has not yet persuaded me to believe, that the Legion *Melitina* was named the Lightning-Legion upon that account. Some may object, that there was indeed a Legion called the Lightning-Legion, before *Antoninus's* time, but that he gave the Legion *Melitina* that name also, because of the benefit he received by their means. But, if it were so, it ought to be called the second Lightning-Legion: And yet *Dio* makes no mention of any such Legion, altho' he reckons up exactly all the Legions enroled by the former Emperors. Moreover, *Dio* says, that the Lightning-Legion had its station in Cappadocia, which agrees very well with the Legion *Melitina*. In the Book call'd *Notitia Imperii Romani*, the prefecture of the 12 Legion, termed *Fulminata*, at *Melitina*, is reckoned under the disposition of the Duke of Armenia. Whence 'tis collected that *Melitina* was not the name of the Legion, but of the Town, wherein the 12 Legion, call'd *Fulminata*, abode. But 'twas not usual to give the Legions their denomination from the places where they were in Garrison, but from the Countreys wherein they were inrolled. Therefore, what *Eusebius* says concerning the Legion *Melitina*, seems to me scarce probable. Besides, *Rufinus* purposely omitted this name of the Legion, as I suppose, because he knew that *Melitina* was the name of a Town in Armenia the Less, wherein the 12 Legion, call'd *Fulminata*, kept guard in his time. But (that I may freely say what I think) it seems not very probable to me, that a whole Legion of Roman Soldiers should at that time be Christians; which yet *Eusebius* seems to affirm: Who errs in this also, because he has not produced the place of *Apollinaris*, nor shown the Book wherein he wrote these things. But the Words, with which *Eusebius* closes this whole Story, do sufficiently shew, that he himself doubted of the truth of this matter: For thus he says, in this Chap. Let every one determine concerning these things according to his own pleasure. Valef.

(e) *Tertullian's* Words are these: At nos e contrario edimus protestorem; si littere Marci Aurelii gravissimi Imperatorum requirantur, quibus illam

Germanicam suam, Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbratissimam contestatur. *Tertul. Apol. pag. 6. Edit. Regal. Paris 1634.*

(f) Quales ergo leges istae, quae adversus nos soli exequuntur impii, injusti, turpes, truces, vari, deventes? Quae Trajanus ex parte frustratus est, vetando inquiri Christianos: Quae nullus Hadrianus, quancumque curiositatem omnium explorator; nullus Vespasianus, quancumque Judaeorum debellator; nullus Pius; nullus Verus impressit. *Tertul. Apol. pag. 6 and 7. Edit. as before.* We have added these Words of *Tertullian* here, that the learned Reader may see how different the Translation, *Eusebius* here quotes, is from the original Copies of *Tertullian*, which we now have.

(g) *Baronius* has placed the Election of *Irenaeus* to the See of Lyons at the year of Christ 180. For after the death of *Pothinus*, which happened in the year 179, he says that See was vacant till the heat of the Persecution was over. Valef. Dr. Cave, in his Chronological Table, says, *Pothinus* died in the year of Christ 177. to whom succeeded *Irenaeus* the Year following.

## C H A P. VI.

A Catalogue of those who were Bishops of Rome.

THE blessed Apostles therefore, having founded and built the Church, delivered the Episcopal Office to *Linus*; of whom *Paul* has made mention in his Epistles to \**Timotheus*. A \* 2<sup>d</sup> *Tim. c. 1.* *necesse* succeeded him; after whom, in the third 4<sup>th</sup> 21. place from the Apostles, *Clement* had the Bishoprick allotted to him; who had seen the blessed Apostles, and was conversant with them; and as yet he had the Preaching of the Apostles sounding in his ears, and their Tradition before his eyes: And not he alone; for at that time there were many yet remaining alive, who had been taught by the Apostles. In the times of this *Clement*, when no small Diffention rose among the Brethren at *Corinth*, the Church of Rome sent a most compleat and agreeable Epistle to the *Corinthians*, joyning them together in peace, and renewing their Faith, and the Tradition they had lately received from the Apostles. And after some few words he says, *Evarestus* succeeded this *Clement*, and *Alexander Evarestus*; then *Xystus* was constituted the sixth from the Apostles: After him *Telephorus*, who suffer'd a glorious Martyrdom, after him *Hyginus*; then *Pius*; after *Pius* *Anicetus*: Soter having succeeded *Anicetus*, *Eleutherus* is now in possession of the Episcopal Office, in the twelfth place from the Apostles. In this same Order and (a) Succession, both the Tradition of the Apostles in the Church, and also the Promulgation of the Truth, is descended unto us.

(a) Our MSS. Copies read *Doctrina*; I would rather read [*Traditio*] Succession; as *Christophorus*, Sir Henry Savil, and the old Translator of *Irenaeus* read it. Valef.

## C H A P. VII.

That, even to these Times, Miracles were wrought by the Faithful.

ALL this, being agreeable to what we have deliver'd in the foregoing Books of our History, *Irenaeus* has given his assent to, in those five Books of his, which he entitl'd, *The Confutation and Overthrow of Knowledge falsely so called*; in the second Book of which Subject he does in these words manifest, that even in his days there remain'd in some Churches examples of the Divine and Wonderful Power of God in working Miracles, saying; 'So far are they from raising the Dead, as the Lord and the Apostles did by Prayer. And frequently amongst the Brotherhood, (the whole Church of one place having with much fasting and (a) prayer requested) the (a) The Max. Med. bert Stephens, *apocrypha*, Purity. Valef.

' Soul

M. Aitres  
L. Verus.

M. Aitres  
L. Verus.

Soul of the Defunct has return'd into his Body, and the Man has had the benefit of life confer'd upon him by the Prayers of the Saints." And again, after the interposition of some words, he says; "But if they say, that the Lord wrought such Miracles as these in appearance only, not really, we will bring them to the Oracles of the Prophets, and from thence demonstrate that all things were thus predicated concerning him, and most undoubtedly done by him, and that he only is the Son of God. Therefore they which are his true Disciples, receiving grace from him, do in his name perform all things for the benefit of the rest of Mankind; according as every one of them hath receiv'd the Gift from him. For some of them do certainly and truly cast out Devils; in so much that those very persons, who were cleansed from Evil Spirits, frequently become Believers, and continue in the Church. Others have the fore-knowledge of things future, and Visions, and utter prophetick Predications. Others by the imposition of their Hands heal the Sick, and restore them to their former soundness; and moreover, as we said, the Dead also have been rais'd; who continued with us many years after! What shall we say more? We cannot declare the number of the Gifts, which the Church throughout the whole world having receiv'd from God, in the name of Jesus Christ, who was crucified under Pontius Pilate, does daily perform for the benefit of the Nations: She uses no deceit towards any person, neither does she sell her Gifts; for as she has freely receiv'd them from God, so she freely ministers them to others." And in another place the same Author writes thus: "In like manner as we have heard many Brethren in the Church who had Prophetick Gifts, and by the Spirit spoke all sorts of languages; who also revealed the Secrets of Men, in such cases as 'twas profitable and necessary, and explain'd the Mysteries of God. And thus much [concerning this matter, to wit] that Diversities of Gifts continued with such as were worthy, until those times before-manifested.

## C H A P. VIII.

After what manner Irenæus makes mention of the Divine Scriptures.

**B**UT because in the beginning of this Work of ours, we promised, that we would produce in due place the words of the ancient Ecclesiastick Presbyters and Writers, wherein they have deliver'd in writing the Traditions concerning the Books of the Old and New Testament which came to their hands, ((a) of which number Irenæus was one;) Come on, we will here adjoin his words; and first what he has said of the Sacred Gospels, after this manner: "Matthew published

(a) These words (ἡ τῶν δέ) εὐαγγέλιον ἡν, i. e. of which number Irenæus was one seem to be superfluous, and written in the Margin only, by some Scholiast. But they are in the *Mag. Med. Fub.* and *Savil MSS.* Valef.

his Gospel among the Hebrews, written in their own Language, whilst Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome, and founding the Church. (b) After their death, Mark the Disciple

(b) Irenæus, in that he affirms here, that The Gospel according to Mark was written after the death of Paul and Peter, does contradict what Eusebius related before at the 15th Chap. of the second Book: Where he says Mark's Gospel was publish'd at Rome, whilst Peter was alive, and approved of by that Apostle. But 'tis no wonder that the ancient Fathers disagree amongst themselves in this matter; seeing we have almost nothing of certainty about the writing of the Sacred Gospels, save that they are four, and written by four several Authors. But when, or for what reason they were written, and whether the Gospel of St. Matthew were first penned in Hebrew, 'tis not very evident. Valef.

and Interpreter of Peter, deliver'd to us in writing what Peter had preach'd. Luke also, the Follower of Paul, compiled in a Book the Gospel preach'd by him. Afterwards John the Disciple of the Lord, he that lean'd on his Breast, publish'd a Gospel, when he lived at Ephesus [a City] of Asia." Thus much the forementioned Author has said in the third Book of the foreaid Work: And in his fifth Book he discourses thus concerning the Revelation of John, and the number of Antichrist's name: "These things being thus, and this number being extant in all accurate and ancient Copies; and those very persons who saw John face to face, attesting the truth of these things, even reason doth teach us, that the number of the Beast's name, according to the computation of the Grecians, is made apparent by the Letters contain'd in it." And after some other Passages, he speaks thus concerning the same John: "We therefore will not run the hazard of affirming any thing too positively concerning the name of Antichrist: For if his name were to have been openly declared in this Age, it would have been express'd by him who saw the Revelation. For it was not seen long since, but almost in our Age, about the end of Domitian's Reign." Thus much is related by the foreaid Author concerning the Revelation. He mentions also the first Epistle of John, and produces many Authorities out of it; as also out of the second Epistle of Peter. He not only knew, but also approv'd of the Book call'd Papias, saying, "Truly therefore hath that Book said which contains this, Before all things believe that there is one God, who created and set in order all things, and so forth." He quotes some words out of the

(c) Wisdom of Solomon, saying in a manner thus; "The Vision of God procures Incorruption, and Incorruption makes us near unto God." He makes mention also of the (d) sayings of an Apostolick Presbyter (whose name he has concealed) and annexes his Expositions of the Divine Scriptures. Moreover, he makes mention of Justin Martyr and Ignatius, quoting also Authorities out of their Writings. The same person has promised to confute Marcion in a separate Volume, by Arguments pick'd out of his own Writings. And concerning the Translation of the divinely-inspired Scriptures, hear what he writes word for word: "God therefore was made Man, and the Lord himself saved us, having given the Sign of the Virgin: But not, as some say, who are so audacious as to traduce the Scriptures; Behold, a young Woman shall conceive, and bring forth a Son; as (e) Theodotion the Ephesian has translated (d) Irenæus, it, and Aquila of Pontus, both Jewish Proselytes: as is (e) Whom the Ebionites having follow'd, say, that Christ was begotten by Joseph." Hereunto, after a few words, he adds, saying; "For before the Romans had firmly compleated their Empire, (the mention of Theodotion.

(c) All the Ancient Ecclesiastick Writers (as before was noted) call that Book the Wisdom of Solomon, which we now call the Proverbs. But that Book entitled now the Wisdom of Solomon, is Apocryphal. Valef.

(d) Ἀποστολικὸν πρεσβύτερον (the term here in the original) does properly signify, the sayings of Wise Men, which are repeated by beari. Valef.

Wherefore we will see, if from hence we can make out the time when Theodotion lived. Epiphanius (in his Book De ponderib.) says, Theodotion flourish'd under Commodus, and then put forth his Translation. The Chronicon of Alexandria follows Epiphanius's Opinion, and says he publish'd that Work in the sixth year of the Emperor Commodus. I judge Theodotion to be somewhat antienter. For, seeing Irenæus has mention'd him in his Books against Heretics, (which Books, 'tis manifest, he wrote when Eleutherius was Bishop of Rome; for he says so in the third Book of that Work,) we must necessarily grant that Theodotion flourish'd before Eleutherius was made Bishop of Rome. Valef.



*Mr. Aurelius* and *L. Verus* Macedonians as yet possessing the Government of *Asia*, (f) *Prolemaeus* the Son of *Lagus*, endeavouring with much care and industry to adorn the Library he had prepared at *Alexandria*, with the Writings of all Men, which were accurately compiled, requested those of *Jerusalem*, that he might have (g) their Scriptures translated into the Greek Language. They (for till that time they were subject to the *Macedonians*) sent to *Prolemaeus* the Seventy Seniors, which were the most skilful persons among them in the Scriptures, and most expert in both the Languages; (h) satisfying the King's desire herein. [*Pisology*] desirous to make trial of every one of them, and being fearful lest by compact they should agree to conceal the Truth of the Scriptures by their Translation, (i) separated them one from another, and commanded every one of them to write a Translation: And this he did throughout all the Books. When they were come all together into the same place in the presence of *Prolemy*, and had compared together the Version of every particular person amongst them, God was both glorified, and the Scriptures acknowledg'd to be truly Divine: For they all from the beginning to the end, set down the same things in the same words, and in the same expressions; insomuch, that the *Gentiles* who were present, acknowledg'd (the Scriptures were translated by the Inspiration of God. Neither need it seem marvellous that God should do this, seeing that in the Captivity of the People under *Nebuchadonisor*, the Scriptures being then corrupted,) when after seventy years the *Jews* return'd to their own Country; afterwards, in the times of *Artaxerxes* King of the *Persians*, he inspir'd *Ezdras* the Priest of the Tribe of *Levi* to recompose all the Books of the former Prophets, and restore to the People the Law deliver'd by *Moses*. Thus far *Irenaeus*.

In that of his Successor *Philadelphus*: Which to me seems very probable. For, seeing *Arifobolus*, *Jocephus*, and *Tertullian* do say in express Words, that *Demetrius Phalarus* put *Pisology* upon this business; and it being manifest that the said *Demetrius* was in great favour with, and authority under, *Prolemy* the Son of *Lagus*, and died soon after him, we must necessarily say that this Translation (if it were done by the procurement of *Demetrius*) was begun in the Reign of *Pisology* the Son of *Lagus*. And, seeing that *Philadelphus* reigned about two Years together with his Father, being made his Colleague in the Kingdom, therefore perhaps 'tis related that this Translation was made under both the Princes. *Valef*. The Learned *Petavius* is of the same opinion with *Valef*, in this matter; as may be seen from his Annotations on *Epiphanius*'s Book *De ponderib.* pag. 379. Edit. Paris. 1622.

(g) *Clemens Alexandrinus* says, the 72 Seniors translated all the Books (as well those of the Law, as those of the Prophets) of the Scripture into Greek. To whom agrees *Theodoret*, in his Preface to his Comment on the *Psalms*, *Olympiodorus*, and almost all other Writers. But *Arifobolus* and *Jocephus*, both Jewish Writers, do intimate that the Law only was by them turned into Greek. *Arifobolus*'s Words may be seen B. 13. of *Eusebius* de preparat. and *Jocephus*'s in his Preface to his Antiquities. But to this it may be answered, That the *Jews*, under the name of the Law, do sometimes comprehend the Prophets also. See *Majus*'s Preface to the Greek Edition of *Joshua*. *Valef*.

(h) *Valef*us reads this passage thus [*τοιαυτὰς τῶν ὁμῶν ἐκδόσεις*], i. e. satisfying the King's desire herein. He says *Christophorus* read this place so, and Sir *Henry Savile* in his MS. But the King's, the *Mar. Med.* and *Fut. MSS.* (as he says) and *Robert Stephens*, in his Edit. read it thus [*τοιαυτὰ τῶν τῶν ὁμῶν ἐκδόσεις*], i. e. God having done according to his own Will. We follow *Valef*us; but leave the Reader to his Liberty.

(i) *Clemens the Martyr* (in his *megalestics* to the *Gentiles*) says the 72 Seniors were by *Prolemy* put into many Cells; of the ruins of which he saw at *Alexandria*; *Epiphanius* (in his Book de ponderib.) says the King placed them two and two in a Cell. These Words of *Jerome* agree best with *Justin*'s account of this matter. Others there are, who decide this whole Story about the Cells; because neither *Jocephus*, nor *Arifobolus*, nor *Philo* make any mention of them. See *Petavius*'s *Annot.* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 378. Edit. Paris; and Mr. *Gregory*'s Discourse (of *Oxford*) concerning the 70 Interpreters.

## C H A P. IX.

Who were Bishops in the Reign of Commodus.

MOREOVER, *Antoninus* having held the Empire nineteen years, *Commodus* assumed the Government: In whose first year *Julianus* undertook the Prefecture of the Churches at *Alexandria*, *Agrippinus* having compleated the twelfth year of his Presidency.

## C H A P. X.

Concerning Pantanus the Philosopher.

AT that time there was a Man, Governour of the School of the Faithful there, who upon account of his Learning was most eminent; his name was *Pantenus*: For from a very ancient custom there had been an Ecclesiastical School among them, which also continued to our days; and we have been informed that 'tis furnish'd with Men who are very able Scholars, and industrious about Divine Matters. But *Fame* says, that the foremention'd *Pantenus* was at that time the most eminent person among them, because he was bred up in the Precepts and Institutions of that Philosophical Sect call'd Stoicks. Moreover, 'tis said, he shew'd so great a willingness of mind and ardency of affection towards the [Publication of the] Divine Word, that he was declared the Preacher of Christ's Gospel to the Nations of the East, and journeyed as far as *India*. For there were many Evangelical Preachers of the Word even at that time, who inflamed with a Divine Zeal, in imitation of the Apostles, contributed their assistance to the enlargement of the Divine Word, and the building Men up in the Faith. Of which number *Pantenus* was one, and is reported to have gone to the *Indians*. Where, as 'tis famed, he found the Gospel according to *Matthew*, amongst some that had the knowledge of Christ there, before his arrival. To whom *Bartolomew* one of the Apostles had preach'd, and (a) left them the Gospel of St. *Matthew* written in *Hebrew*; which was preserved to the fore-said times. Moreover, this *Pantenus*, after many excellent Performances, was at last made Governour of the School at *Alexandria*; where by that *Pantenus*'s Discourses and Writings he set forth to publication the Treasures of the Divine Points.

Turning from *India* to *Alexandria*, brought with him that Gospel of St. *Matthew* in *Hebrew*. But *Eusebius* does not say so. For by that which he adds, [*τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ δαυιδικῷ γέγραπτο*], he means only thus much, viz. That that Copy of *Bartolomew*'s was preserved until *Pantenus* came into *India*. So *Nicephorus* expounds *Eusebius*'s Words, B. 4. Chap. 32. but I assent not to *Nicephorus*, in that which he says further, to wit, That that Gospel of St. *Matthew*, which *Pantenus* found in *India*, was dilated there by *Bartolomew*. I rather believe that Copy was brought thither by *Bartolomew* out of *Judea*. Further, *Jerom* (in *Catalog.*) says, the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, written in *Hebrew*, was preserved in the Library of *Cæsaria* (collected by *Pamphilus* the Martyr) even in his time. But I doubt 'twas the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which the *Nazareans* used. For some thought, that this Gospel of the *Hebrews* was the original Copy of St. *Matthew*'s Gospel; but that's a mistake. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning Clemens Alexandrinus.

AT the same time flourish'd *Clemens* at *Alexandria*, (being laborious together with *Pantenus* in the Studies of the Divine Scriptures,) who had the same name with that ancient Prelate of the *Roman* Church, that was a Disciple of the Apostles

*Commodus* Apokles. He (in his Book (a) of *Institutions*) makes express mention of *Pantenus*, as having been his Master. To me he seems to mean the same person also, in the first Book of his *Stratagem*, where recording, \*the most eminent Successors of the Apostolick Doctrine by whom he had been instructed, he says thus: 'Now this Work of mine I have not composed for Ostentation, but these *Memoirs* I have treasured up, as a Remedy against the Forgetfulness of mine old age; that they may be a true representation and adumbration of those lively and powerful Discourses, which I have had the happiness to hear from blessed and truly worthy and memorable persons. Of which one was *Ionicus*, [whom I heard] in Greece; another in † *Magna Græcia*; the first of them was a *Celo-Syrian*, the other an *Egyptian*. Others of them lived in the East: of which one was an (b) *Affrian*, the other in *Palestine*, by original extract an (c) *Hebrew*.' The last [Master] I met with, (who yet was the first and chiefest in power and virtue, whom I inquisitively sought out and found lying hid in Egypt) I did fully acquiesce in, and searched no further. These therefore preserving the sincere Tradition of the Blessed Doctrine, which they had immediately received from the Holy Apostles *Peter*, *James*, *John*, and *Paul*, (like Children from the hands of their Parents, although few Children be like their Parents) are by God's Blessing come down to our time, sowing those Primitive and Apostolick Seeds [of Truth.]

are lost. Yet the *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus*, which are extant after his *Stratagem*, seem to be taken out of his *Institutions*; which I wonder no Body has taken notice of before. This I conclude to be true, both because in those *Excerpta* out of *Theodotus* there are the same things said of Christ, which *Photius* attests he read in *Clement's* Books of *Institutions*; and also because the Author of those *Excerpta* does, about the end of them, call *Pantenus* Master. Now *Pantenus* was *Clement's* Master, as *Eusebius* says in this Chapter; whom *Clement* in his *Institutions*, does often quote, as *Photius* relates.

\* Or, the most eminent Persons of the Apostolick Succession.

† It was that part of Italy, which since is called *Calabria*.

(b) *Valefius* thinks this Person was *Tatianus*, *Justin* the Martyr's Scholar; *Baronius* says 'twas *Bardeanes*, of whom see B. 4. chap. the last; but he was no *Affrian*; for he was of *Edessa*, the chief City of *Osroëna*.

(c) *Baronius* says, this was *Theophilus* Bishop of *Cæsarea*; but I rather think him to have been *Theodotus*; which I conjecture from hence, because the Epitome of *Clement's Institutions* is entitled, [ἐκ τῶν Θεοδοῦ τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου ἐκ τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ ἁγίου, i. e. [the Epitome of Theodotus his Oriental Doctrine.] For *Clement* calls that the *Oriental Doctrine*, which he learned from his Masters in the East. I have two Arguments to persuade me, that *Clement* does not here mean *Theophilus* of *Cæsarea*; (1) *Theophilus* was contemporary with *Clement*, for he flourished in the times of *Peter* Bishop of *Rome*, as we are inform'd by our *Eusebius*. (2.) None of the Ancients ever said that *Theophilus* was a *Hebrew*, or, which is all one, a *Jew*. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

AT that time *Narcissus*, Bishop of the Church at *Jerusalem*, flourish'd, a Man very famous amongst many even at this time: He was the fifteenth in succession from the Siege of the *Jews* under *Adrian*. From which time we have before manifested, that the Church of the *Gentiles* was first constituted there, after those of the Circumcision; and also that *Mark* was the first Bishop of the *Gentiles* that presided over them. After whom the (a) Successions of the [Bishops] there do shew that *Cassianus* had the Episcopal Chair; after him *Publius*; then *Maximus*; and after these *Julianus*;

(a) The most famous Churches, especially those which were founded by the Apostles, did with great care keep the Successions of their Bishops laid up amongst their Archives, recording their names, and the day of their deaths, in a pair of Writing-tables. These our *Eusebius* had diligently examin'd, as appears from this place; and he has digested the Bishops of the principal Sees from the authority of these Tables only. Wherefore, the Successions of Bishops, which are recounted in the *History* and *Chronicles* of *Eusebius*, are highly to be prized, as being the ancientest and most certain. *Valef*.

then *Caius*; to whom succeeded *Symmachus*; then *Commodus* another *Caius*, and again *Julianus* the Second: Moreover *Capito*, (b) *Valeus*, and *Dolichianus*; last (b) Before of all this *Narcissus*, who in a continued Series of this *Valeus*, Succession was the thirtieth from the Apostles. the names of two Bishops are wanting, to wit, *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*, which were omitted by the negligence of the Transcribers. For, seeing *Eusebius* affirm'd *Narcissus* to have been the fifteenth Bishop of *Jerusalem* from *Mark*, and the thirtieth from the Apostles; that can't be unless you add two Bishops here. *Eusebius* indeed, in his *Chronicon*, after *Capito* the twenty-sixth from the Apostles, reckons *Maximus*, and *Antoninus*; after these *Valeus*, and *Dolichianus*; and then *Narcissus*. *Georg. Synellus* and *Nicetophorus* do agree with *Eusebius*; only between *Julianus* and *Capito* they insert one *Helias*, whom *Eusebius* does not admit of. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Rhodon, and the Diffusion of the Marcionites, which he has made mention of.

ABOUT the same time also *Rhodon*, born in *Asia*, (who, as himself relates, had been instructed at *Rome* by *Tatianus*, whom we mention'd before,) wrote many Books, and together with others engaged against the Heresie of *Marcion*. Which, he relates, was in his time divided into several Opinions. He has recorded the Authors of this Diffusion, and with exquisite diligence confuted the Lyes invented by every one of 'em. Hear therefore what he has written in these words. 'Wherefore also they disagree amongst themselves, because they are assertors of an Opinion which is ill put together. For *Apelles*, one of their Gang, ((a) who boasts of his age, and pretends to lead a more abstemious and strict course of life,) confesses there is but one Principle; but says, the Oracles of the Prophets proceed from an opposite Spirit, being induced to believe this by the responses of a Virgin, possessed with a Devil, by name *Philumena*. But o' *senectus* theirs of them, (in like manner as does *Marcion* himself, the (b) Mariner) assert, there are two Principles; of which number are (c) *Potius*, and making an *Basiliscus*; and these Followers of that \* Wolf of advantage *Pontus*, being unable to find out the distinction of things, (which neither could he do,) have given themselves over to raffiness, and have firmly and without any thing of demonstration of firm'd there are two Principles. Others again (differing) from these, and running themselves into worle [Affertions,] suppose there are not only two, but also three Natures. Of which a more fort *Synerus* was the Ringleader and first Founder, as the Defenders of his Doctrine do say. The same Author writes that he discours'd with *Apelles*; he says thus; 'For the old Man *Apelles*, having had a conference with us, was convinc'd that he could boast of his Continency; who was rejected by *Marcion*, because he was a Fornicator, and afterwards retreated to *Alexandria*, as *Tertullian* affirms in his Book of *prescription*. Wherefore let us see whether the word [*apelles*] in this does not signify something else here; it sometimes denotes the Office of a *Decurio*, or Captain over ten *hombres*; for these Commanders are by the *Græcians* called *πολιτάρχαι*, or *πολιτάρχων*, as I have observed in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*. Alas, a Man may conjecture, that this place should be written thus, *τὸν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ πύργου*, i. e. his venerable hoary *barren* and old age. For *Apelles* was commonly called old Man; and so *Rhodon* terms him in this Chapter. *Eusebius* favours our conjecture, B. 6. Chap. 39, where speaking of *Alexander* the Bishop, he uses this very phrase. *Valef*.

(b) The King's MS. and *Stephens* Edition do here insert these two Words [*ἐν αἰσῶνι*, the Mariner] but they are wanting in the *Max. Med. and Fak. MSS.* Indeed *Tertullian*, in his Book of *prescription* does testify that *Marcion* was at first a Mariner. *Ubi* *textus*, says he, *Marcion Ponticus naucularius, Stoice studiosus* ? *Valef*.

(c) The King's MS. and *Robert Stephens*'s Edition call this Man's name *Potius*; the *Max. Med. Fak. and Swail MSS.* term him *Potius*; so does *Refutatio*, in his Version; and *Theodoret B. 1. Hæret. Fab.* *Valef*.

\* He means *Marcion*; see B. 4. Chap. 11.

*Commodus.* he maintain'd many things that were false; upon which account he said Faith should in no wise be too severely inquired into, but, that every one should persevere in what he believ'd. For he asserted, that those who hoped in [Christ] crucified should be saved, provided they be found doing of good works. He concluded the [Question] concerning God, to be to him (as we said before) the most obscure thing of all. For he affirm'd there was but one Principle, as our Religion asserts." Then, having set forth his whole Opinion, he subjoyns these words; "But when I said to him, whence have you this Demonstration, or for what Reason can you affirm there is but one Principle, tell us? He answer'd, That the Prophecies confuted themselves, because they utter'd nothing that was true: for they disagree, and are false, and opposite to themselves; but, how there was but one Principle, he profess'd he knew not, but was induc'd only to think so. After this, when I conjured him to speak the truth, he swore he spoke what was true, to wit, that he knew not how there could be one unbegotten God, but he believ'd it. I laugh'd, and reprehended him, because he stiled himself a Doctor, and knew not how to make good what he taught." But, in the same Book which he dedicated to *Callistus*, the said *Rhodan* doth confess that he himself was instructed at Rome by *Tatianus*. Moreover he says, *Tatianus* compiled a Book of *Questions*; wherein *Tatianus* having promised to explain the dark and obscure Passages of the Sacred Scriptures, this *Rhodan* professes he would set forth the Solutions to his Questions. There is also extant of this Person's a Comment upon the six Days Work of the Creation. Indeed, this *Apelles* utter'd many impious expressions against the Law of *Moses*, in many Books speaking irreverently of the Divine Scriptures, and using his utmost diligence to confute, and (as he thought) to overthrow them. But thus much concerning these things.

#### CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the False Prophets of the Cataphrygians.

Moreover, that Adversary of God's Church, (who hates Goodness, and makes Mischief his chiefest delight,) omitting in no wise any ways or methods of Treachery towards Men, caus'd new Heresies to grow up against the Church: The Followers whereof crawled, like venomous Serpents, all over *Asia* and *Phrygia*; and boasted that *Montanus* was the *Paraclete*, and that the two Women, *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, his Companions, were his Prophetesses.

\* That is, the Holy Ghost; whom St. John, in his Gospel, does several times call *ὁ Παράκλητος*, Comforter. See Jo. 1. 6.

#### CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Schism of Blasius raised at Rome.

Others also sprang up at Rome, whom *Flavianus*, degraded from being a Presbyter of the Church, headed. *Blasius* was in like manner entangled in the same (a) Error. Which two Persons drew away many from the Church, and incited them to embrace their Opinion; each of the term them severally endeavouring to introduce Innovations against the Truth.

(a) *Rufinus* and *Chrysostom* supposed the term them severally endeavouring to introduce Innovations against the Truth. *Rufinus* takes it in such a sense as to signify, a discharging; and thought that *Blasius*, as well as *Flavianus*, was degraded from being a Presbyter. *Valf.*

#### CHAP. XVI.

What has been committed to memory concerning Montanus, and his False Prophets.

Moreover, that Power, which is the Defender of the Truth, rais'd up *Apollinaris* (Bishop of *Hierapolis*, whom we made mention of before,) and together with him many others, who at that time were eloquent and learned Men, as it were a strong and inexpugnable Defence against the said Heresie of the Cataphrygians. By which persons we have a copious Subject left us for this our History. (a) One of the said persons therefore, in the Preface to his Work against the Cataphrygians, does in the first place shew that he assailed them with unwritten Arguments: For he begins after this manner; "Having a sufficient while since been enjoy'd by thee, beloved (b) *Avrician Marcellus*, to write a Book against the Heresie (c) of *Miltiades*, till now I have in a manner continued doubtful and uncertain; not that I wanted ability both to confute Falsehood, and also to give evidence to the Truth; but I was fearful and cautious, lest to some I should seem by writing to add to, or (d) make a further determination about the Doctrine of the New Covenant of the Gospel: To which nothing must be added, nor any thing taken away from it, by him that resolves to lead alive agreeable to the Gospel itself. But, being lately at *Ancyra* [a City] of *Galatia*, and finding it was A (e) filled with the noise of this New (not, as they call it, Prophecy, but, as it shall be demonstrated,) False Prophecy; as well as I was able, (God assisting me,) I discours'd (f) frequently in the Church many days, both concerning these very things, and also about other [Points] propos'd by them: Inasmuch that the Church did greatly rejoice, his Book was confirm'd in the Truth; but the Adversaries were at that time confuted; and (g) the Enemies of God made sorrowful. When him to be

and afterwards thinks 'twas *Rhodan*. *Apollinaris* of *Hierapolis* was not the Author of this Book, 'tis from hence manifest, because he wrote against the Cataphrygian Heresie when it newly arose, as *Eusebius* attests at the end of Book 4. But this unknown Author compiled his Books after the death of *Montanus*, *Maximilla*, and *Theodotus*, as appears by the fragments of them quoted in this Chapter. See *Hallaxius* in his Notes on the Life of *Apollinaris*, chap. 3. *Valf.*

(b) In the Greek Menology at the 22d of *October*, mention is made of the Holy *Avercius*, (b) *Nicephorus* calls him Book 4. Bishop of *Hierapolis*, a worker of Miracles. *Hallaxius* put forth this Person's Life in Greek, Tome 2. concerning the famous Writers of the Eastern Church. *Valf.*

(c) Why this Author without a name, calls the Heresie of the Cataphrygians, the Sect of *Miltiades*, rather than of *Montanus*, 'tis hard to be determined. For he means not here that *Miltiades*, of whom *Eusebius* speaks in the following Chapter. For he wrote for the Catholic Truth against the Cataphrygians. The Learned *Langus*, who translated *Nicephorus*, at this place put in *Alcibiades* in stead of *Miltiades*. Indeed *Alcibiades* is by *Eusebius* (B. 4. Chap. 3.) named amongst the principal Abettors of the Cataphrygian Heresie. Therefore we must either read *Alcibiades* here, or *Miltiades* there. *Valf.*

(d) The King's MS. and *Nicephorus* (Book 4. Chap. 23.) in stead of [ἡ πόλις, i. e. throughout Pontus] reads it [ἡ πόλις τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, i. e. the Church of the place,] to wit, *Ancyra*. *Valf.*

(e) *Διατεταραχμένη* That is, filled with the noise of, &c. For the whole Church of that place founded with the rumour of this New Prophecy, inasmuch as, by reason of the strangeness of this great matter, all Men talk'd of it. Hence it appears, that the gift of Prophecy was in those times rare and unusual in the Church; seeing that the Prophecy of *Montanus* which then arose, stir'd up at that time such Commotions in the Church. Which certainly had not happened, had the gift of Prophecy been then common in the Church. *Valf.*

(f) Sir *Hen. Savil* (in the Margin of his Copy) made it *ἡμεῖς*, i. e. continually, daily; So *Christopherson* read it. *Valf.*

(g) The reading of the *Ek*, and *MS.* is *ἑαυτοῦ*, i. e. the Enemies of God. So he calls the *Montanists*, because they were the introducers of a new *Paraclete*, or Holy Ghost. *Valf.*

therefore

Commodus. sorrowful. When therefore the Presbyters of that place requested me to leave some written Record of what had been spoken against those Adversaries to the Word of Truth; (b) *Zoticus* *Oreanus* our Fellow-Presbyter, being then present also; (c) I did not indeed do that; but promised, that (by the assistance of the Lord,) I would write here, and send it quickly and carefully unto them. Having said these words and

some others after these in the Preface of his Book, he proceeds, and sets forth the Author of the foregoing Heresie after this manner. 'This their stubborn Contention therefore against the Church, and this new Heretical Separation [from it] had this original. There is said to be a certain Village in that (i) *Myfia* [which borders upon] *Phrygia*, called by the name of *Aradaba*. There, they lay, one of those who had newly embrac'd the Faith, by name *Montanus*, (when *Gratus* was

(1) There were heretico-heretic two *Myfia's*, (so also two *Phrygia's*), says *Strabo*, B. 22. The one called the Greater, which *Strabo* calls *Olympene*; the other the Less, which *Protemy* calls *Hellepontia*. Both of them bordered on *Phrygia*. Whence arose the Greek Proverb [*ἡμεῖς καὶ οὐρανὸν*] concerning which see *Euseb. Hist.* p. 171. Edit. *Westelman*. There was also another *Myfia* in Europe, which the *Latines* call *Myfia*, but the Greeks always *Myfia*. To distinguish this *Myfia* therefore from the other, 'tis filled here [*ἡ ἐν ἡμετέροις μυσία* i.e. That *Myfia* which borders on *Phrygia*; or *Myfia* in Asia. In the *Map*, MS. this Town is called *Aradaba*. Valef.

Proconsul of Asia,) by reason of his immoderate desire after, and love for, the chief place, gave the Adversary an entrance into himself, and was fill'd with the Devil; and being on a sudden possess'd with a furious and frantick temper of Mind, became perfectly mad, and began to utter strange and barbarous expressions, foretelling what was to come; [a thing which is] contrary to the Order and Institution of the Church received from ancient Tradition, and [propagated] by a continued Succession. Now, of those who at that time were at the hearing of his counterfeited Expressions, some with indignation rebuked him, as being moved by, and possess'd with, a Devil and a Spirit of Error, and as being a disturber of the Multitude: They prohibited him also to speak; [for] they were mindful of the Lord's \* Premonition and his Menaces, [whereby we are commanded] with vigilancy to beware of the coming of false Prophets. But others, as if they had been inspir'd by the Holy Ghost and with the gift of Prophecy, conceiv'd also very high thoughts of themselves, and being unmindful of the † Lord's Premonition, provok'd that insatiable, flattering and seducing Spirit [to speak;] and being excited and deceived by it, forbad it should any more be silenc'd. By this Art, or rather by this Method of Subtlety and Mischief, the Devil plotted Destruction against those that were disobedient to [the Lord's Premonition;] and, being undeserv'dly honour'd by them, he excited and enkindled their Minds,

(k) *Ἀποκατασταθῆναι*. 'Tis a metaphor taken from Women, who leaving their Husbands Beds, go by health to that of the Adulterer. For [*κοιταῖσθαι*] to sleep, is often used for these adulteries, as it occurs frequently in Sacred Writ. Valef.

foolish and strange expressions; and those who delighted in and boasted of that Matter, that Spirit pronounced blessed, and put them up with the greatness of the Promises. Sometimes also, making use of conjectural and credible Arguments, he condemn'd them publicly, that so

he might also seem a (l) reproving [Spirit.] Those few, who were deceiv'd, were *Phrygians*. But this insolent Spirit taught them to revile the whole Church under Heaven, because this Spirit their of false Prophecy receiv'd neither honour from, nor found any way of entrance into it. For when the Faithful throughout Asia had met often and in many places of Asia upon this account, and had enquired into this new Doctrine, and determined it to be prophane, and reject'd this Heresie, they were expell'd out of the Church, and interdicted Communion [with the Faithful.]

Having related thus much in the beginning [of his Work] and subjoyn'd, throughout that whole Book, a confutation of their Error: In his second Book he says these words, concerning the Death of the foremention'd Persons. 'Whereas therefore they have termed us the Murderers of the Prophets, because we have not admitted of their prattling and lying Prophets, (for these, they say, are those whom the Lord promised to send his People,) let them answer us for God's sake, Is there any one of those, (most excellent!) who even from *Montanus* and his Women began to speak, that hath been persecuted by the Jews, or slain by the Impious? nor one: Is there any one of them who has been apprehended and crucified for the Name [of Christ?] None at all. Neither hath any of their Women been scourg'd in the Synagogues of the Jews, or stoned; [Not one of them] anywhere or in any wife: yea, *Montanus* and *Maximilla* are said to have died another manner of death. For, 'tis famed, both these Persons, incited thereto by that furious Spirit, hang'd themselves; not together, but each of them at the time of their death, as 'tis strongly reported. And so they died and put an end to their Lives after the same manner that the Traitor Judas did. In like manner, also common Fame says, that that admirable [Fellow] *Theodotus*, who was, as it were, the

(m) Amongst the *Montanists* there was a certain Chief, into which those of their Party put Money, which was for the maintenance of the Prophets. *Theodotus* was the first that look'd after the Chief; whom this Author does therefore call the Procurator of their Prophecy. *Montanus* with his Prophetesses was otherwise; a great Cozen, who under a pretence of Offerings, scraped much Money together. He usually gave Salaries to the Preachers of his Doctrine. 'Twas necessary therefore he should have his Treasury, who was to oversee and look after it, who also might deliver out the stipends to such as *Montanus* ordered should be paid. Valef.

(n) *Ἰστακισμὸς*, signifies, to be seized with a false extasy or trance. For there are true extasies; such was *Peter's*, *Acts* 10; and *Paul's*, when he was caught up to the third Heaven. There are also false extasies amongst Heretics, which this Author does elegantly call *ἱστακισμὸς*. These false extasies differ little from madness, because the Devil is the procurer of them: But those which proceed from the Divine Spirit do not at all disturb the state of the Mind, but are calm and pleasant, as *Eusebius* says (in *Heref. Cataphog.*) Valef.

thus; 'And let not the Spirit in *Maximilla* say to]

Commodus [to me,] (a) as 'tis related in the same Book of *Asterius Urbanus*, I am driven as a Wolf from the Sheep. I am now a Wolf. I am the Word, the Spirit and the Power: But let him evidently manifest and prove that Power in the Spirit; and let him by that Spirit compel those that were then present, to confess that they try'd and conferr'd with that babbling Spirit; [I mean] those approved Men and Bishops, *Zoticus* of the Town *Comanes*, and *Julianus* of *Apamea*: Whose Mouths (p) *Themison* and those of his Party having stop'd, would not suffer that lying Spirit to be reprovd by 'em. Again, in the same Book, (having interposed some words to confute the false Prophecies of *Maximilla*) he evidences both the Time

(p) This was a great Man amongst the *Montanists*, who boasted himself to be a *Confessor*, and a Martyr; and was so audacious, as, like an Apostle, to write a general Epistle to the Churches in recommendation of this new Prophecy. *Apollonius* speaks much concerning this Man in the following Chapter. *Valef.*

when he wrote these things, and also mentions her Predictions, wherein he had foretold there would be Wars and Commotions; the falsehood of which [Predictions] he reprehends in these words: "And has northis Lye been already made apparently manifest? For to this day 'tis more than thirteen years since this Woman died; and yet there has not been either a particular, or an universal War in the World. Yea rather, by the Mercy of God, the *Christians* have had a firm and lasting Peace." And thus much out of his second Book. Out of the Third I will also add some few words, where he says thus to those who boasted, that many, even of their [Party] had suffer'd as Martyrs. "When therefore they can return no answer, having been confuted in all Passages we have mention'd, they endeavour to lye to the Martyrs; saying they have many Martyrs, and that is a certain and undoubted evidence of that Power, by them called the Prophetick Spirit. But this, in my judgment, is much more untrue. For some Followers of other Heresies [do boast] they have many Martyrs, and yet we shall not, I think, upon this account embrace their Opinion, nor confess they have the Truth amongst them. Those also who first follow'd the Heresie of *Marcion*, called *Marcionists*, say, they have very many Martyrs of Christ, and yet they do not in truth acknowledge Christ himself." And after some few words, he subjoyns hereunto, saying, "Wherefore also, as often as those of the Church, being called to [undergo] Martyrdom for the true Faith, have by accident hapned into company with some of those of the *Phrygian* Heresie, who are call'd Martyrs, they dissent from them, and having avoided all Communion with them, are perfected by a glorious Martyrdom; for they are unwilling to give their assent to the Spirit of *Montanus* and his Women: And that this is true, 'tis manifest from what has been done in our Times in [the City] of *Apamea*, situate on [the River] *Meander*, by *Caius* and *Alexander* of *Eumenia*, who suffer'd Martyrdom.

cited some words of those [Hereticks,] he pro-ceeds, saying: "Having found all this in a certain Book which they wrote in answer to a Book of our Brother (a) *Alciabiades*, wherein he proves that a Prophet ought not to speak in an ecstasy of mind, I epitomiz'd them." A little after this, in the

same Book, he enumerates the Prophets of the New Testament; amongst whom he recounts one *Ammias*, and *Quadratus*, and he says thus; (b) But a false Prophet in false Ecstasie, (whose Concomitants are Licentiousness and Audaciousness,) takes his beginning indeed from a voluntary Ignorance, but ends, as I have said, in an involuntary Madnes of Mind: They shall not be able to show any of the Prophets, either under the Old, or New Testament, who was inspir'd after this manner [by such a Spirit.] They shall not boast of *Agabus*, nor of *Judas*, nor of *Silas*, nor of the Daughters of *Philip*, nor of *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, nor of *Quadratus*, nor of many others which do not at all belong to them." Again, after some few words, he says thus; For if, as they say, *Montanus*'s Women succeeded in the gift of Prophecy after *Quadratus* and *Ammias* in *Philadelphia*, let them show us, who amongst them have been the Successors of *Montanus* and his Women. For the Apostle is of opinion that the gift of Prophecy ought to continue in every Church until the last Advent [of our Lord.] But they are unable to shew [any Prophet,] although this is now the fourteenth year since the death of *Maximilla*." Thus far he. Now that *Miltiades*, whom he mentions, has left us other Monuments of his Diligence about the Divine Scriptures, both in the Books he compos'd against the *Gentiles*, and also in those against the *Jews*; having prosecuted each Subject particularly in two Volumes. Moreover also, he made an Apology for the [Christian] Philosophy, which he protels'd, [and dedicated it] to the (c) Pretendents of the Provinces (a) *Jeram*, *Rufinus*, and other

we observed the name [*Miltiades*] was put for [*Alciabiades*]. On the contrary, here [*Alciabiades*] is crept in to the Text of *Eusebius*, in heat of [*Miltiades*], but *Nicephorus* 'tis [*Miltiades*]; and neither he, nor *Christophorus*, understood this place. *Valef.*

(b) *Rufinus*, and *Baronius*, were mistaken, in that they supposed these following Words were taken out of *Miltiades*'s Book. For this nameless Author quotes nothing out of *Miltiades*'s Book, but only out of the *Cataphrygian*'s answer to *Miltiades*'s Book; Which thing Translators understood not. Now the meaning of this place is this; There is a great difference between the true Prophets, and the false. For the true Prophets, who were filled with the Spirit of God, did foretell things future in a quiet and serene temper of Mind. But the false Prophets, as was *Montanus*, uttered what they said in a raging and mad temper of mind. Indeed this was the chief objection of the *Ecclesiasticks* against the *Montanists*, who boasted they were inspir'd with a Prophetick Spirit, because they Prophesied in an extasie. But we read that no Prophet, either under the Old or New Testament, did ever Prophecy in an extasie. Therefore *Miltiades* wrote a Book against them, which was thus entituled [*ὅτι τὸ πλὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ ἁγίου λαλοῦν, ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐκ τῆς ἀληθείας, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς ἐκστασεως τοῦ νοῦ*]. I. e. a Prophet ought not to speak in an extasie of mind. See *Epiphanius*, *adv'rs' Heres.* *Montanist.* Chap. 2, & 4; and *Christophorus*, *Homil.* 29. on the 1 *Epist.* *Corinth.* *Valef.*

Translators thought *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology to the Roman Emperors, called here [*κατοικίας ἀποστολῆς*]. But because at that time there was only one Roman Emperor, (to wit, *Commodus*), I judge the Governors of Provinces are here rather meant. For the term [*ἀποστολῆς*] *Miltiades* dedicated his Apology, as did *Terullian* afterwards; who calls this *Miltiades*, the Rhetorician of the Church. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XVII.

How Apollonius also confuted the *Cataphrygians*, and whom he has made mention of.

## C H A P. XVII.

Concerning *Miltiades*, and the Books he compos'd.

IN the same Book he makes mention of one *Miltiades*, a Writer, who also wrote a Book against the fore said Heresie: Having therefore

*Apollonius* also, an Ecclesiastick Writer, employing himself about a Confutation of that called the *Cataphrygian* Heresie, which in his time

*Commodus* was prevalent in *Phrygia*, composed a peculiar Volume against them, *wherein* he does both word by word disprove the false Prophecies vented by them, and also lays open the Life and Manners of the Founders of that Heresie; [shewing] how they behaved themselves. Hear what he says, in these very words, concerning *Montanus*: "But who is this new Doctōr? His Works and Doctrine do demonstrate: This is he who has taught a Dissolution of Marriages: Who has imposed

(a) *Montanus* instituted three Lenten every Year, and besides them, two Weeks of Abstinence, wherein nothing but dry Meats were to be eaten. So *Tertullian* in his Book, *De jejunio*, and *Jerom*, in his Epistle to *Marcella*, *Apollonius* objects here against *Montanus*, his instituting Fasts by a Law, not that it is a fault to observe Fasts; or as if 'twere not lawful for some in the Church to proclaim Fasts: For the Apostle *St. John* appointed a three days Fast at *Ephesus*, because he betook himself to the writing his Gospel. But *Montanus* had no power to proclaim a Fast, being an Heretic, an uncommunicated Person, and no Prophet. *Apollonius* therefore does detestably blame him, because of his own Head, not by Apostolick Tradition, he instituted Fasts. *Valf.*

"monstrated therefore, that these principal *Prophets*, for the time they were filled with the Spirit, forsook their Husbands: How falsely then do they speak, who term (b) *Prisca* a Virgin? Then he goes on, saying; "Does not the whole Scripture seem to you to prohibit a Prophet to receive Gifts and Money? When therefore I see a Prophet receive Gold and Silver, and rich garments, how can I choose but abhor her?" Again, after some words, he says this concerning one of those whom they call Confessors: "Moreover, *Themison*, who has cover'd himself with a (c) specious pretext of avarice, (he who would not bear the (d) sign of confession, but rid himself of his Bonds by a great sum of money, whereas upon that account he should in future have behav'd himself submissively,) does [notwithstanding] boast himself to be a Martyr,

and has been so audacious, as, in imitation of the Apostle, to write a General Epistle, for the instruction of those who have behaved themselves more like true Believers than he, but does [therein] defend the Tenets of his own vain Doctrine, and speaks impiously of the Lord, his Apostles, and holy Church." Again, he writes thus concerning others, who amongst 'em have been honour'd as Martyrs: "But that we may speak of no more, let the Prophets answer us concerning *Alexander*, who terms himself a Martyr, with whom the feasts, whom many of them pay a reverence to: Whose Robberies and his other audacious Facts (for which he has been punish'd) we need not speak of, since they may be seen in that place where the Publick (e) Re-

(a) The *Montanists* covered their Avarice under the pretext of Religion, and (specious term of Oblivion, as *Apollonius* says a little before in this Chapter. *Valf.*

(b) *Christopherson* thought the *Crisis* was meant here: But doubtless *Apollonius* means bonds, which *Thimison* could not endure for Christ's sake. For that which he calls [the sign of Confession] here, in the next Words he terms [the sign] Bonds. *Valf.*

"and has been so audacious, as, in imitation of the Apostle, to write a General Epistle, for the instruction of those who have behaved themselves more like true Believers than he, but does [therein] defend the Tenets of his own vain Doctrine, and speaks impiously of the Lord, his Apostles, and holy Church." Again, he writes thus concerning others, who amongst 'em have been honour'd as Martyrs: "But that we may speak of no more, let the Prophets answer us concerning *Alexander*, who terms himself a Martyr, with whom the feasts, whom many of them pay a reverence to: Whose Robberies and his other audacious Facts (for which he has been punish'd) we need not speak of, since they may be seen in that place where the Publick (e) Re-

(c) O πικρὸν ὄμμα in the term in the original. At Athens there was an House so called, behind the Temple of *Minerva Polias*, wherein the publick Treasury was

laid. So says *Harporation*, on that Word. In all the Temples there was such a place, as *Vare* asserts, B. 4. But here this term must mean the publick registry, where the publick Records are kept. *Valf.*

"gifters are kept. Which therefore of these two forgives the other's Sins? Does the Prophet [pardon] the Martyr's Robberies, or does the Martyr [forgive] the Prophet's Avarice? For whereas the Lord has said, \* *Provide neither gold, nor silver, neither two coats*, these persons, wholly on the contrary, have committed heinous Sins, in possessing themselves of things that are forbidden: For we will evidence, that those which they call Prophets, and Martyrs, have extorted Money not only from the Rich, but also from the Indigent, from Orphans and Widows; And if they are confident [of their Innocency] herein, let them stay, and decide the matter with us concerning these things; that so, if they shall be convinced, for the future they may leave their Vicioulness: For the Fruits [that is, the Deeds] of a Prophet, must be approved: For a Tree is known by its Fruits. That therefore those who are desirous may know the truth concerning *Alexander*, Judgment was pass'd upon him at *Ephesus* by *Amilius Frontinus* the Proconsul [of Asia] not for the name [of Christ], but the Robberies he had audaciously committed, being at that time an (f) Apostate from Christ. Then, (f) πᾶσι after he had counterfeited [a Profession of] the *epistola*, Name of the Lord, and deceived the faithful [Brethren] there, he was dismiss'd; but his own Church, where he was born, admitted him not, because he was a Thief. Those who are desirous to know all matters concerning him, may have recourse to the Publick Registry of *Asia*, [where they will find them]. And yet the \* Prophet does pretend himself ignorant of this Man, whom he has convers'd with for many years. Having evidently shown what this Man is, we have also by him declared the Imposture of the Prophet. We are able to demonstrate the like in many other things. But if they have any confidence in themselves, let them undergo the Test." Again, in another place of the same Work, he adds these words concerning those Prophets they boast of: "If they deny that they Prophets have received Gifts, let them confess this, [to wit,] if they be convinced that they have taken Gifts, they are not Prophets: And then we will produce infinite Demonstrations hereof. "Is necessary that all the Fruits of a Prophet should be approved of: Tell me, does a Prophet (g) colour [his Hair?]? Does a Prophet paint his Eye-brows with \* *Strybium*? Does a Prophet make it his business to dock and adorn himself? Does a Prophet play at Tables, and at Dice? Does a Prophet put money to usury? Let them confess

ingenuously whether these things are lawful or no? But I will demonstrate they are done amongst them." The same *Apollonius* does relate in the same Work, that at the time of his writing that Book, it was (h) forty years since *Montanus* (b) undertook [to vent] his forg'd Prophecy. And

*Apollonius* places *Apollonius* after the Author without a name, of whom he speaks in the foregoing Chapter: For because that anonymous Author says he wrote his Book fourteen Years after the death of *Montanus* and *Maximilla*; and in regard *Apollonius* does here say *Montanus* broach'd his new Prophecy forty Years before he wrote; therefore *Eusebius* supposed *Apollonius* to be a later Writer than that anonymous Author: In which, as I judge, he is much out. For *Apollonius* wrote his Book whilest

(g) The Greeks call that *Crisis* τὸ κρίμα, which the Latines term, *Crisis tingere seu unguere, to die, or make the hair red*. To do which they made use of Ales which had been put into Lye, as *Varro* says. See *Eusebius* in the word *κρίμα*. *Valf.*

(h) That is, a kind of colouring stuff, which is used to make the Eye-brows black.

ingenuously whether these things are lawful or no? But I will demonstrate they are done amongst them." The same *Apollonius* does relate in the same Work, that at the time of his writing that Book, it was (h) forty years since *Montanus* (b) undertook [to vent] his forg'd Prophecy. And

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whilest *Montanus*, and his mad Prophetesses *Priscilla* and *Maximilla*, were yet alive, which appears from these passages [Let the Prophetess answer us concerning Alexander, who terms himself a Martyr, with whom the seafish, &c.] And again, [And yet the Prophet does pretend himself ignorant of this Man whom he has converted with for many Years.] *Eusebius* quotes in this Chapter. *Apollonius* therefore does not say, forty Years were past from the death of *Montanus*, when he wrote this Book; but only, that *Montanus* had set a-broach his false Prophecy forty years before he went about to write this Book against him. Let us suppose therefore *Montanus* to be thirty years old when he set up to be a Prophet; he could not be above 70 years old when *Apollonius* wrote his Book against him. Neither had he *Maximilla* and *Priscilla* for his Companions, as soon as ever he began his Heresie; but, as I judge, they were ensnared by him a long while after. *Valf.*

*Commodus*, again, he says, that *Zoticus* (whom the former Writer made mention of) resolv'd to oppose *Maximilla*, who then feign'd herself to Prophesie at *Pepuza*, and attempted to reprove the Spirit she was moved by; but that she was forbidden by those that were her Favourers. He makes mention also of one *Thrasus*, who at that time was a Martyr. Moreover he says, as from Tradition, that our Saviour commanded his Apostles, they should not for the space of twelve years depart from *Jerusalem*: He quotes Authorities also out of the Revelation of *John*; and relates that *John*, by the Divine Power raised a Dead Man to Life at *Ephesus*. And he says many other things, whereby he sufficiently and fully sets forth the Deceit of the foresaid pernicious Heresie. Thus much *Apollonius*.

## C H A P. XIX.

Serapion's [Opinion] concerning the Heresie of the Cataphrygians.

**B**UT *Serapion*, (who, as report says, was about this time Bishop of the Church of *Antioch* after *Maximinus*), makes mention of the Writings of *Apollinaris* against the foresaid Heresie. He mentions him in that Epistle he wrote to (a) *Cariacus* and *Ponticus*; wherein, refusing the same Heresie, he subjoins these words: "And that you may see, that the Operation of that dissenting Party call'd the (b) *New-prophecy* is abominated (c) by all the Brotherhood in this World, I have sent you also the Letters of *Clautius Apollinaris* of most blessed memory, who was (d) Bishop of *Hierapolis* in *Asia*." In that same Epistle of *Serapion's*, are contained the Subscriptions of several Bishops: One of whom has subscribed thus; I *Aurelius Cyrenius Martyr wish You health*: Another, after this manner, *Elis Publius Julius Bishop of (d) Develtum, a Colony of Thracia*: As

(a) *Eusebius* in his 6th Book, Cha. 12. calls these Men *Ponticus* and *Cariacus*.  
(b) *Serapion* in Catalogo calls them *Cirinus*, and *Ponticus*.  
*Valf.*  
(c) So the

Ancients termed the Prophecy of *Montanus* and his Associates; as may be seen from *Tertullian*, de *Jejunio*; *Serapion*, in Catalogo; *Firmilian*, in his Epistle to *Cyprian*; and the old Author quoted by our *Eusebius*, Chap. 16. of this Book. *Valf.*

(d) The reading of the *Mar. Med. Fuk.* and *Sevil* MSS, agrees with our Translation, to wit, [by all the Brotherhood in the World.] The King's MS. and *Robert Stephens* read it thus [by all the Brotherhood in Christ, over the whole World.] *Valf.*

(d) *Develtum*, or *Develtum*, a Colony in *Thracia*, is mentioned by Geographers, and in the old Coins, which *John Trifan* put forth. *Anchialus* also, hereafter named, is a City of *Thracia*, sufficiently known. But why should the Subscriptions of the Bishops of *Thracia* be put to the Epistle of *Serapion* Bishop of *Antioch*? If I may make a conjecture, I suppose the Bishops of *Thracia* had written an Epistle to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia* against *Montanus's* Prophecy; wherein they gave their Opinion thereof, after the same manner that those of *Vienna* and *Lyons* did, as our *Eusebius* related before. That these subscriptions were put to the bottom of some Epistle, 'tis apparent from *Cyrenus's* Subscription here mentioned. But 'tis no way likely that those Bishops did subscribe *Serapion's* Epistle; (1) Because *Eusebius* does not say so, but only that the Subscriptions of many Bishops were contained in *Serapion's* Letter, as was also *Apollinaris's* Epistle to the said *Serapion*. For *Serapion* did this with good advantage, that he might confute the Heresie of *Montanus* by the authority of many Bishops. (2) How could the Bishops of *Thracia* subscribe the Letter of a Bishop of *Antioch*? 'Tis most probable therefore, as I said, that the Bishops of *Thracia* had with a joint consent written to the Churches of *Asia* and *Phrygia*. *Valf.*

*God liveth who is in Heaven*, Sotas of blessed memory, *Commodus*, who (e) was at *Anchialus*, would have cast out *Priscilla's* Devil, but the Hypocrites would not suffer (e) That is, Bishop him. In the said Letters are extant the Subscriptions of many other Bishops, written with their own Hands, who were of the same Opinion with these. And of this sort were the Matters appertaining to the said [Hereticks.]

This *Sotas* the Bishop, hearing of this new Prophecy, sailed out of *Thracia* into *Phrygia*, where having seen *Priscilla*, not filled with the Holy Spirit, but actuated by the Devil, he undertook to call him out of her by Exorcism. Not only *Sotas*, but also many other Bishops went at that time into *Phrygia*, to examine that new Prophecy, says the anonymous Author, chap. 16. of this Book. Moreover, we may observe, that *Sotas* was dead when *Elis Julius* wrote this; which is shown by the word [was dead] a term which the Greeks use when they speak of a dead Person: Had *Sotas* been alive, he would doubtless have confirmed this thing by his Subscription. The same term *Serapion* uses, when he speaks of *Apollinaris*, who also was then dead. *Valf.*

## C H A P. XX.

What *Irenaeus* wrote against the Schismatics at Rome.

(a) *Irenaeus* composed several Epistles against those at Rome who adulterated the Law of the Church. He wrote one to *Blasius* concerning Schism; another to *Florinus* concerning (b) Monarchy, or, that God is not the maker of Evil. For *Florinus* seem'd to be a maintainer of that Opinion: Upon whose account, (being afterwards led into the Error of *Valentinus*), *Irenaeus* compiled that Work of his, [entitled,] (c) Concerning the Number Eight. In which Piece he intimates himself to have liv'd in the first Succession after the Apostles. There also at the close of that Work, we found a most profitable (d) Note of his, which we judged useful to be inserted into this our History: It is thus; 'I adjure thee (who shall transcribe this Book) by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by his glorious coming to judge the Quick and Dead, that you compare what you shall transcribe and correct it diligently according to that Copy whence you shall transcribe it; and that in like manner you transcribe this Adoration, and annex it to [thy] Copy.' And let us much have been profitably said by him, and related by us, that we may always have [before our eyes] those ancient and truly holy Men, as the best pattern of a most accurate Care and Diligence. Moreover, in that Epistle (we spoke of) which *Irenaeus* wrote to *Florinus*, he makes mention of his being conversant with *Polycarp*, saying, 'These Opinions, (O *Florinus*!) that I may speak sparingly, do not appertain to found Doctrine.' These Opinions are different from the Church, and drive those who

(a) Here we begin the 20 Chapter, following therein *Rufinus*, *Majestas*, and *Christophorus*. The King's, the *Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS, begin the Chapter from the words [And of this sort were the Matters, &c.] which are the close of the foregoing Chapter. *Valf.*

(b) The ancient Christians did frequently use this term; as often, as they disputed against the Gentiles, under which title they put forth many Books, to shew that there was one God, the Maker and King of all things, which term [to wit, Monarchy] they ascribed to God the Father; but [*dyavocis*, i. e. the Dispensation, and Administration] they assigned to the Son and Holy Ghost; *Tertullian*, (in his Book against *Praxeas*), and *Tatianus*, (adversus *Græcos*). There is a Book of *Justin* the Martyr's, now extant, which has this title. Moreover, from this title of *Irenaeus's* Book we may conclude, that *Florian* adhered two Principles, and embraced the Opinions of *Carlo* and *Marcion*, affirming one to be the Author of Good, the other of Evil. *Valf.*

(c) See *Irenaeus*, and *Epiphanius*, concerning a work of *Valentinus*, which bears this title. *Valf.*

(d) *Synopsis* is the term in the original. Those Notes which were set at the Margin of MSS, that the Reader might understand something remarkable occurred there, were properly so called. Therefore we translate it [*adnotationes*, i. e. a note.] This note is now to be found in many Greek MSS, express'd only by the two first Letters, thus [en] which do signify [*ennotatio*, i. e. note.] This Adoration of *Irenaeus's* did I would please *Eusebius*, that he put it at the beginning of his *Chronicon*. *Valf.*

Commodus, who give their assent to them into the greatest Impiety; these Sentiments even the Hereticks, who are without the Church, have not dared to publish at any time; these Opinions the Presbyters, who liv'd before our Times, who also were the Disciples of the Apostles, did in no wise deliver unto thea. For I saw these (when being yet a Child I was in the Lower Asia with Polycarp, behaving thy self very well in the Palace, and endeavouring to get thy self well-esteem'd of by him. For I remember the things then done, better than what has happen'd of late. For what we learn'd being Children, increases together with the Mind itself, and is closely united to it. Inasmuch, that I am able to tell even the place where the Blessed Polycarp sat and discours'd; also his (e) Goings-out and Comings-in; his Manner of Life; the Shape of his Body; the Discourses he made to the People; the familiar Converse which, he said, he had with John, and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and how he rehear'd their Sayings, and what they were which he had heard from them concerning the Lord; concerning his Miracles, and his Doctrine: According as Polycarp receiv'd them from those, who with their own Eyes beheld the Word of Life, so he related them, agreeing in all things with the Scriptures. These things, by the Mercy of God bestow'd upon me, I then heard diligently, and copied them out, not in Paper, but in my Heart; and by the Grace of God I do continually and sincerely ruminate upon them. And I am able to protest in the presence of God, that if that Blessed and Apostolick Presbyter should have heard any such thing, he would presently have cried out, and (f) stopp'd his Ears, and according to his usual custom would have said; *God forbid! For what times hast thou reserved me, that I should suffer such things!* And he would have run out of the place, where he was either sitting or standing, should he have heard such words as these. And this may be manifested from those Epistles of his, which he wrote either to the neighbouring Churches to confirm them, or to some Brethren to admonish and exhort them. Thus far Irenæus.

(f) It was the custom of the Primitive Christians, when they heard any impious Expression in a familiar Discourse, which was disagreeable to the rule of the Catholic Faith, forthwith to stop their Ears, and run away. See Irenæus (B. 3. Against Heresies, Chap. 4.) and Jerom, B. 1. against Rufinus. Valef.

# C H A P. XXI.

How Apollonius suffer'd Martyrdom at Rome.

AT the same time of Commodus's Empire, our Affairs were converted into a quiet and sedate posture; Peace, by the Divine Grace, encompassing the Churches throughout the whole World. In which interim the saving Word [of God] allured \* very many of all sorts of Men to the religious Worship of the universal God. So that now many of those at Rome, who were very eminent both for Riches and Descend, did, together with their whole Households and Families, betake themselves to [the attaining of] Salvation. But this could not be born with by the envious Devil, that hater of Good, being by nature malicious. Therefore he (a) arms

\* Or, every Soul of all sorts of Men. For that's the import of the Greek, if it be exactly rendered. Valefius translates it *Ex omni genere hominum quousque plurimum*, i. e. very many of all sorts of Men.

(a) As the devil, i. e. he sought himself, 'tis a Metaphor taken from Champions, who, being to engage, strip'd themselves, and studied by various Arts and Subtilties to vanquish their Adversaries. Valef.

himself again, inventing various Stratagems to gainst us. At the City of Rome therefore, he brings before the Judgment-seat (b) Apollonius, a Man who was at that time one of the Faithful, and very eminent for his Learning and Philosophy; a man not having stirr'd up (c) one of \* his Ministers, who Perion was fit for such [a wicked Enterprise] to accuse this Person. Now this Wretch, having undertaken this Accusation in an unreasonable time, (for this according to the (d) Imperial Edict, the Informers against those that were [Christians] were to be put to death; and his Legs forthwith broken, and was put to death, Perennis the Judge having pronounc'd this Sentence against him. But the Martyr, most beloved by God, (after the Judge had (e) earnestly beseech'd him by many entreaties, and requested him to render an account [of his Faith] (f) before the Senate,) having made a most (g) elegant defence before the Senate, all for the Faith he profess'd, (b) was, as it were, by a Decree of the Senate, condemn'd to undergo a capital Punishment. For by an ancient Law 'twas establish'd amongst them, that (i) those [Christians] who were once accused before the Judgment-seat, should in no wise be dismiss'd, unless they receded from their Opinion. Moreover, he that is desirous to know Apollonius's Speeches before the Judge, and the Answers he made to the Interrogatories of Perennis, the Oration also which he spoke before the Senate in defence of our Faith, may see them in our Collection of the Sufferings of the ancient Martyrs.

\* That is, the Devil having stirr'd up one of his own Instruments, or Ministers, &c.

(d) He means the Rescript of Marcus, mentioned Chap. 13. B. 4. See that place, and the Notes upon it. Rescript thought the Edict of Trajan, (which Eusebius mentions B. 3. Chap. 33.) or the Rescript of Adrian, see Chap. 9. B. 4.) to Minucius Fundanus, was here meant, Valef.

(e) The Judges, who interrogated the Christians that were brought before them, were wont to persuade and entreat them to have a regard for their own Safety, by embracing the Worship of the Heathen Gods. There are infinite Examples hereof in Terrentian, Eusebii, &c. Valef.

(f) From this passage I am induc'd to think that Apollonius was of the Senatorial Order, as Jerom has said. Who upon the information of some desperate Fellow (whose name is unknown) was brought before Perennis, the Prefect of the Prætorium, (i. e. the Officer to whom the oversight of the Soldiers was committed) as being a Christian; being ask'd by the Judge what Order he was of, and making answer that he was of the Senatorial Order, Perennis commanded him to give an account of his Faith before the Senate. Which when Apollonius had with much Eloquence done, by the sentence of the Senate he was put to death. Why may we not therefore believe Jerom, (who in his Book De Eccl'ia Scriptura, and in his Epistle to Magnus) has said in express terms, that Apollonius was a Senator? And although Eusebius does not expressly say so; yet from this Relation of his thus much may be collected. Besides, Jerom might have read the Acts of Apollonius's suffering, to which Eusebius does here refer us. In which Acts, 'tis probable, Apollonius was called a Roman Senator, and was said to have been brought by his Servant. These Acts were written at Rome in Greek, by Men that were Grecians, after the same manner as the Acts of the Lugdunian Martyrs were written in Greek. Valef.

(g) Jerom (in his Book De Scriptura Eccl'ia) misunderstanding this place of Eusebius, has accus'd Apollonius, amongst the Ecclesiastical Writers. But Eusebius only says, that Apollonius made a most elegant Oration before the Judges in defence of the Faith he profess'd, not that he wrote an Apology. Scaliger takes notice of this mistake of Jerom's in his Animadvers. Eusebiana, p. 208. But he has there alter'd the reading of part of this place in Eusebius, thus [But the Martyr, most beloved of God, after he had beseech'd the Judge by many entreaties, that he might be allowed to give an account of his Faith before the Senate.] Which Emendation is contradicted by all our MS. Copies, and by reason itself. Valef.

(h) All Translators have rendered this place without taking any notice of the particle [et] in their Versions; supposing it to be useless. Which, as I judge, is not true: (1) Because the Senators were not Judges, neither had they Jurisdiction. (2) Perennis, who was the Judge in this Cause, had removed the Cause to the Senate, not that the Senate should give Judgment upon him, but that Apollonius should give them an account of his Religion: He honoured the Senate so far, that he would not condemn a Senator, before the Senate had



had cognizance of his Crime. When therefore the Senate had heard *Apollonius*, their answer was, That the Man should be judged according to the Law. After this *Apollonius* was punished with death, by the sentence indeed of *Peregrinus* himself, but by the decree of the Senate, because the Senate had heard him, and given their consent that he should be condemned. *Valef.*

(2) He means the Retriopt of *Trajan*, which *Eusebius* mentions Book 3. Chap. 33. at the latter end. See the place and the note upon it. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXII.

What Bishops flourish'd at that time.

*Commodus.* Moreover, in the Tenth Year of *Commodus's* Reign, *Eleutherus*, having executed the Episcopal Office (a) thirteen years, was succeeded by *Victor*. In the same year also, *Iulianus* having completed his Tenth Year, *Demetrius* undertook the Government of the Churches at *Alexandria*. At the same time likewise *Serapion*, (whom we spake of a little before,) flourish'd, being the eighth Bishop from the Apostles of the *Antiochian* Church. At *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* presided *Theophilus*; and in like manner *Narcissus* (whom we made mention of before) at that time had the publick Charge over the Church at *Jerusalem*. At *Corinth* in *Achaia*, (b) *Bacchylus* was then the Bishop, and at the Church of *Ephefus*, *Polycrates*. Many others, 'tis likely, besides these were eminent at that time; but we, as it was meet, have only record'd their names, by whose Writings the Doctrine of the true Faith has been derived down to us.

(a) *Nicophorus* call him *Bacchylus*. But sometimes diminutive terms, such as this, are written with a double L. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning the Question then moved about Easter.

AT the same time no small Controversie being rais'd, because the Churches of *Asia* supposed, (as from a more ancient Tradition,) that the \*fourteenth day of the Moon ought to be observ'd as the salutary Feast of *Easter*, and *Serapion*, [to wit] the same Day whereon the Jews MSS. is were commanded to kill the Lamb, and that they ought always (b) on that Day, (whatever Day of the Week it should happen to be,) to put an end to their Fasting: When as [notwithstanding] 'twas not the usage of the (c) Churches

of *Asia* may be taken in a threefold sense; sometimes 'tis taken for the third part of the World, sometimes for a Province, divided into nine Jurisdictions, which was governed by a *Roman* Proconsul; at other times 'tis more strictly taken for that Region which lies by the River *Meander*. In these words of *Eusebius*, 'tis, in my judgment, to be taken in the second sense, to wit, for a Province which a Provincial governed. *Valef.*

\* That is, the fourteenth day after the appearance of the New Moon: For the religious part of the Jewish Calendar was concerned in their appearances of the New Moon, the reports whereof were made by the Country-People. See the whole manner hereof described particularly, by the Learned Doctor *Culworth*, in his excellent Discourse concerning the true Notion of the Lord's Supper, pag. 67. See also Mr. *Jo. Gregory* of *Oxford*, in his Discourse concerning Upper-rooms, pag. 14, &c.

(c) The Learned Arch-Bishop *Usher*, in his Dissertation prefixed before *Ignatius's* Epistles, Chap. 9. says, that the *Asiaties*, who celebrated *Easter* with the Jews, on the first Day of unleavened Bread, passed over that Day with Mourning and Fasting; after which Day was ended, they concluded their Lent-fast. Which opinion *Eusebius* does here contradict, in that he affirms expressly, that the *Asiaties*, did put an end to their Fasting on the 14th day of the first Month, although it were not *Monday*. *Valef.*

(d) Here *Eusebius* does plainly declare that the *Asiaties* only did at that time celebrate *Easter* with the Jews; but that all the other Churches observed that Festival on another Day. Wherefore I dissent from *Beallæus*, Arch-Bishop *Usher*, and others, who suppose that the *Syrians*, *Mesopotamians*, and *Cilicians*, did then keep *Easter* at the

same time with the *Asiaties*. 'Tis evident that the *Syrians* and *Mesopotamians*, were then right in their Sentiments about this matter, which appears from their Councils here mentioned by *Eusebius*; For *Officiana* is a part of *Mesopotamia*: But afterwards they fell to the Jewish Observations of this Festival, and that before the *Nicene* Council, as *Augustinus* enforces. On the contrary, the *Asiaties* forsaking their former Error, embraced the founder Opinion in their observation of *Easter*; which they did before the *Nicene* Council, as appears from *Constantine's* Epistle, which *Eusebius* relates, B. 3. Chap. 13 and 19. of *Constantine's* Life. *Valef.*

over the rest of the World to do after this manner: Which usage, being received from Apostolic Tradition, and still prevalent, they observ'd, [to wit,] that they ought not to add put amongst an end to their Fasting on any other day, save the Antient, at that of the Resurrection of our Saviour: Upon this account Synods and Assemblies of Bishops were convened. And all of them with one consent did by their Letters inform the [Brethren] after was the Council of every-where of the Ecclesiastical Decree, [to wit,] that the Mystery of our Lord's Resurrection were to be observed to conclude the Fasts before *Easter*. There is at this time extant the Epistle of those who then were assembled in *Palestine*, over whom (d) *Theophilus* Bishop of the Church in *Cæsarea*, of *Ephefus* and *Narcissus* [Bishop] of *Jerusalem*, presided. In days, like manner, another [Epistle] of those [assemblies] at *Rome* concerning the same Question, as may be having *Victor* the Bishop's name prefix'd to it: (e) *Alfo* [another] of those Bishops in *Pontus*, over whom (f) *Palmas*, as being the most ancient, presided. *Alfo* [an Epistle] of the Churches in *Gallia*, which *Irenæus* had the oversight of. Moreover of those in *Osbroonia* and the Cities there; and (g) a private Letter of *Bacchylus*, s, Bishop of the *Corinthian* Church; of many others also; all which having utter'd one and the same Opinion and Sentiment propos'd the same Judgment; and *Easter* this we have mention'd, was their only definitive Determination.

(e) The Bishop of *Cæsarea*, (before the *Nicene* Council, and a long time after,) had the Dignity and Honour of a Metropolitan, and presided in all the Councils of *Palestine*, as being Bishop of the chief See. Nevertheless, the Bishops of *Jerusalem* had a respect shown them; then being the Apostolic Church, which first had a Bishop. Therefore the Bishops of *Nicene* See were not under the Bishops of *Cæsarea*, but were *Autonomous*, i. e. were, as to their privilege, independent of the See of *Cæsarea*. See the seventh Canon of the *Nicene* Council. *Valef.*

(f) He was Bishop of *Amastri* in *Pontus*, of whom *Longinus* Bishop of *Corinth* makes mention, in his Epistle to the Church of *Amastri*, which Epistle our *Eusebius* speaks of B. 4. Chap. 23. There was one, which bore the same name, (to wit, *Palmas*) of the Consular Order, whom *Asinius* commanded to be killed; to this *Spartianus*. Moreover, *Eusebius* says, this *Palmas* presided, as being the most ancient Bishop, not that he was a Metropolitan, but *Amastri*, was Metropolitan of the Cities of *Pontus*. But in the Ecclesiastical Councils the Precedency was different, according to the diversity of times and places. The plainest and most reasonable cause of Precedency was, that the antientest Bishop should take place of the rest. Afterwards the Bishops of the Metropolitan Churches had that honour given them. *Valef.*

(g) *Jerem* (in his Book *De Scriptis. Eccliosophis*) expounds this place, as if *Bacchylus* had convened a Council in *Achaia*, apart by himself. For in this sense he takes the term [*Asia*], here used by *Eusebius*. But there may another sense be given hereto, to wit, that *Bacchylus* wrote a private Epistle in his own Name concerning *Easter*, not a Synodical Letter, as the rest did. *Eusebius* (Book 6. Chap. 11.) calls a private Letter [*Asia*]. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning the Disagreement [of the Churches] throughout *Asia*.

OVER those Bishops in *Asia*, who stilly maintain'd they ought to observe the ancient usage heretofore deliver'd to them, presided *Polycrates*: Who, in the Epistle he wrote to *Victor*, and the *Roman* Church, declares the Tradition derived down to his own Times in these words: We

*Commodus* \* We therefore observe the true and genuine \* Day; having neither added any thing to, nor taken any thing from, [the uninterrupted usage deliver'd to us.] † For in *Asia* the Great Lights are dead, who shall be raised again in the Day of the Lord's Advent, wherein he shall come with glory from Heaven, and raise up all his Saints, [I mean] *Philip*, one of the Twelve Apostles, who died at *Hierapolis*, and his two Daughters, who continued Virgins to the end of their lives; also his other Daughter, having whilst she lived been inspired by the Holy Ghost, died at *Ephesus*. And moreover, *John*, who leaned on the Lord's Breast, and was a Priest, wearing a (a) Plate of Gold, and was a Martyr, and a Doctor: This [John, I say] died at *Ephesus*. Moreover also, *Polycarp* Bishop at *Smyrna* and Martyr, and (b) *Thraless* of *Eumema*, Bishop and Martyr, who died at *Smyrna*. What need we mention (c) *Sagaris* Bishop and Martyr, who died at *Laodicea*? And moreover (d) *Papirius* of blessed memory, and (e) *Melito* the Eunuch, who in all things was directed by the Suggestion of the Holy Spirit, who lies at *Sardis*, expecting the [Lord's coming to] visit him from Heaven, when he shall be raised from the Dead? All these kept the Day of *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, according to the Gospel: In no wise violating, but exactly following the Rule of Faith. And moreover, I *Polycrates*, the meanest of you all, according to the Tradition of my Kinsmen, some of whom also I have follow'd: For (f) seven of my Relations were Bishops, and I am the eighth; all which Kinsmen of mine did always celebrate the Day [of *Easter*] when the People [of the Jews] (g) removed the Leaven. I therefore, Brethren, who am sixty five years old in the Lord, and have been conversant with the Brethren dispersed over the World, and have read the whole Scripture through, am not at all terrified at what I am threatened with. For those

(a) Sec B. 3. Chap. 31. Note (h) but the Jewish use of this plate of Gold can't be mentioned here; for John was neither High-Priest amongst the Jews, nor yet of the sacerdotal race. *Polycrates* mentions 3 things of John; 1. That he was a Priest; 2. a Martyr; 3. a Doctor, or Evangelist. Now as he was a Doctor of Christ, and a Martyr for him; so also must he be understood to be a Priest of Christ. 'Tis probable that first Christian Priests, in imitation of the Jewish High-Priests, did wear a plate of Gold, as a Badge of Honour. *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Nazæariorum*) says, James the Brother of our Lord, who was ordained the first Bishop of Jerusalem, wore such a plate of Gold on his Forehead. The same is said of Mark the Evangelist, in a MS. concerning his Suffering. Valef.

(b) This is *Thraless* the Martyr, whom *Apollonius* mentions in his Book against the *Cathartians*; whose Words our *Eusebius* quotes Chap. 18. of this Book; *Rufinus* says he suffered Martyrdom at *Smyrna*. Valef.

(c) *Melito* Bishop of *Sardis* makes mention of this Martyr, in his Book concerning *Easter*; in those Words which our *Eusebius* quotes B. 4. Chap. 26. This *Sagaris* was Bishop of *Laodicea* in *Asia*; in whose times the Question concerning *Easter* was raised at *Laodicea*. Valef.

(d) In the *May. Med.* and *Ful. MSS.* this Man's name is thus written, [Papius, Papirius.] 'Tis a Roman name. *Polycrates* does not say where this *Papirius* was Bishop. But I find in *Simeon Metaphrastes*, (in the Life of *Polycarp*) that this *Papirius* was Successor to *Polycarp* Bishop of *Smyrna*. Valef.

(e) *Polycrates* does here stile *Melito*, an Eunuch, that is, in our Saviour's explication, one of those, who make themselves Eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake; who are content to deny themselves, and to renounce the lawful Pleasures and Comforts of the World, for the service of Religion. *Ierom* (De Scriptor. Ecclesiasticis) attests that this *Melito* was by many accounted a Prophet. Valef.

(f) *Rufinus* thought that seven of *Polycrates*'s Ancestors, or Relations, were Bishops of *Ephesus*. But *Polycrates* does not say they were all Bishops of *Ephesus*; we may suppose they were Bishops in several Cities of *Asia*. Valef.

(g) In the King's, and *May. MSS.* this place is plainly written thus, [ὅταν ἡ λαὸς ἡμεῖς ἐξέλθῃ] i. e. when the People removed the Leaven. So *Rufinus* read this place, as appears by his Version; viz. Qui omnes in observantiam hunc diem ad conveniunt cum illo quo fermentum Iudaorum populus auferit; i. e. All which so observed this Day, that it might agree with that wherein the People of the Jews removed their Leaven.

I wonder why *Robert Stephens* read it [ὅταν ἡ λαὸς ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, when the People prepared, &c?]. For on the 14th Day of the first Month, the People did not prepare, but cast away their Leaven. See *Exod.* 12. 18. Valef.

'who were greater than I, have said, \* We ought *Commodus* to obey God rather than Men." To these words, \* Acts 5. speaking of all the Bishops who were present with him when he wrote, and were of the same Opinion with him, he adjoyns thus much, saying; I could make mention of the Bishops who

are present with me, whom you (b) requested me to convene, and I have called them together; whose names should I annex [to this Epistle,] they would be very numerous; all which Persons having visited me, (who am a

mean Man) did by their consent approve this Epistle; well knowing that I have not born these hoary Hairs in vain, but have always led my life agreeable to the Precepts of the Lord Jesus." After this, *Victor* the Bishop of *Rome*, did immediately attempt to cut off from the common Unity the Churches of all *Asia*, together with the adjoining Churches, as having given their assent to heterodox Opinions; and (i) by his Letters he publicly declares, and pronounces all the Brethren there to be wholly excommunicate: But this pleased not all the Bishops: Therefore they perfwade him to the contrary, [advising him] to entertain thoughts of Peace, of Unity, and Love of Christians among one another. Moreover their Epistles are now extant, whereat in they have sharply reproved *Victor*. Among whom *Irenæus*, having written a Letter in (k) the name of those Brethren in *Gallia*, whom he presided over, does indeed maintain, that the Mystery of our Lord's Resurrection ought to be celebrated only on a Sunday; but does in many other words seasonably advise him not to cut off the whole Churches of God for observing an ancient Custom derived down to them by Tradition: To which words he adjoyns thus much; 'For the Controvercie is not only concerning the

expressly, [ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπεισάμεθα, i. e. we endeavoured to cut off from the Communion, &c.] (2) The Epistles written to *Victor* by *Irenæus* and other Bishops, do shew, that the Sentence of Excommunication was not then pronounced by *Victor*; for thus *Eusebius* writes concerning *Irenæus*'s Letters, [ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπεισάμεθα, i. e. we endeavoured to cut off whole Churches, &c.] (3) *Phoebus* (in *Biblioth. Chap. 120.*) writes that *Irenæus* wrote many Letters to *Victor*, perswading him not to excommunicate any one for their dissent about the observation of *Easter*; therefore, before *Irenæus* wrote, *Victor* had excommunicated no Body: Now, it cannot be supposed that *Victor* did it after the receipt of *Irenæus*'s Letters; for then *Eusebius* would have made mention of it; but he intimates the contrary to all this, calling *Irenæus* [ἐνεργημάτων, i. e. Peace-maker, because his Letters restored Peace to the Church. These are *Valef*'s reasons. On the contrary *Socrates*, (B. 5. Chap. 22.) *Sozomenus* in his life of *Irenæus*, pag. 668; and *Dr. Cave* in the Life of *Irenæus*, pag. 168. are of opinion, that this Sentence of Excommunication was actually pronounced by *Victor*. Their main Argument for this, is grounded on these Words of *Eusebius*, which here follow [ὅτι ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἡμεῖς ἐξέκομμεν ἀπὸν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀνακαταλύσαντες ἀλλήλους] which we have thus rendered [And by his Letters he, i. e. *Victor*, publicly declares, and pronounces all the Brethren there to be wholly excommunicated.] Which, whether it does not outweigh all that *Valef*us has said to the contrary, is left to the determination of the Learned Reader.

(k) This Epistle therefore of *Irenæus*'s was a Synodical Epistle; because 'twas written in the name of the Churches of *France*, the chief City whereof then was *Lyon*. This Epistle is mentioned by *Eusebius*, in the foregoing Chapter: For I judge it to be one and the same Epistle, because 'tis unlikely there should be two Synods convened in so short a time, to determine of one and the same matter. Valef.

*Commodus*. Day; but also concerning the very (1) Form of the (m) Fast: For some suppose they ought to (n) Fast (o) one day, others (p) two, others more; (q) others computing forty [continued].

Hours of the Day and Night make [that Space] a two-fold distinction in the Church; the first, concerning Easter-day; the second, about the form of the Fast; i.e. how many Days were to be kept as a Fast; for so he explains himself in the following Words. For all, as well those who celebrated *Easter* on the Sunday, as those who, with the *Jews*, kept that Festival on the fourteenth day of the Moon's appearance, did agree in this, to wit, that they failed before *Easter*. Which Fast, as well as the Fast of *Easter*, they had received from Apostolick Tradition: See *Eusebius*, Book 2, Chap. 17. And the Notes there. *Valf.*

(m) Amongst the ancient Christians there were three kinds of Fasts: the first was the Fast on *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, which ended at the 9th hour of the Day, (i.e. at three a-Clock in the afternoon), after the end of the *Station*, or Holy Communion. The second sort was the Lent-Fast, which ended about the evening. The third sort was the strictest of all, and called to the Cock-crowing; which was therefore by the Greeks called [*ἡ νύκτα*], in *Latin* *Supperfast*. *Epiphanius* (in his *Expositio fidei Catholicæ*, at the end of his books, against *Hæreses*) does plainly distinguish these three sorts of Fasts. So does *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, in his Epistle to *Basilius*. But now, it may be demanded, which of these three sorts of Fasts *Irenæus* does here speak of? 'Tis manifest, he means not the first sort; for he evidently speaks of a whole days Fast: Some suppose, says he, they ought to fast one day, &c. *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *Epiphanius*, (in the places before-mentioned) seem to be of opinion, that *Irenæus* means the third sort of Fasts. *Valf.*

(n) These Words of *Irenæus* are variously understood. *Belarmine* thinks he speaks of Lent. *Cardinal Perron* supposes he speaks of the Week that precedes *Easter*: Which opinion is confirmed by *Dionysius Alexandrinus* and *Epiphanius*, in the places before-cited. *Valf.*

(o) Without doubt *Irenæus* means, the Friday of the Great Week; (i.e. the 1st Week before *Easter*;) on which day was kept a public Fast, says *Tertullian*, in his Book De *Orat.* and in that De *Jejunio*. *Valf.*

(p) To wit, on the Preparation-Day, (which we call Good-Friday,) and on the Great-Sabbath (i.e. the Saturday before *Easter*.) For on these two days all Persons, except the sick, were wont to Fast, says *Tertullian*, in his Book De *Jejunio*. *Valf.*

(q) The Kings *Alaric* and *Fat*. MSS. do read and point this place thus, [*ἡ νύκτα*], *ἡ νύκτα* ἡ νύκτα, τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα ἐκείνην. And *Mugulus* has faithfully translated it thus, [*Alii quadragesima hora diurna et nocturna computant, diem suum statuant*], whom we follow in our Version of this place; having rendered it thus, [others computing forty-continued] hours of the day and night make that [space] their day [of Fasting]. This reading is doubtless the true: For *Irenæus* having said that some Fast one day, others two, others more; what need is there of his adding this [others fast forty days] when-as in those Words of his [others fast more Days] forty days, are comprehended? Besides, if the slop be put at [*ἡ νύκτα*], *forty*, (as 'tis in the *Sext* Mss., and in *Rufinus* and *Christophorus's* Translations) to what shall the following Words [*ἡ νύκτα*], *ἡ νύκτα*, &c.] be referred? If they be referred to those that Fast forty Days, (as 'tis certain they must) then 'twill necessarily follow, that those who Fast forty Days during that time do eat nothing at all, being that they account their Fast must be continued all the Hours of the Night, as well as the Day. Having made out the true Reading of this place, we come to explain the meaning of it. *Irenæus* therefore says, that some Failed forty continued Hours of the Day and Night. Some think this Fast of forty Hours was kept by them in memory of that space of time which was between the Death of Christ and his Resurrection: Which space of time contained about forty Hours; to wit, from the sixth Hour of the Preparation-Day (that is, between 12 and 3 a-Clock on Good-Friday) to the dawning of *Easter-Day*: But I suppose 'twas kept in honour and memory of Christ's forty Days Fast in the Wilderness. Three things may be collected from these Words of *Irenæus*. (1.) That the Fast before *Easter* was usually observed in the Church from the very times of the Apostles. (2.) This Fast was celebrated in honour and memory of Christ's Fast: (3.) That the space of time, allotted for this Fast, was various and different. But we ought always to remember that *Irenæus* does here speak of the Fast of *Superfastion*; (See Note (m) in this Chap.) which the Christians usually observed throughout the Great-week; (i.e. the Passion-week;) The Fast in which Week being once admitted, the Fast of Lent must also be admitted: For the Week before *Easter* is part of Lent. Sometimes indeed we see the Fast of this Week is distinguished from the Lent-Fast; (as in *Epiphanius's* *Expositio fidei*, &c.) but 'tis not so distinguished, as if it did not really belong to Lent; by 'tis distinguished from it, as the part is from the whole. The reason of this distinction is twofold; (1.) it was kept with a more strict Fast, to wit, the Fast of *Superfastion*; (as we shewed before, Note (m).) (2.) This Week does properly belong to *Easter*. For the feria (or Days) of it have their denomination from the following Sunday, as shall hereafter be manifested. Hence 'tis called the Great-week, as shall hereafter be termed *Christophorus* does give in his 30. *Familiæ* or *Geniæ*. This Week began from the second feria, (i.e. Monday,) says *Cyril* in *Homil. Paschal.* and *Epiphanius* in *Actianis*. *Valf.*

their (r) Day [of Fasting:] and this variety in *Commodus*. observing [the Fast] has not been begun in our (r) In the Age, but a long while since, in the Times of our Original Ancestors: (r) Who being (as 'tis probable) 'tis [to] not so diligent in their Presidencies proposed that as a Custom to their Successors, which was introduced by simplicity and unskillfulness. And yet nevertheless the maintenance of mutual Peace towards one another, which also we retain. Thus the variety of the Fast commands the content of the Faith. Hereto he adjoins a Relation, which I will suitably insert in this place; it is thus: 'And the Presbyters, who, before *Soter*, presided over that Church which You now govern, I mean *Anicetus*, and *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Trophimus*, and *Xystus*, these Persons, [I say,] neither observ'd it themselves, nor did they permit those (r) with them [to observe it]. Never- (r) In *Tacitus* and *Herodotus's* theles, although they themselves observ'd it not, yet they maintain'd Peace with those that did; as came to them from those Churches wherein it was observ'd. But the (n) Observation of it, 'tis amongst those who kept it not, seem'd to have ended much more of contrariety in it. Neither were any Persons ever excommunicated upon account of this Form [of the Fast:] But the Presbyters, then, so your Predecessors, who observ'd it not, † *Rufinus* reads this the Eucharist to the [Presbyters] of those Churches which observ'd it not: And when (x) *Polycarp* of blessed memory came to Rome in by his the Times of *Anicetus*, and there had been a Version. small Controversie between them concerning (w) The some other things, they did straightway mutually embrace each other; having not desired to be contentious with one another as is this; about this (y) Head: For neither could *Anicetus* perfwade *Polycarp* not to observe it, because he had always kept it with *John* the Disciple of our Lord, and the other Apostles with whom he had been conversant: Nor did *Polycarp* induce *Anicetus* to observe it, who said, he ought to retain the usage of the Presbyters that were his Predecessors. These things being thus, they received the Communion together. yet is often as he that observes the custom is conversant amongst those who observe it not, this diversity will be much more apparent. *Valf.*

† The Bishops were wont, in the time of the Festivity of *Easter*, to send the Eucharist to other Bishops, in the name of *Eulogia*. This custom was at length forbidden in the Council of *Laodicea*, Chap. 14. *Valf.*

(x) Though the exact time of *Polycarp's* coming to Rome cannot precisely be defined, yet will it in a great measure depend upon *Anicetus's* Succession to that See, in whose time he came thither. Now 'tis evident, that almost all the ancient Catalogues place him before *Soter*, and next to *Pius*, whom he succeeded. This Succession *Eusebius* (in his *Chronicon*) places on the year of Christ 154; (a computation doubtless much truer than that of *Baronius*, who places it on the year 167;) and agreeable to this the *Chronicle of Alexandria* places *Polycarp's* coming to Rome in the year 158; in the 21 of *Antoninus* the Emperor. See Dr. *Cave's* Life of St. *Polycarp*, pag. 115.

(y) *Valentinus* (in his Note on this place) denies that *Polycarp* came to Rome concerning the difference about the Paschal Solemnity; for it was, he says, some other Controversies, that brought him thither. But *Irenæus's* express words are (if our *Eusebius* has rightly represented them, in B. 4. Chap. 14.) That *Polycarp* came to Rome and [disput'd] *Anicetus* [de] n[on] c[on]suetudine dei t[em]p[or]is n[on] m[ag]is h[ab]uerat, i.e. upon account of a certain Controversie concerning the day when *Easter* was to be kept. 'Tis true, *Irenæus* says (in this Chapter) there was a difference between them [de]i c[on]suetudine, i.e. concerning some other things; but this does not hinder, but that the other was his main Errand to Rome.

*Comm. d. 1.* And *Anicetus* permitted *Polyarp*, (to wit, out of an honourable respect to him) to (2) consecrate the Sacrament in his own Church; and they parted peaceably one from another; as well those who observ'd it, as those who observ'd it not, retaining the Peace and Communion of the whole Church." Indeed, *Irenæus*, being truly answerable to his own name, was after this manner a Peace-maker, and advis'd and assert'd these things upon the account of the Peace of the Churches: The same person wrote not only to *Polyarp*, but sent Letters also, agreeable hereunto, to several other Governors of Churches, concerning the said Controversie which was then rais'd in his own Church.

## CHAP. XXV.

How all with one consent unanimously agreed about Easter.

Moreover, those [Bishops] of *Palestine*, (whom we mention'd a little before) to wit, *Narcissus* and *Theophilus*; and with them *Cassius* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Clarus* [Bishop] of that at *Ptolemais*, together with those assembled with them, having treated at large concerning the Tradition about *Easter*, deriv'd down to them by succession from the Apostles, at the end of their Epistle they adjoin thus much, in these very words: 'Make it your business to send Copies of this our Epistle throughout the whole Church, that so we may not be blamed by those, who do easily seduce their own Souls: We also declare to you, that they celebrate *Easter* at *Alexandria* on the same day that we do: (a) For Letters are convey'd from us to them, and from them to us; so that we observe the Holy Day with one consent and together.

(a) The Acts of this Synod of *Cæsarea* are extant in *Bede*, in his Book concerning the *vernal Equinox*; which some look upon to be false; but I think they are in no wise to be despised. *Baronius* accounted them to be genuine. *Valesius*.

## CHAP. XXVI.

How many [Monuments] of *Irenæus's* Polite Ingenie have come to our hands.

(a) BUT, besides the fore-mentioned Works and Epistles of *Irenæus's*, there is extant a most concise and most necessary Book of his against the *Gentiles*, entitled *Concerning Knowledge*. And another, (which he dedicated to a Brother, whose name was *Marcellinus*, [containing] a (b) *Demonstration of the Apostolick Preaching*: And a Book of *Variations* (c) *Tracts*, wherein he makes mention of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and that called *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and quotes some Sentences out of them: And thus many are the [Writings] of *Irenæus*, which came to our knowledge. But *Commodus* having ended his Government after he had reign'd thirteen years, *Severus* obtain'd the Empire, *Pertinax* having not govern'd full out six Months after the Death of *Commodus*.

(a) The reading in the original is, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*. *Valesius* thinks it should be *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, a *Demonstration*. (b) *Rufinus* translates it [*dialogos, dialogues*]. *Jerom* renders it [*Tractatus, Tracts*]. It may be taken to signify *Sermon or Discourse to the People*: For in that sense our *Eusebius* takes the word *διακρίσεις* in his 11. Chap. 10. and in the 36 Chap. of that Book he calls *Origen's* *Εὐαγγέλιον* [*Evangelium*]. *Valesius*.

## C H A P. XXVII.

How many also of [the Works of others] who their Followers have come to our knowledge.]

I NDEED, very many Monuments of the virtuous and laudable diligence of those Ancient and Ecclesiastick Men which then [flourish'd] are to this day preserv'd amongst men: But [the Works] of those, whom we our selves could (a) discern to be such, are, *Heracitus's* [Comments] upon the *Apocalypse* (which is *Apoc.*), and the [Book] of (b) *Maximus* concerning the term that *Quellion* fo much talk'd of amongst Here-  
ticks, whence evil proceeds: And concerning this, that Matter is made: Also *Candidus's* Piece, on the six Days Work; and that of *Apion* upon the same subject. In like manner *Sextus's* Book concerning *Quellion*, i. e. the *Resurrection*; and another Piece of *Arabianus's*, to discern, and of very many more; whose Times wherein they lived, because we want assistances from the proof thereof, we can neither commit to writing, nor yet (c) declare any memorable Passages [of their's, in this our History]. There are also come to our hands the Books of many others, which by some very names we are unable to recite: All those which were indeed Orthodox and Ecclesiastick [Persons], as the Interpretations of the Sacred Scripture [produced] by every one of them do demonstrate; but yet they are unknown to us, because what they have written has not their name prefix'd to it.

*Maximus*, Sec. *Rufinus* and *Jerom*, instead of *Heracitus*, read *Heracitus*. Our Historian does here relate, first the Ecclesiastick Writers of that time, whose names he knew: Afterwards he mentions those, whose Books were still extant; but their names were unknown.

(a) The Title of *Maximus's* Book was *ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, concerning *Matter*: It was compos'd by way of Dialogue. *Eusebius* quotes a most excellent piece of it in his last Chap. of his 7 B. *Preparat. Evang.* where he gives the Author this Elogium: *Μαξίμου δὲ τῆς χάριτος ἀδελφεὸς καὶ ἀνὴρ ἀπλὸς, καὶ λόγιος, ἐκείνου ἀντιπροσέταται ὁ τοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰ. e. Maximus, a Person in no wise obscure for his Christian Life and Conversation, wrote a seasonable piece, entitled, Concerning *Matter*. *Valesius*.*

(c) *Eusebius* does usually quote some passages out of those Author's Works, which he mentions: So he did, as we see, out of *Irenæus*, *Clement*, *Heracitus*, *Papias*, and others; whenever he knew the time of the Author's Writing. But in these Writers, whom he mentions in this Chapter, *Eusebius* says he could not perform this, because he could not certainly know the times they lived in, but was in want of Arguments and Proofs thereof. *Valesius*.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning those, who from the beginning were *Defenders* of *Artemon's* Herefie; what manner of persons they were as to their Morals, and how that they were so audacious as to corrupt the Sacred Scriptures.

I N AN elaborate Piece of one of those Authors, compos'd against the Herefie of *Artemon*, (which Herefie *Paulus Samosatensis* has again attempted to revive in our Age,) there is extant a certain Relation very accommodate to the History we now have in hand. For the (a) Book now cited, evincing that the foresaid Herefie, which affirms our Saviour to be a meer Man, was an Innovation of a late date; (because the Introducers of it had boasted it was very ancient,) after many of [Arguments] brought to confute their blasphemous Lye, has this Relation word for word: 'For whereof is it they affirm that all the Ancients, and the very unknown Apostles, received and taught the same things, was the *Little Labyrinth* of this Book (Chap. 48.) relates that *Crim* was the Author of this Book. But *Theodoret* (B. 2. *Aleret. Fabul.*) confirms *Nicéphorus's* opinion, and mentions this very Story of *Theodoretus the Tameer*, and *Nicetas* the Bishop, attesting he had taken it out of the Books called *The Little Labyrinth*. *Valesius*.

Severus:

which they now assert; and that the Preaching of the Truth was preserved till the times of *Victor*, who from *Peter* was the thirteenth Bishop of Rome; but from the times of his Successor *Zephyrinus* the Truth has been adulterated. Peradventure this saying of theirs might seem probable, did not in the first place the Sacred Scriptures contradict them, and then the Writings of some Brethren ancienter than the times of *Victor*, which Books they wrote in defence of the Truth, against the *Gentiles*, and against the Heresies of their own times. I mean the [Writings of] *Iustin*, *Miltiades*, *Tatianus*, and *Clement*, and of many others: In all which Books the Divinity of Christ is maintained. For who is he that is ignorant of the Books of *Irenaeus*, *Melito*, and the rest, which declare Christ to be God and Man? The

(b) Hence it appears, that 'twas an ancient custom in the Church to compose Psalms and Hymns in honour of Christ. *Pliny* (in his Epistle to *Trajan*) mentions this usage amongst the Christians; as we have already observed, at B. 2. Chap. 17.

therefore this Ecclesiastical Opinion has been manifestly declared for so many years since, how can it be that the [Ancients] should have preach'd that Doctrine, which these Men assert, until the times of *Victor*? How can they choose but be ashamed of framing such Lies of *Victor*; when as they know for certain that *Victor*, excommunicated *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, the Founder and Father of this Apostasy which denies God, who first asserted Christ to be a meer Man? For if *Victor* were (as they say) of the same Opinion with that, which their Blasphemy does maintain, why did he proferibe *Theodotus* the Inventor of this Heresie? And such was the face of Affairs in the times of *Victor*: To whom, having presided in his publick Charge ten years, *Zephyrinus* was made Successor about the ninth year of *Severus*'s Empire. [Further,] the Person that compiled the foresaid Book concerning the Author of the new-mention'd Heresie, relates another thing which was done in the times of *Zephyrinus*, in these very words: I will therefore advertise many of the Brethren of a thing done in our Age; which had, it hapned in *Sodom*, would, I suppose, have put those *Inhabitants* in mind of [Repentance.] There

(c) Perhaps this Person was that *Cassius Natalis*, who by a dispute of *Orbasius Januarius*'s before *Minucius Felix* at Rome was converted to the Christian Faith; as *Minucius Felix* relates, in his *Dialogue*. Indeed, the name, the time, and the profession of this Person do all agree to make this probable. *Valef*.

(d) The *Antiq. Med. Eux.* and *Savil MSS.* read [*ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας*], i. e. in the election. The King's MSS. and *Rob. Stephens* read [*ἐκ τῆς βασιλείας*], i. e. in the election. *Valef*.

Disciples of *Theodotus* the *Tanner*, who before had been excommunicated, as I said, by *Victor* then Bishop, for this Doctrine, or rather Madnels. *Natalis* was persuaded by them to be elected a Bishop of this Heresie, upon the consideration of a Salary, whereby he was to receive of them monthly an hundred and fifty pence. Being therefore become one of their Associates, he was by Visions [in his sleep] frequently admonish'd by the Lord: For our compassionate God and Lord Jesus Christ was unwilling that he, [who had been] a Witness of his own Sufferings, should perish whilst he was under Excommunication. But after he was regardless of the Visions [in his sleep,] be-

ing beguiled with the Bait of Primacy among those [of the Sect,] and of filthy lucre, (which is the destruction of many Men,) at last he was scourged by the Holy Angels, and sorely beaten all night long: Infomuch that he arose very early, and having put on sackcloth, and besprinkled himself with Ashes, in great haste, and with Tears in his Eyes, he cast himself down before *Zephyrinus* the Bishop, falling down not only before the Feet of the Clergy, but of the Laity also; and with his Tears moved the compassionate Church of the Merciful Christ: And after he had used much intreaty, and shown the

(e) Prints of the Stripes he had received, with much difficulty he was admitted into the Communion [of the Church.] Hereunto we will also annex some other words of the same Writers concerning these [Heresicks;] They are these: 'They have impudently adulterated the

(e) *Valef* says those Stripes are meant here, which *Natalis* had undergone for the confession of Christ; *Quas*, says he, pro Christi Confessione perdidit: Indeed *Natalis* is called *ἐκκλησιαστής*, a Confessor, at the beginning of this Story; and afterwards *ἀσκητής*, a Martyr or *Wineist*: But perhaps the Author might mean here the Stripes, which the Story says he receiv'd from the Holy Angels.

Sacred Scriptures; they have rejected the Canon of the Primitive Faith; and have been ignorant of Christ: They are not inquisitive after that which the Holy Scriptures say, but bestow much labour and industry in finding out such a Scheme of a Sylogism, as may confirm the System of their Impiety: And if any one proposes to them a Text of the Divine Scriptures, ther a (f) *Connex*, or *Disjunctive* Form of a Sylogism may be made of it: Leaving the Holy Scriptures of God, they study Geometry; being of the Earth they speak of things terrestrial, and are ignorant of him who

(f) These are Logical terms: *συμπεπληρωμένη* is properly such a Proposition, as this [if it be day, there is light;] *ἀνελκυσμένη* is such an one as this [either it is day, or it is night;] See *Diogen. Laert.* in *Zenone*. *Valef*.

(g) comes from above: Therefore amongst some (g) He of them *Euclid*'s Geometry is with great diligence studied; *Arifotle* and *Theophrastus* are admired; and in like manner (b) *Galen* is by others of them even adored. What need I say that these Persons, (who make use of the Arts of Infidels for the Confirmation of their Heretical Opinion, and by the Craft of Atheists adulterate the sincere Authority of the Divine Scriptures,) are most remote from the Faith? Hence 'tis that they have

advant of our Saviour; which this ancient Fathers usually speak of not as future, but present. *Valef*.

(h) *Galen* wrote Books concerning the forms of Sylogisms, and concerning the whole System of Philology, as appears from the Catalogue of his Works. From this place 'tis evident, that *Galen* is a very ancient Author, which may be collected not only from the Testimony of this Writer, but from many others, who have made him contemporary with *Arifotle*, *Theophrastus*, and *Plato*. See *Alexander Aphrodisi.* B. 3. Topic. at the beginning. *Valef*.

impudently laid their hands upon the Divine Scriptures, saying they ought to be corrected; he that is desirous may be informed that I speak not this fallily of them. For would any one examine the Copies which they have gotten together, and compare them one with another, he would find that they disagreed very much. For the Copies of (i) *Asclepiades* (i) Some agree not with those of *Theodotus*. Many call him such Copies as these may be procured; because *Galen* and his Disciples have with much labour and curiosity written the Corrections (as they call and *Ruffinus* them, that is, the Corruptions) of every one not true of their [Masters.] Again, the Copies of him, *Asclepiades*.

A little after this instead of [*Apollonius*] we read [*Apollonides*] as did *Rufinus* and *Nicephorus*. *Valef*.

Hermo-

*Severus.* *Hermophilus* agree not with these now mentioned; and those of *Apollonides* differ one from another. For he that shall compare them, will find that those Copies first put forth (k) by him do very much disagree from his other [Copies,] which he did afterwards again wrest and deform. How much of Audaciousness there is in this wicked Fa<sup>a</sup>, 'tis probable they themselves are not ignorant: For either they don't believe the Divine Scriptures to have been dictated by the Holy Spirit, and then they are Infidels: Or else they account themselves wiser than the Holy Ghost; and what are they then but Mad-men? For they cannot deny this audacious Fact to have been done by their own selves, because [the Copies] have been written

(1) Sir H. See in Margin of his MS. had made it by him. Our other MSS. read it as it is, by them. But the former reading is the best. For the Author speaks only of *Apollonides* here; affirming that he put forth two Editions of the Sacred Scriptures, the latter of which differed very much from the former. *Valef.*

out by their own Hands: (l) Neither did they receive such Copies as these from those who were their Instructors; nor yet can they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things. But some of them have not indeed vouchsafed to adulterate the Scriptures, but did they having wholly rejected both the Law, and the Prophets, (m) by a lawless and atheistical Doctrine under a Pretext of Grace, they are fallen into the deepest Pit of Destruction." And let thus much be after this manner related concerning these things.

*they shew the Copies out of which they transcribed these things* are wanting in the King's MS. I think them not very necessary: But they are in the *Mar. Med.* and *Fuk.* MSS. and in *Rufinus's* Version. *Valef.*  
(m) *Evangel.* or *Ev.* i.e. by or, by reason of, is here to be understood. These Hereticks, under a pretence of the Grace given by the Gospel rejected both the Law and the Prophets: Upon which account he calls their Doctrine Lawless and Atheistical. *Valef.*

## THE

## SIXTH BOOK

## Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

## CHAP. I.

Concerning the Persecution under Severus.

Moreover, when *Severus* stirr'd up Persecution against the Churches in every place throughout all the Churches; noble Martyrdoms were performed by the Champions of Religion; but [the number of the Martyrs] at *Alexandria* far exceeded the rest, the (a) choicest of the Champions having been convey'd thither out of all *Egypt* and *Thebais*, as to the noblest Stadium of God; who in reward of their most patient suffering divers sorts of Torments, and several ways of death, were encircled with Crowns from God: Amongst whom *Leonides*, said to be the Father of (b) *Origen*, was beheaded, and left his Son very young. And here 'twill not be unreasonable briefly to relate what Zeal and Affection he bore to the (c) Gospel from this time of his Childhood, and for this reason especially, because his fame is much celebrated by all Men.

(a) *Alexis*, i.e. the choicest, 'tis the nearest signification of the word, but does not fully explain it, for the word imports some thing more. See *Viger. Idiot.* pag. 195.  
(b) 'Tis a critical dispute whether the Greek word be *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, or *ἐπίσκοπος* with an Aspirate, or a *Τένυς*; Some say 'tis *ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*, because it is derived from *ἀρχή* mature and *ἐπισκοπή* natu. i.e. born in a fit season: And for this reason the *Med. Mar.* and *Fuk.* MSS. always write it with an Aspirate. *Valef.*  
(c) *ὁ ὁρὶς ἁγίου*, *Eusebius* always uses both for the Gospel, and the Christian Religion, as in Chap. 2. and 5. of this Book, and this *Rufinus* renders *Divina legis studia*; *Christophor.* *Sacrarum litterarum studium*; and *Masculus* translates it *Divinum Doctrinam*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. II.

Concerning Origen's Virtuons Course of Life from a Child.

NOW should any one undertake accurately and at his leisure to commit to writing this Man's Life, he must say much, and a strict Collection of all Passages concerning him, would require even a particular Subject; but our aim at present is to abbreviate most things, and in short, and, as well as we can, we will give an account of some few Passages concerning him; relating what things have been manifested by some Epistles, or by the Discourse of those his Scholars, who were alive till our times. The Passages concerning *Origen* (as one would say) even from his Cradle seem to be worth remembrance. *Severus* therefore being in the tenth year of his Reign, and *Latus* being Governor of *Alexandria* and the rest of *Egypt*; *Demetrius* also having lately taken upon him the Episcopal Office over the Churches there, after *Julianus*; when the Flame of Persecution now raged grievously, and many thousands were crown'd with Martyrdom, such a desire of Martyrdom possess'd the Soul of *Origen* being yet very young, that he would expose himself to Dangers, and was very ready and willing to rush forward and leap into the Combat: So that now he was not far from death, had not the Divine and Celestial Providence, for the good of many, hindred and restrained his willingness to die, by

his Mother's means. First therefore he intreated him like a Suppliant, and beseech'd him to take pity of her Motherly love: But when she saw him more intent upon his purpose, and when he understood his Father was apprehended, and imprison'd, he was wholly possess'd with a desire of Martyrdom: Wherefore he hid all his Cloaths, and by this means necessitated him to abide at home. But he, seeing he had no way left, (the alacrity of his Mind surmounting the ripeness of his Years,) could not be at rest, but compos'd a most perswasive Epistle concerning Martyrdom, and sends it to his Father, in which he thus exhorts him word for word, saying, [Father,] take heed: *Let not your care for us make you change your Resolution.* Let this be noted as the first Token of Origen's acuteness of Wit from his Childhood, and of his most sincere Zeal for Religion. For he had already got no small stock of knowledge in the Doctrine of the Faith, continuing whilst he was yet a Child, to exercise himself in searching the Holy Scriptures; about which he was not a little laborious; his Father having taken great care, both in instructing him in the Libe-

over, (who carefully miniftr'd to a very famous Man, one of that Heretical Se&ct then at *Alexandria*, but by birth an *Antiochian*.) Him the fore-  
said Woman having adopted for her Son, kept him with her, and shew'd kindness to him in a most special manner. But *Origen*, though forc'd to converse with the said [ *Heretic* ], yet from that time shew'd powerful Proofs of his sound Opinion concerning the Faith. For when great Multitudes of People, not only Heretics, but also them of our Religion, flock'd to *Paul* ( for this was the Man's name ) because he seem'd to be a person of great eloquence; [ *Origen* ] could never be induc'd to assist him in prayer : Always from a Child observing the Canon of the Church, and abominating the Doctrines of Heresies, ( as he himself in express words somewhere says : ) and having been educated in the Greek Learning by his Father at first, after his death he devoted himself wholly and more earnestly to the study of the Liberal Sciences; so that he was furnish'd with an (*b*) indifferent skill in the Art of Grammar; and having profess'd this Art soon after his Father's death, he got plenty of Necessaries, considering the age he then was of.

(*b*) The Med. Alex. *Fals. and Savil MSS. read* [ *a* ] *indifferent skill.*

## C H A P. III.

*How Origen being very young Preach'd the Word of Christ.*

(a) **W**illst he yet applied himself to his School, (as he in his Writings recordeth,) no one residing at *Alexandria* (b) to teach the Principles of Christianity, but all being driven away by the threatening Persecution: Some of the Heathens resorted to him, to hear the Word of God. Of which number he notes *Plutarchus* to have been the first; who when he had lived a virtuous secular life, was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom. The second was *Hennicus*, *Plutarchus's* Brother, who having under him shew'd many instances of a Philosophical and severe course of life, was honoured with the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* after *Demetrius*. He was now in the eighteenth year of his age, when he was Master of the Catechetical School; in which he made great proficiency, in the Persecutions during the time of *Aquila's* Prefecture over *Alexandria*. At which time he purchased to himself a famous name amongst all them who were well-affect'd towards the Faith, for the singular friendship and alacrity which he shew'd to all the Holy Martyrs known and unknown. For he convert'ed not only with such as were in

(b) This word *μαθησάμενος* signifies originally, *instructed, to found*: The preposition [*απὸ*] makes it, being a verb Nominative, to have an Adverb signification, and he is properly said *απὸ μαθησάμενος*, who tells us any thing right or would teach us by way of instruction: Hence it signifies to teach the Rudiments, or first Grounds of an Art, but peculiarly to teach the Principles of Christian Religion, which we call *Catechizing* in English, fifty years out of the Greek. Some say, Heathen Authors knew not this use of this word, but they mistake, for *Lucian* uses it in this sense, to teach the Rudiments of any Art. *Stephan. Lexicon.*

(c) Μὴ τὴν βίαν, i. e. after he had led a pious secular life: The word *βίαν* is by Christians used to signify *secundum vitam agere*. For *βίη* is *seculum*, as *Cryostom* uses it in his 25<sup>d</sup> Homily on the Epistle to the Romans, where he calls *βιαντες* them whom we call *Laics*, to distinguish them from the Clergy, in these words; *οὐκ οὐδὲν ἄλλο τὸν βιαντήσαντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κληρικοῦ, ἢ τὸν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως εἶναι καλεῖσθαι*. In this sense must the word here be understood; one of *Virgin's* Disciples lived a pious secular life, being a *Laic*, the other was a *Clergyman* *Laic*.

1017 *It is usual for magicians* to be  
 the world in the Original; The Greek  
 calls it *magia* and *magus*, the Latin  
*magus* which Children learned of  
 several Authors, is not included in  
 that Phrase, as *Dringius Latinis*  
*Magis*, *Clement Alexan.* and *Eusebius*  
 here. It is that *Magia* which the  
 Philosophers, say, they were the  
 first of Men that practis'd; and  
 some are like *Pythagoras* who  
 were, who when they were repul'd  
 by the Mithras, contriv'd the  
 Maid. Orators also exclude *Rhetorica*  
 out of this number; but  
 the Word is *magica* so signifies  
 all that is *magica* potent, and  
 so, what is *magica* and  
 may Philosophy and  
 what is *magica* and  
*Demosthenes* uses it  
 to mean and by *Officia*  
 Vale.

much that he troubled his Father by asking him, what was the true meaning of such a sentence of Scripture inspired by God. He seeming before his face reproved him, admonishing him not to search into any thing above the capacity of his years, nor [to enquire] any further than the plain meaning [of Scripture.] But he privately with himself rejoiced exceedingly, and gave the greatest thanks to God the Author of all Good, that he vouchsafed to make him the Father of such a Child : And 'tis reported, he has often flood by the Child as he slept, and laying his Breast bare, would kiss it with reverence, as if the sacred spirit of God had been enshrind in it, and accounted himself bliss'd for his happy Off-spring. These and such-like they record, were the Passages concerning *Origen* in his Childhood : But when his Father was now crown'd with Martyrdom, he is left desolate (together with his Mother and younger Brothers, six in number,) being no more than seventeen years of age : Moreover, his Father's Estate having been confiscate, he was brought into extrem want of necessary Subsistence, together with his Relations, but God thought him worthy of his Providence. And he obtains entertainment and rest from a Woman, who was very rich in respect of her Estate, and very eminent otherways : More-

*Seruus.* Bonds, nor with them who had been examined until their last Sentence, but with those Blessed Martyrs also, who, after that was pronounc'd, were led to Execution; making use of great boldness he went to meet Dangers: So that the furious Multitude of the Heathens standing round, were frequently not far from stoning of him, when he boldly came forth, and with great freedom of Speech communed with the Martyrs, and kiss'd them, had he not once miraculously escap'd, having the Right Hand of God for his assistance. The same Divine and Heavenly Grace at other times again and again (so that 'tis impossible to say how often,) preserv'd him from them who then laid wait for him, because of his exceeding Cheerfulness and Confidence in Preaching the Doctrine of Christ: Indeed, so great was the Hostility of the Infidels against him, (because such Multitudes were instructed by him in the things which appertain to the Holy Faith,) that having made a (d) Concourse, they set Soldiers to watch about the House in which he abode. And the Persecution against him waxed so hot daily, that all the whole City of Alexandria could no longer secure him; he removes indeed from House to House, but is driven from all places, because of the Multitude which through him were made Profelytes to the Divine Doctrine. For his common Actions contain'd the most admirable Rules of the truest Philosophy: Indeed, (as the common saying is) such as his Doctrine was, such was his manner of Life; and such as his manner of Life was, such he demonstrated his Doctrine to be: By this means especially, together with the Divine Power assisting him, he induc'd many to a zealous imitation of him. But when he saw many Scholars now flocking to him, (the exercise of Catechising being committed solely to him by Demetrius, who was Bishop of the Church,) supposing the teaching of Grammar disagreeable to his Studies in Divine Learning, he forthwith breaks off his Grammar-School, as unprofitable and contrary to the Sacred Learning. Then entering into a prudent Consideration with himself, how he might not stand in need of assistance from others, he sold all the Volumes he had of (e) Ancient Heathen Writers, which were most elaborately compiled, and was content with four \* Oboli a-day, that were brought him by the Buyer. For many Years he persevered in this Philosophical Course of Life, depriving himself of all (f) Matter [which might nourish] youthful Lusts; both undergoing no small labour of severe Exercise in the Day-time, and also assigning to himself the greater part of the Night for his Study in the Holy Scriptures, patiently persevering in the most Philosophical Life imaginable. Sometimes he inured himself to the Exercises of Fasting; at other

times to Hours measur'd out for his repose; which he would by no means enjoy upon a Bed, but made it his business to take it on the bare Ground, for he thought those Evangelical Words of our Saviour ought most especially to be observ'd, which exhort us not to (g) have two coats, nor to (h) wear shoes, nor to be sollicitous about the cares of the time to come. Moreover, with a Courage far greater than his Age, he patiently endured both Cold and Nakedness, and came to that height and extremity of Want, that he made those of his Acquaintance admire exceedingly. And he caus'd Grief in many, who entreated him that they might communicate of their Estates to him, because they saw him bring such Labours on himself for the Gospel's sake, but he remitted nothing of his Patience. 'Tis reported he walk'd upon the Ground barefoot many years, in no wise wearing any Shoes. And also for many years he abstain'd from the use of Wine, and from all other things, except necessary Sustainance; so that now he fell into a great danger of spoiling and turning his (i) Stomach. He deserv'dly excited most of his Scholars to imitate him; shewing them, who look'd upon him, such Examples of a Philosophical Life; inasmuch that now, not only the (j) Vulgar unbelieving Heathens, (k) but also they who were Learned Philosophers, were (l) through him brought to submit themselves to his Doctrine. And it came to pass that they who received by him in the bottom of their hearts sincerely the Faith of the Gospel, were famous in the time of the then Persecution: So that some of them after apprehension, finish'd their lives by Martyrdom.

by his means; and reads only *τὸ δὲ πρῶτον διδασκαλίας*, by his doctrine; which is the better reading; for the place seems to be corrupted, this [*τὸ δὲ πρῶτον*] creeping out of the Margin into the Text; or out of the line following into this place. The King's, and the May. MSS. alter [nothing here, but the Fok. MS. reads *τὸ καὶ πρῶτον διδασκαλίας*. Valef.]

# C H A P. IV.

How many of those who had been instructed by him became Martyrs.

THE first of them was the aforementioned Plutarchus, whom (when he was led to Execution) \* he of whom the Discourse is, accompanied to the last hour of his life, and again wanted little of being kill'd by the Men of his own City, as seeming the Cause of Plutarchus's Death. But then also the Providence of God preserv'd him. Next to Plutarch, the second of Origen's Disciples, that was a Martyr, was Serenus: Who by Fire gave a trial of the Faith which he had received. Heraclides was made the third Martyr of the same School. The fourth after him was (a) Heron: Both which Persons were beheaded, the former of them while he was yet learning the Principles of Christianity, the latter when he was newly (b) baptiz'd. Besides these, another Serenus, different from the former, is declar'd the fifth Champion of Piety [who came out] of this School: Who, 'tis reported, was punish'd with the loss of his Head, after a most patient sufferance of many Torments. And

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*Severus.*  
(c) I long  
since con-  
fessured

of women, (e) *Herai's*, who as yet was learning the Principles of Christianity, did as he himself somewhere says, depart this life, having received Baptism by Fire.

it shall be [*Herai's*] in one word, not [*Isais*], two words; which concludes I found confirmed by the Kings, and *Euseb. MSS.* Rufinus agrees hereto, who translates this place thus, *ad q. mulieres plurimas, in quibus Herai quendam Catechumena.* 'Tis a proper name derived from *Isais*, who is called in Greek *Herai*. Whence comes *Isais* *Herai's*, the name of an Egyptian Philosopher, concerning whom *See Suidas*. The Greeks celebrate the memory of this *Herai's* on the fourth, or rather the fifth day of *March*, as 'tis in the *Martyrology* set forth by *Caesius*. I am not certain whether this Person be the same with the *Isis*, the *Alexandrian* Virgin, who in the *Roman Martyrology* is said to have suffered *Martyrdom* (together with some others) at the City *Antioch* on *September 22*. In *Cardinal Sirletus's* *Martyrology*, at the fifth of *September*, these Words occur; *Natalis B. Martyris Rhaidis, que igne consumpta est* i. e. the birth-day of the *B. Martyr Rhaidis, who was burnt*. This is the same whom *Eusebius* mentions here. Therefore there were three *Herai's*; the first is the mentioned in the *Menologium*, at the fifth day of *March*. The second *Herai's* is the *Catechumena*, of whom mention is made in the *Martyrology*, on the fifth of *September*: The third *Herai's* the Egyptian Virgin, born at a place called *Tamma*; whose Father's name was *Peter*, a Presbyter: She suffered *Martyrdom* when she was twelve years old, as 'tis in the *Menologium*, at the 23d of *September*; where she is called *Herai's*: In the *Roman Martyrology* she is termed, *Isais*. *Valef.*

## CH A P. V.

### Concerning Potamiana.

LET *Basillides* be reckon'd the seventh among the, who lead the most renown'd *Potamiana* to Execution, concerning which Woman, even yet there is a famous report amongst the Inhabitants of those Countries, for that she combated many times with her Lovers, in defence of the Chastity and Virginity of her Body; for which she was famous: (For besides the Vigour of her Mind, there flourish'd in her a Comeliness of Body:) Who, having suffer'd many things for her Faith in Christ, at last, after grievous Torments and horrible to be related, was together with her Mother *Marcella* consumed by Fire. Moreover, they say that the Judge, (whose name

(a) This *Aquila* was Governor of *Egypt*, as *Eusebius* before relates in the 2d Chapter: At which time *Origen* was in the eighteenth year of his age. *Valef.*

(b) The *Gladiators* were commonly noted to be lascivious wicked Men; therefore *Aquila* threatened to deliver her to them, thinking she, who had such special care of her Chastity, would rather revolt from her Faith, than hazard the Purity of her Body, by being put into their Power.

ous amongst them.

receiv'd the definitive Sentence [of the Judge], and *Basillides*, one of the Military Apparitors, took and led her to Execution: But when the Multitude endeavour'd to molest and reproach her with

(c) *Ασπιδος*, properly signifies to fright Birds away, but here, as also in *Demosthenes*, it signifies to thrust able out of the way, *ασπιδος* *τις* *αυτης* *δρακονος*. *Demost.*

in good part the Man's commiseration shewn towards her, exhorts him to be of good courage, for when she was gone hence she would entreat her Lord for him, and within a little while she would make him a requital for what he had done for her. When she had spoken these things, they say the valiantly underwent death, not fear-

ding Pitch being leisurely, and by little and little, pour'd upon all the several Members of her Body, from the Sole of the Foot, to the Crown of the Head: such was the Combat fought by this famous Virgin. But not long after, *Basillides* upon some occasion being defired by his Fellow-Soldiers to swear, avouch'd 'twas not lawful for him to swear at all; for he was a Christian, and he openly confess'd it. At first they thought he only spake in jest, but when he constantly maintain'd it, he is brought before the Judge, and after he had made profession of his Steadfastness before him, he was put into Bonds: And when some of the Brethren in the Lord came to him, asking him what was the cause of this sudden and unexpected change, he is reported to have said, that *Potamiana*, three days after her *Martyrdom*, stood by him in the Night, put a Crown about his Head, and said, she had increased the Lord for him, and had obtain'd her request: And within a little while the Lord would take him up to himself. After these things the Brethren imparted to him the (d) Seal of the Lord; and the (d) *Sabbath* Day after, being famous for his Testimony of *John*, the Lord, he was beheaded: They relate, that many more throughout *Alexandria* came thick at that time to the Doctrine of Christ; to wit, such as *Potamiana* had avouch'd to in their sleep, and (e) invited them to be converted to the Gospel: But for these things let thus much suffice. (c) *Rufinus* translates this place

so as to make *Potamiana* *Origen's* Scholar; neither dare we contradict him in that. For although *Eusebius* does not mention it particularly, yet we may gather so much from this his Narration; for, reckoning up the *Martyrs* which were of *Origen's* School, he adds to them *Basillides* and *Potamiana*; whence 'tis collected these two also were his Disciples; and though we cannot for certain say *Basillides* was, yet 'tis probable *Potamiana* might be one of them. *Valef.*

## CH A P. VI.

### Concerning Clements Alexandrinus.

(a) *Clement*, who succeeded *Pantænus*, was (a) *There* Master of the Catecherick-School at *Alexandria* till this time. So that *Origen* when he connexion was a Boy was one of his Scholars: Moreover, betwixt this *Clement*, committing to writing the Subject of that Work of his, entitled *Stromateis*, in his first Volume explains the Series of Times, and determines his Computation at the Death of *Commodus* was *then* not then the Cate-chist at *Alexandria*; but *Origen* writes in the foregoing Book. And *Cairn* in his little *Labyrinth*, reckons him among the Ecclesiastical Writers which writ in the time of *Vittor*; the Words of *Cairn* are at the end of the 5th Book: Therefore *Rufinus* rightly places this and the following Chapter in the 5d Chapter of this Book, where he speaks of *Demetrius* the Bishop's committing the Office of Catechizing to *Origen*. *Valef.*

*Clement's* Scholar. Moreover concerning *Clement*, and his Books, *Eusebius* writes in the foregoing Book. And *Cairn* in his little *Labyrinth*, reckons him among the Ecclesiastical Writers which writ in the time of *Vittor*; the Words of *Cairn* are at the end of the 5th Book: Therefore *Rufinus* rightly places this and the following Chapter in the 5d Chapter of this Book, where he speaks of *Demetrius* the Bishop's committing the Office of Catechizing to *Origen*. *Valef.*

## CH A P. VII.

### Concerning Judas the Writer.

AT this time also lived *Judas* another Writer, who commented upon the Seventy Weeks in *Daniel*, and puts an end to his Computation of the Times at the Tenth year of *Severus's* Reign. His Opinion was, that even at that time the coming of Antichrist, which was so much talk'd of, drew nigh. So great a Disturbance did the raising of the Persecution then against us cause in many Men's Minds.

## CH A P.

Severus

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the bold Act of Origen.

AT this time while Origen perform'd the Office of Catechizing at Alexandria, an Act of an unripe and youthful Mind was committed by him, but which withal contain'd a most manifest token of Continence and true Faith: For he taking these words [*Some \* Eunuchs there are of Heaven's sake*] in the more simple meaning, unadvisedly like one of his juvenile years, thinking it both his duty to fulfil our Saviour's words, and also [considering] that during his youthful years he was to converse not only with Men, but Women, about the things which appertain to God; that he might exclude the Infidels from all suspicion of obscene flanders, his Mind was full bent to perform really our Saviour's words, taking great care that it might escape the knowledge of many of his Familiars: But it was impossible for him, altho' he was desirous, to conceal such a Fact. But when Demetrius understood it, as being then Governour of the Church there, he both greatly admires him for his boldness, and also, (having commended his alacrity of Mind, and sincerity of Faith,) forthwith encourages and excites him to a more diligent Employment about the Duty of Catechizing: For such at this time was [Demetrius'] opinion of this Act: But no long time after, when he saw Origen do well, and that he was famous, and well-reported of by all Men; being affected with the Frailties of Mankind, he endeavour'd by Letters, sent to all the Bishops in the World, to describe what was done as a most absurd action. (a) For the Bishops of *Cæsarea* and *Jerusalem*, the most approved and most famous of all the Prelates in *Palestine*, judging Origen worthy of Dignity and the highest pitch of Honours, had by Imposition of Hands ordain'd him Presbyter. Therefore when he had ascended to great Honour, and had purchas'd a name amongst Men in all places, and no small fame for his Virtue, and Wisdom; Demetrius, being furnish'd with no other Accusation, made a great and malicious complaint against that Act which he had done in his youth. Daring also to involve the Bishops in his Accusations who had promoted him to the Office of a Presbyter. These things were done a little after. But then Origen (b) freely and without any Impediment perform'd his Office of teaching the Divine Doctrine to all that came to him by Day or by Night; laboriously spending all his time either

(a) Eusebius here lets open the reason why Demetrius, who was formerly so much Origen's friend, should now so maliciously accuse him. (b) Eusebius here lets open the reason why Demetrius, who was formerly so much Origen's friend, should now so maliciously accuse him.

in his Priest. In which thing no small injury was done to Demetrius, both by the Bishops, and Origen; by Origen because he had yielded to be ordained by foreign Bishops; and by the Bishops, because by doing this they had manifested the Episcopacy of Alexandria into their Church. Moreover, there arises a difficult not to be pass'd by, viz. Why two Bishops together should ordain Origen? By this means he has power to sit in two Churches, and to communicate with other Priests. See the 22. and 27. Chapters following; where this conjecture is confirm'd. 'Twas the Order, when either Deacons or Priests were ordained, some Bishops should be present, that the Ordination might be more solemn, (says Innocentius in his Epistle to Marcellus the Bishop of Thence, in *Biblioth.* Chap. 11. 8. says that Theodotus solemnized the Ordination, but Alexander gave his approbation. Chrysostomus also says there were the names of the Bishops; Theodotus was Bishop of *Cæsarea*, and Alexander of *Jerusalem*. Valef.

(b) Αὐτοῦτος (the word here) has several significations; Rufinus explains it thus, *When a Man has free power to do a thing, all impediments being removed*; which explanation he so belies, for, before Origen made himself an Eunuch, for fear of a scandalous Report, he had taken care to be cautious of conversing with Women, and teaching them; but when he had unman'd himself, as he did, he might do it freely without suspicion. Valef.

in Divine Learning, or upon them who came to him. (c) After Severus had held the Empire eighteen years, his Son Antoninus succeeds him. At this time there liv'd one (d) Alexander, one of their number who had behav'd themselves manfully in the Persecution, and also by the Providence of God had been preserv'd after their Combats during their Confessions; him we before manifested to have been Bishop of the Church in *Jerusalem*. Now because he was famous for his Confession of Christ in the time of the Persecution, he is promoted to the afore-mention'd Bishoprick, whilst Narcissus, his Predecessor, was yet alive.

(d) Concerning this Alexander, Eusebius, in his *Chronicle*, in the 12. year of Severus's Reign, which was the second year of this Persecution, writes thus; Alexander was accounted famous for his confession of the Name of the Lord. Valef.

## C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Miracles of Narcissus.

THE Inhabitants of this Diocese report many Miracles of this Narcissus, by tradition deriv'd from a continued succession of the Brethren: Amongst which they relate such a like Miracle as this done by him. 'Tis reported that on the great Vigils of *Easter* the Minister's Oil fail'd them, for which great pensiveness of Mind having seiz'd the whole Multitude, Narcissus gave command to them who took care of the Lights, that they should draw Water out of the Well which was nearest at hand, and bring it to him; which being forthwith done, he pray'd over the Water, and commanded them to pour the Water into the Lamps with a sincere Faith in the Lord. When they had done this also, contrary to all reason and expectation, by a miraculous and Divine Power, the Nature of Water was chang'd into the (A) Flames of Oil. Some small Specimen of this Miracle then done, has been preserv'd amongst many of the Brethren for a long time, even from that to our Age. They also relate several other things worth remembrance concerning this Man's Life. Amongst which there is such a Story as this: Some vile Fellows who could not endure this Person's Vigour, and his Perseverance in leading of a pious Life, fearing lest when they were caught they should suffer Punishment, because they were conscious to themselves of many evil Actions, they resolv'd to prevent him by catching up a Plot against him, and utter a grievous Calumny against him. Then, that they might persuade the Hearers to credit them, they confirm'd their Accusations with Oaths: One of them swore it was true which he said, or he wist'd he might be consum'd by Fire; another, if 'twas not true, that his Body might be wasted by some terrible unhappy (b) Disease.

(a) Εὐε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποκρίσας, into the nature or quality of Oil; we should rather read it αἰῶνας, the flames of oil. Rufinus translates it thus, *aque natura in olei pinguedinem versa*, and in *Altera's* Book 'tis so corrected in the Margins of the *Pat. MS.* also reads αἰῶνας. Valef.

(b) Εὐε δὲ αὐτὸς ἀποκρίσας, into the nature or quality of Oil; we should rather read it αἰῶνας, the flames of oil. Rufinus translates it thus, *aque natura in olei pinguedinem versa*, and in *Altera's* Book 'tis so corrected in the Margins of the *Pat. MS.* also reads αἰῶνας. Valef.

But *Langus* calls it *morbus fontis*, the falling-sickness. Chrysostomus, *morbus fevus* & scilicet, an imposture, or cruel and filthy disease; which comes nearest to Rufinus's Version: For by this *morbus Regius* he means the Leprosy, as appears by what follows. For in the 10. Book and 25. Chapter he speaks thus of *Eugenius*; *vir corpore & animo Leprosus*, & under this, extending words *Regio corrupta*. *Gregorius Nyssenus* also in his first Book against *Pamphilus* certainly affirms he was a Leper, pag. 307. *Οὐδὲν αὖτε ἐν οὐκ ὀνόματι λέγειται, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ πᾶσι τῷ κατὰ τὸν νόμον διαγνωσθέντι, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου ἐκ τῶν ἰατρικῶν ἀποδείξεων λαμβανόμενον*. He who goes into another Man's house not in natural abhorrence they who are found here towards those who are infected. Hieronymus in the Life of *Isidore* speaks thus of his scholar *Albanus*, *Post aliquantum temporis computuit morbo Regio*. Valef.

and

Antoninus; and the third, that he might be deprived of his Sight: But none of the Faithful gave heed to 'em, altho' they swore thus, because *Narcissus's* Continency was always resplendent amongst all Men, and his Course of Life most eminently virtuous and pious: But he being in no-wise able to endure the Wickedness of what had been said against him; and, besides this, for a long time being desirous to embrace a Philosophical Life, retir'd from the whole Congregation of his Church, and liv'd many years, lying hid in Solitudes and in obscure Fields. But the great Eye of Justice could not quietly wink at what was done; but was quickly revenged upon these wicked Men by those *Curfes*

(c) *Kαὶ ἐπεὶ ἐπαυροῦντο.* The interpreters seem not to have rightly understood this place. *Eusebius's* meaning is this, those persons liv'd in Solitudes, but not against themselves, against *Narcissus*, but against themselves, alluding without doubt to that of the Psalmist, *be'th' myself to myself*. For credit often falls upon the Author's own head, tho' he intends it for another. *Valj.*

(d) *Συμφοῦν* son's Body was totally infected from the bottom of his Heart to his Head with the Disease he punish'd himself with. But the third, seeing the End of the two former, and fearing the unavoidable Vengeance of the All-seeing God, (e) publicly confess'd to all what they had plotted together in common amongst themselves; and he pin'd away with to great complaints, repenting of what he had done, and never ceas'd weeping so long, till he lost both his Eyes. And these suffer'd such Punishments for their lying Accusation.

(e) *Ὁμοθυμῶντες ἐν φόβῳ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ βιβλίῳ.* (e) *Ὁμοθυμῶντες ἐν φόβῳ, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῳ βιβλίῳ.* So the King's MS. reads, but the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>d</sup> MS. read *ὁμοθυμῶντες* which took the following Word *ἐκείνῳ* confirms. *Valj.*

## CHAP. X.

Concerning the Bishops of Jerusalem.

When *Narcissus* was retired, it being altogether unknown where he was, 'twas the Opinion of the Bishops of the bordering Churches that they should proceed to the Ordination of another Bishop. This Man's name was *Dionysius*. To him having prestid no long time *Germanus* was Successor. *Gordius* succeeds him, in his time from some place or other *Narcissus* again appear'd, as risen from death to life, and is immediately invited by the Brethren to his Bishoprick; all Men admiring him much more both for his Retreat, and also for his Philosophick [Course of life:]. But above all for the Reveng which was vouchsafed him from God [upon his Accusers.]

## CHAP. XI.

Concerning Alexander.

*Narcissus* being no longer able to officiate by reason of his very great Age, the Providence of God by Revelation made known to him in a Vision by Night, and call'd the fore-mention'd *Alexander* Bishop of another Church to be Co-adjutor in the Discharge of his Office. By this Revelation therefore, as if he had been warn'd by some Oracle from God, *Alexander* made a Jour-

ney to Jerusalem from Cappadocia (where he had *Antoninus*, before been honour'd with a Bishoprick,) upon account both of praying there, and also of seeing the places: The Brethren there received him most kindly; and would not permit him to return home, because of another Revelation, made

known also to them by night, and at a voice most plainly utter'd to some who were the most eminent for Piety amongst them: For it told them if they went out of their Gates, they should meet him who was predestin'd by God to be their Bishop. When they had done this with the common consent of the Bishops who govern'd the Churches round about, they forc'd him of necessity to continue there. Indeed, *Alexander* himself, in his own Epistles to the *Antiochians* which are preserved amongst us till this time, makes mention of *Narcissus's* Presidency together with him; writing thus word for word, at the end of that Epistle: "Narcissus salutes you who before me govern'd this Episcopal See, and he now is my (c) Associate in Prayer, being an hundred and sixteen years old, and exhorts you to be of the same mind with me." These things were thus done. Now when *Serapion* was dead, *Arsilepiades* succeeded in the Bishoprick of the Church of Antiochia. And he also was famous for his Confessions in the time of Persecution. *Alexander* also makes mention of his Consecration, writing thus to the *Antiochians*; "Alexander the Servant and Prisoner of Jesus Christ, sendeth greeting in the Lord to the Blessed Church of the Antiochians. The Lord made my Bonds ease and light in the time of my (d) imprisonment, when I heard that by Divine Providence *Arsilepiades* (a Man most fit by reason of the worthiness of his Faith) was intrusted with the care of the whole Church of the Antiochians." He of Persepolis signifies that he sent this Epistle by *Clemens*, writing thus in this manner, at the End. "I have sent while he these Lettersto you, (my Lords and Brethren) was in prison, by (e) *Clemens* a blessed Presbyter, a virtuous person, and approved Person, whom ye have known, and shall know better; who, while he was ed to the here, by the Providence and Care of God confirm'd and increas'd the Church of the Lord."

(a) *Μὴν τὸν ὁμοθυμῶντες.* *Christophorus*, and *Asclepiades* after the reading thus *ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐπαυροῦντο* which also *Nicophorus* follows; but the reading ought not to be alter'd. *Rufinus* very well corrects this Story of *Eusebius's* (which he makes something obscure) thus. He says that that Revelation concerning *Alexander* was sent by God to *Narcissus* and other holy Men; but the voice was heard by all Men: Here *Rufinus*, like a good Interpreter, lightly corrects what the Author says amiss, *Valj.*

(b) *Nicophorus* and *Isidorus* write that *Narcissus* also was aged; which without doubt he did. Here are two things contrary to the Canon of the Church committed in the Election of *Alexander*, first his Translation from one Bishoprick to another; secondly, that he was joy'd as an assistant to another Bishop while he was yet alive, which was always forbid in the Council of Sardis. *Valj.*

(c) *Συνεπιστάμενος μετ' ἐμοῦ ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ.* *Rufinus* and *Christophorus* do not translate this place well; but *Hieronymus* renders it truly according to the sense, though not word for word, he translates it thus: *Narcissus salutes you who before me govern'd the Bishoprick, and now governs the same in Prayers with me.* *Alexander's* meaning was undoubtedly this; That, *Narcissus* only assisted him in Prayers, but in no other part of the Office of Bishop. Which makes him add, that he was an hundred and sixteen years old, signifying thereby that he performed the Office, and *Narcissus* being very old had only the Title, and Name of Bishop. *Valj.*

(d) *Ἐν τῇ ἐπιφυλάξει.* (d) *Ἐν τῇ ἐπιφυλάξει.* *Alexander* writes thus in this Epistle to the *Antiochians*. "The Lord made my Bonds ease and light in the time of my imprisonment, when I heard that by Divine Providence *Arsilepiades* (a Man most fit by reason of the worthiness of his Faith) was intrusted with the care of the whole Church of the Antiochians." He of Persepolis signifies that he sent this Epistle by *Clemens*, writing thus in this manner, at the End. "I have sent while he these Lettersto you, (my Lords and Brethren) was in prison, by (e) *Clemens* a blessed Presbyter, a virtuous person, and approved Person, whom ye have known, and shall know better; who, while he was ed to the here, by the Providence and Care of God confirm'd and increas'd the Church of the Lord."

(e) *Hieronymus* (in Catalogo) conjectures this to be *Clemens Alexandrinus*. *Clemens Alexandrinus* certainly liv'd till the times of *Severus*, and travelled into these Countreys, as he witnesses in the first Book of his *Stromatean*, he was also a familiar Friend of *Alexander* the Bishop, for to him he dedicates his work concerning the Canon of the Church, as *Eusebius* writes in the 13 Chapter of this Book. *Valj.*

C H A P. XII.

Concerning Serapion, and his Books that are extant.

IT IS likely that other Monuments of (a) Serapion's Studiousness and Learning are preserved amongst other Men; but those [Writings] only came to our hands which he wrote to one Dominus, a Man who in time of Persecution fell from the Faith in Christ to the Jewish Superstition: And what he wrote to Pontius and Caricus, Ecclesiastical Men; and other Epistles to other Persons. Another Book also was composed by him, concerning that Book intitled *The Gospel according to Peter*; which Book he wrote to confute the Errors in that, for some Men's sakes in the Church of (b) Rhodse, who, taking an occasion from the forefald Gospel, inclined to Heterodox Doctrines. Out of which Book 'twill not be unfit to set down some few words, in which he sets forth the Opinion he had concerning that Book, writing thus: 'For we, my Brethren, do admit of Pe-

ter and the other Apostles, as of Christ himself; but, like wise Men, we reject those Writings which are forged in their (c) names, knowing that we have received no such [Books.] For I, when I came to you, thought all of you had adhered to the right Faith. And when I read not the Gospel which was offer'd me, that bears Peter's name, I said, if this be the only thing which seems to breed this dejected Spirit in you, let it be read. But now understanding, from what has been told me, that their Minds were cover'd with some Herefie, I will make haste to come to you again; wherefore, Brethren, expect me suddenly: But we, Brethren, have found out what Herefie Marcianus was of, for he contradicted himself, not understanding what he said, which you shall understand by some things which have been written to you. For we have been able to (d) borrow this very Gospel of some who have been continually exercised in it, (that is of some of their Successors who preceded Marcianus, whom we call Doctae, for many of [Marcianus's] Tenets are derived from their Doctrines,) and read it; and we find indeed many things agreeable to the true Doctrine of Christ: But some things that are particularly to be excepted against and avoided, which all we have here subjoin'd upon your account."

And thus much concerning Serapion's Books.

of which Hereticks Marcianus was one. The Translator takes no notice in this place of that Heretical Sect called the Doctae. They held that Christ was not really Incarnate, nor did truly suffer, but in opinion only. Clements Alexandrinus in his 7th Book *Stromat.* and also Theodoret in his Book *Divinorum Decretorum* mentions them. The Ring-leader of this Sect was one Julius Cassianus, as Clement tells us in his Third Book. Valef.

C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Writings of Clemens.

Clemens's (a) *Stromata's*, which are in all eight Books, are extant amongst us, which Books very well he thus intitled, *The Variegated Contexture of this Title* (b) *Discourses of Titus Flavius Clemens, concerning all things which appertain to the knowledge of the true Philosophy*: Of the same number with these are his Books intitled *Institutiones*: In which he by name mentions *Pantenus*, as being his Master, and he writes down his (c) Opinions he had receiv'd concerning the scope of Scripture, and explains his Traditions. He has also an *Horatory discourse* to the Gentiles: And three Books intitled *The Tutor*. And another Book of his (with this Title, *What Rich Man can be saved?*) And a Book concerning Easter. *Disputations also concerning Fasting*: And concerning *Detraction*: And an *Exhortation to Patience* to those who were newly baptized. And a Book intitled *The Ecclesiastick Canon, or against those who Judaized*, which Book he dedicated to Alexander the forementio'd Bishop. Moreover, in his *Stromata* he does not only compose miscellaneous Discourses out of the Holy Writings, but he also mentions some things out of the Gentile Writers, if any thing seems profitable which was spoken by them: He also explains various Opinions [which occur] in several Books both of the Greeks and Barbarians. He moreover confutes the false Opinions of the Arch-Hereticks. He lays open much of History, affording us large subject-matter of several sorts of Learning. Amongst all these he intermixes the Philosophers Opinions. Hence he fitly made the Title *Stromata*, answerable to the Subject of the Book. In the same Book he produces Authorities out of those Scriptures which are not allow'd of [as Canonical;] out of that which is call'd *The Wisdom of Solomon*, and out of the Book of *Iesus the Son of Sirac*: And out of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. And out of the [Epistles] of *Barabas*, *Clement*, and *Jude*. He also makes mention of *Tatianus's* Book *against the Grecians*, and of *Cassianus*, (d) who also made a *Chronography*. Moreover, he mentions *Philo*, (e) *Arifbholus*, (f) *Josephus*, *Demetrius*, and *Eupolemus*, Jewish Writers, who all have proved by their Writings, that

several thus, *Opus varic contextum*. Plutarch calls some Books of his, which are part Hilory, and part Poetry, *σχυρα*. Eusebius takes the Books to be so call'd from the divers sorts of matter which they treat of, and so says *Baronius* in his *Annals*, and *Suidas* in his *Hilory*: *ἐκμάται*, in Greek signifies *Carpets* or *Hanging*; which were woven of divers colours: Hence these Books are metaphorically entituled *σχυρα*, from the mixture of things they treat of: For he intermixes *Grecian*, *Barbarian*, and *Latine* Opinions, confutes Hereticks, and composes a kind of a various Hilory. *Plotius Biblioth.*

(b) *Τραχυμάται* (which is the term here,) are such Writings as contain only the Heads, and some Particulars of some special things; or, as *Clement* in *Ferren* says, *σύντομα*, *σύντομα* que dant concinnitate, nec in vulgus offeruntur: But now the word has got a larger signification.

(c) *Langus* renders this word *ἑξέταξας*, *Dilates*, *Musculus* verbally, *Exceptionis*, *Rafusius*, *Expofitionis*, and *Christophorus*, *Commentarii* upon the *Scripturas*, but none of them sufficiently explain the Propriety of the Word: *ἑξέταξας* are the Sense and Meaning of *Scriptura*. So *Origen* uses it in his 4th Book *De Principiis*, Chap. 2, speaking of the double Sense of Scripture, that is, the literal, and the spiritual Sense; and so also does *Methodius*, *Ephraimus* and *Diogenes* *Alexandrinus* use the term. Valef.

(d) Their words are *ἑξέταξας*, made *Rafusius* believe, that the preceding person *Tatianus* wrote a *Chronography* as well as *Cassianus*: But we must in no-wise think that true. Valef.

(e) Some Copies read, *ἑξέταξας*, but in all our MSS. and in *Nicphorus's* *de dogmatibus*. This *Arifbholus* here is that famous *Arifbholus* the Peripatetic who wrote Books of the *Explications of the Assigned Law to Ptolomy Philometor*, as *Eusebius* records in his *Chronicle*, and he produces a Fragment of these Books, in his 8th Book *Preparations*. *Origen* also mentions something of these Books in his 4th Book against *Cassius*, pag. 204. Valef.

C. H. A. P.

C H A P. XV.

Concerning Heraclas.

**B**UT when he perceiv'd himself not supplied with sufficient Strength both for the more profound study of Divinity, for his Researches into, and Interpretation of the Holy Scriptures, and moreover for the Catechizing of them who came to him; (having scarce time to breath, so many flocking together to him; one Company after another coming from Morning to Evening to his School; ) he divided the Multitudes, and electing *Heraclas*, one of his Familiars, made him his Assistant in Catechizing; a Man who was very studious in Divinity, most eminently skilful in other Learning; and one who was not unexperienced in Philosophy. He commits the Instruction of the New-beginners to him, but reserves to himself the hearing of those who had made some proficiency.

C H A P. XVI.

What Pains and Study Origen bestow'd about the Holy Scriptures.

**O**Rigen now intended to make such accurate Researches into the Holy Scriptures, that he learn'd the *Hebrew* Tongue; and bought the (a) Authentick Scriptures written in *Hebrew* Letters, which were extant amongst the *Jews*. And he searched after other Editions of Translators of the Sacred Scriptures besides the *Seventy*. And he sought out some other Versions besides those (b) common ones of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, and *Theodotion*, different from them; which he, having search'd out, first brought to light, from I know not whence, nor out of what Corners, having been forgotten for a long time: Concerning which, because he was uncertain who were the Authors of them, by reason of their Obscurity, he only noted this, that one of them was by him found at (c) *Nicopolis* near *Athium*; and another at some other place. Moreover, in his *Hexapla* of the *Psalms*, after those four excellent Editions, he adds (d) not only a fifth, and sixth, but also a

seventh Version; and upon one of them again he has noted, that it was found at *Jericho* in an Hogs-head, in the times of *Antoninus* the Son of *Severus*. When he had thus collected all these Versions into one body, and divided them into (e) Verses, (f) having placed them directly one against the other, together with (g) the *Hebrew* Text, he left us those Copies which are called (h) *Hexapla*. He (i) afterwards prepared apart by themselves, *Aquila's*, *Symmachus's*, and *Theodotion's* Edition, together with the *Septuagint*, [and put them out] in his *Tetrapla*.

*Sense.* *Hierom* was the first amongst the *Latins*, who divided his Translation into Verses: See his Preface to *Isaiah*. This he did in imitation of *Origen*, who had done the same in his *Hexapla*. *Origen* herein had a regard to the profit of the Readers. For what is thus distinguish'd by Verses, is both more easily understood, and also more readily gotten by heart. Besides, this distinction was altogether necessary in order to a comparing of the *Greek* Editions. *Origen's* Example was afterwards followed by many; who did the same in the *New Testament*, which *Origen* had done in the Old. *Vale!*

(f) This was another of *Origen's* inventions, to wit, the placing of the Translations one against the other; that so, if one differed from another, it might be presently discerned by one view. See *Hierom*, in his Preface to *Chromatius*, upon the *Chronicles*. *Vale!* See a Scheme of *Origen's* Contrivance herein in Dr. *Carr's* Life of *Origen*, pag. 223.

(g) *Enusis* (the term which occurs here) signifies properly Annotation; See Book 5, Chap. 20, note (d). But *Eusebius* does here call the *Hebrew* Text, *enusis*, because 'twas prefix'd before the six *Greek* Translations; in like manner as in Comments the words of the Author are prefix'd before the Exposition: This term [*enusis*] signifies not only the Exposition, but the Text, at which the Exposition is fixt. *Vale!*

(h) From this place 'tis evident, that this work of *Origen's* was called *Hexapla*, because there were six *Greek* Translations contained in it, besides the *Hebrew* Text, which was written in two Columns two manner of ways, in the one in *Hebrew*, in the other in *Greek* Letters. See *Epiphanius*, *Heret. Originist.* cap. 3. And the reason why this Work was thus termed, is plain; for, as the *Tetrapla* were so called, because they contained four *Greek* Translations collected into one Body; so the *Hexapla* were thus termed, because they comprehended six *Greek* Versions, to wit, that of *Aquila*, *Symmachus*, the *Seventy-two*, *Theodotion*, and lastly the fifth and sixth Translation. But the *Hebrew* Text must not be reckoned amongst the Versions; that being the Original. *Zonaras* (in his *History* of the Emperor *Severus*) is of the same Opinion with us, and explains this place of *Eusebius* (though he mentions not his Name) as we do. *Vale!*

(i) The *Mag. Abud.* and *Fab. MSS.* have it written [*ἑκτονισμῶν* -] which is all one as if *Eusebius* should have said [*ἑκτονισμῶν* ἀπὸ τῆς καὶ ἑκτονισμῶν; i.e. after the Edition of his *Hexapla*; having prepared, &c.] For when *Origen* perceived that his *Hexapla* required too much toil and labour, he compos'd his *Tetrapla*, (which were more ready and useful) having taken away the two Editions of the *Hebrew* Text, and the fifth, sixth, and seventh Translation. Hitherto it has been the Opinion of the Learned, that *Origen* made his *Tetrapla* before his *Hexapla*; *Usher* (in *Synag. de Sept. Interpret.* cap. 5.) and *Salmassius* (in his Book *De Lingua Hebraica*) are of this Opinion. But this passage in *Eusebius*, in which it is corrected by the Authority of our *MSS.* Copies) does wholly confute it. *Vale!*

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning Symmachus the Translator.

**M**OREOVER, we must understand that this *Symmachus*, one of the Translators, was an *Ebionite*. For there is an Heretic called the Heresie of the *Ebionites*, who say that Christ was borne of *Joseph* and *Mary*, and suppose him to have been meer Man, who also stily affirm that the Law ought to be strictly observ'd according as the *Jews* kept it, as we have before made known somewhere in our *History*. *Symmachus's* Commentaries are even yet extant; in which he seems to confirm the foresaid Heresie, disputing

*Antoninus* (a) disputing strongly against *Matthew's Gospel*: *Origen* tells us that he received these, together with other Interpretations of *Symmachus's* of the Scriptures, from one *Julianus*, upon whom, he says, these Books of *Symmachus's* devolved by right *Matthew's* of Succession.

to be genuine: But that Gospel of the *Ebionites* was not the same Gospel of *St. Matthew* which we now have, but a forged one, and which wanted the Genealogy of *Christ*, as *Epiphanius* declares (*in Harp. Ebion.*) For the Gospel according to the *Hebrews*, which they made use of, (as *Eusebius* says Book 3. Chap. 25. where he Note (c).) they called the Authentic Gospel of *St. Matthew*. Their Words therefore [μετὰ τὸν ἀποστόλου] *Matthew's* Gospel, which we read thus [disputing strongly against *Matthew's Gospel*] to wit, and the true Gospel of *St. Matthew*. From this *Symmachus* the *Ebionites* were afterwards termed *Symmachians*, because he strongly asserted their opinions. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XVIII.

## Concerning Ambrosius.

*Antoninus* (a) T this time *Ambrosius* ((a) who favour'd the *Valentinian* Heresie) being convinc'd by the Truth preach'd by *Origen*, and having his Mind cleared as it were with light, assents to the Doctrine of the Orthodox Faith of the Church. And (*Origen's* fame being noised abroad every-where) to several Men of great learning flock'd to him, intending to make trial of this Man's sufficiency in the Scriptures. Also infinite multitudes of Heretics, and not a few Philosophers, and them most famous, gave (b) diligent attention to him, almost like Scholars learning from him, besides Divinity, those things which appertain to \* External Philosophy: For he initiated (c) those, whom he perceiv'd to have acute Parts into Philosophical Learning; teaching them *Geometry*, and *Astronomy*, and the other previous Sciences: Also guiding them into the knowledge of the various Sects among Philosophers; explaining the Writings of *Aristotle*, and commenting on them, and searching into all things. So that even amongst the *Gentiles* this Man was openly declar'd to be a great Philosopher. He also incited many to be of meaner Capacities to the study of the Liberal Sciences; telling them that from hence would accrue to them no small benefit and preparation for the contemplation of the Divine Scriptures: For which reason he esteemed the study of Secular and Philosophical Literature most necessary for himself.

*Origen* tells in the *Prooemium* of his fifth Tome of *Explications* on *St. John's Gospel*, where he commends *Ambrosius* for relinquishing those dangerous Principles. But some will have *Ambrosius* not to have been a *Valentinian*, but a *Marcellian*, and *Epiphanius* is of that opinion. *Valef.*

(b) *Theophrastus* were signifies to give attention to any one, [so as to learn something from him, or to come often to any one, to learn as Scholars]. And therefore he adds παραρτὸν μετὰ σχολῆς, almost like Scholars. *Valef.*

\* That is, *Grecian* Philosophy. (c) That is, who were his Scholars. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIX.

What things have been recorded concerning *Origen* [by the Gentiles.]

THE Heathen Philosophers who flourished in his Age are Witnesses of his great proficiency in these Studies: In whose Writings we have found frequent mention of this Man; [some of them] both dedicating their Books to him, and also delivering up their private Labours to his Censure, as to a Master. But I need not speak

of these things, when as (a) *Porphyrius*, (who lived *Antoninus* in *Sicily* [almost] till our Age, having written some Books against us, and in them endeavour'd to cavil at the Holy Scriptures, when he had mentioned those Men who made explications upon them) was unable in any wife to cait

any bafe Alperſion upon their Opinions, and through want of Arguments betakes himſelf to railing, and reviles the Commentators. Of whom he attempts chiefly to reproach *Origen*, ſaying, that when he was young, he knew him; but he unawares commends the Man; partly by ſpeaking the truth in ſome things where he could not do otherways; and partly by lying, wherein he thought he ſhould eſcape being detected. Sometimes he accuſes him as being a Chriſtian; by and by, he admires, and deſcribes the acceſſion he made to Philoſophick Literature. Hear therefore what he ſays word for word: 'Some Men, deſirous to find out not, a deſecution from the pravity of the Jewiſh Scriptures, but an explication [of the Obſcurities in them] have betaken themſelves to Expofitions, which have no agreement nor coherence with thoſe Scriptures, and which contain the Author's approbation and praife, rather than a defence of thoſe ſtrange Sectaries. For, having boaſted that what things were plainly ſpoken by *Mofes* were obſcure Riddles, allowing them the Authority of, and quoting them as, Divine Oracles full of hidden Myſteries; and having (b) bewitched the Judg-<sup>(b) Reſe</sup> ments and Minds of Men, with their Pride, <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> they afterwards put forth their Expofitions. <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> Then after ſome few words he ſays; 'Let an Ex-<sup>(c) Ex</sup> ample of this Abſurdity be taken from a Man, <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> whom I ſaw when I was (c) very young, being a <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> perſon then of great repute, and yet eminent <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> ly renowned upon account of his Writings miſtaken <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> which he left behind him, I mean *Origen*, by <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> whoſe Renown is very much ſpread abroad <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> amongſt the Teachers of thoſe Doctrines. <sup>καὶ τὴν</sup> For this Man having been an (d) Hearer and Chriſtopher

*philosophus* was a *Tyrian* by birth, and was lik called *Adelius*, which in *Syriac* ſignifies a King; But afterwards, by his Maſter *Longinus* a *Platonick*, whom he was an Auditor of at *Athenis*, he was called *Porphyrius*, which ſignifies one cloath'd in Purple, a King; becauſe Kings only wore the true purple. *St. Hieron* ſays he was a *Yew*, born in the City of *Batanae* whence he call him *Batanator* or *Batanatus*; *Some* attells that this Man was once a Chriſtian, but could not endure the reproofs of thoſe Chriſtian who reprovd him, and therefore turn'd an Aſophate. *Lactantius*, who lived in his time, ſays, he wrote his Books againſt the Chriſtians in the ſame year the Emperour pull'd down the Churches; but *St. Hieron* affirms he left his Maſter *Plotinus*, and *Rome*, and went to *Sicily* for his health's ſake, and dwelt at *Lilybaeum*; where he wrote thoſe Books: But we ought rather to believe *Lactantius*, who lived in his time. *St. Ambroſius* ſays there were two *Porphyrius's*; one who liv'd in *Sicily* a famous Man; and another who wrote againſt the Chriſtians: But all agree that 'twas one and the ſame *Porphyrius* the *Platonick* who lived in *Sicily*, and wrote againſt the Chriſtians. *Baronius's* *Annals*.

(c) 'Tis probable *Origen* was then by *Porphyrius* in his younger days in the City of *Tyre*, where *Origen*, having left *Alexandria*, ſtaid ſome time. For *Porphyrius* was a *Tyrian*; and he was a young Man at the ſame time when *Origen* made his abode at *Tyre*. But *Porphyrius* could by no means ſee *Origen* at *Alexandria* when he was an old Man; becauſe when *Origen* left *Alexandria* he was not compleat fifty years old. *Valef.*

(d) We muſt believe *Porphyrius*, whenas he ſo expreſly affirms lets, that *Origen* *Adamantius* (ſo he was call'd) was an Auditor of *Adamantius* *Alexandrianus*. But amongſt the Auditors of *Adamantius* there was at that time another *Origen*, School-fellow to *Hieronymus* and *Plotinus*; mentioned by *Porphyrius* (*in viſit Plotini*); by *Longinus* (*in his Book de fine*); by *Eusebius*, and *Eucherius* (*in his Book De Providentia*) *Baronius* (*in his Annals*); and *Lucas Holſtenius* (*in 2 and 6 cap. De vitâ Scriptipſe Porphyrii*); ſuppoſed this *Origen* to have been the ſame Perſon with *Origen* *Adamantius*. But I diſſent from them, for theſe two reaſons eſpecially. (1.) *Longinus* the Philoſopher (*in his Book* *De*

De fine reckons *Ammonius* and *Origen*, (Platonick Philosophers) amongst those, who would not commit to writing their Opinions for the benefit of Posterity, but thought it sufficient to deliver them by word of Mouth to their Auditors. If any thing be written by any of them, (these are the words of *Longinus*), as indeed *Origen* did write one Book *De Demonibus*, it is very little: For they seemed not to have made it their business to write Books. These Words cannot be supposed to have been spoken of *Origen Adamantius*, who 'tis manifest, was a Voluminous Writer, as the Catalogue of his Works recorded by *Eusebius* does manifestly. Moreover, *Porphyrius* (in these Words of his here quoted by *Eusebius*) says, *Origen* was eminently renowned upon account of his Writings which he left behind him. (2.) *Porphyrius* (in his Life of *Plotinus*, not far from the beginning) has these Words: But when *Herennius*, *Origen*, and *Plotinus* had agreed amongst themselves, that they would not publish the Opinions of *Ammonius*, which having heard from him they approved of as most especially pure and refined; *Plotinus* was as good as his Word: But *Herennius* first broke the Compact; and afterwards *Origen* followed him: But *Origen* wrote nothing besides a Book concerning *Demons*, and a piece in *Galienus*'s time, wherein he praised that the King was the only Poet. The last Book *Origen* wrote in praise of *Galienus* the Emperor, to commend his Poetical faculty. For *Galienus* was given to Poetry; and there are some nuptial Verses of his extant amongst the fragments of *Parasani Arbitrator*. Now, if it be true, that this *Origen*, School-fellow to *Plotinus*, wrote this Book under *Galienus* the Emperor, doubtless he must necessarily be distinguished from *Origen Adamantius*. For *Origen Adamantius* survived not the times of *Galienus*, but died when *Galus* and *Valerianus* were Emperors, in the year of Christ 252, having completed the sixty ninth year of his age. Valef.

*Ammonius* of that *Ammonius*, who in our Age made a great Proficiency in Philosophy; as for his Knowledge in Philosophick Literature he professed much by this Master. But as concerning a right course of life, he undertook a way quite contrary to him: For *Ammonius*, having been educated a Christian by Christian Parents, when he arrived to Understanding, and [the knowledge of] Philosophy, quickly betook himself to a course of life which was agreeable to the Laws. But *Origen* being a Gentile and brought up in the Learning of the Grecians, diverted to the (e) Impudence of the Barbarians. Being devoted to this [Religion] he (f) corrupted both himself, and also that proficiency he had made in Philosophick Learning: As to his manner of life he lived like a Christian, and contrary to the Laws: but in respect of his Opinions concerning things, and concerning God, he imitated the Grecians, (g) substituting the Sayings of the Heathens in the room of those strange Fables. For he was continually conversant in *Plato*'s [Works,] and in those of *b) Numenius* and *Cronius*, and revolved the Works of (i) *Apollonius* and (k) *Lamproclaudius*. This barbarous Impudence, to despise the Roman Gods, and the Emperor's Edicts, to be fore'd by no Torments or Persecutions to sacrifice to those Heathen Gods. Valef.

(f) Κατασκευάζει, *Catharticos*, to sell if we, or to keep a Vitualling-house. Now because these *Catharticos* us'd to cheat the buyers, by mixing and dashing their Wines, and to enrich themselves; this Word is us'd to adulterate or corrupt; as here, and likewise in holy Writ, in the second Epistle to the Corinthians, Chap. 2. 17. we find, a κατασκευάζειτε τὸ λόγον, not carrying the Word of God. Valef.

(g) ὁμοκατασκευάζει; *Porphyrius* takes this Metaphor from *Hucksters*, who, by counterfeiting, take Wares for true, circumvent the buyers: For ὁμοκατασκευάζει signifies to follow, to lay one thing for another: Hence κατασκευάζει, a changing, a false Child left in the place of one taken away. Thus *Porphyrius* says *Origen* plays the *Huckster*. Valef.

(h) *Origen* quotes this *Numenius* in his Books against *Heretics*: He was a famous Pythagorean, born at *Apamea* in *Syria*. *Longinus*, in his Book *De Fine*, mentions these Philosophers, *Numenius*, *Cronius* and *Moderatus*; who, he says, connected *Pythagoras*'s and *Plato*'s Opinions together. *Cronius*'s Book περὶ μετεωρολογίας is quoted by *Nemesius* in his Book *De Naturâ Hominis*, Cap. 2. Valef.

(i) *Apollonius* is called by *Stobæus*, in his ἐκλογαί, the Son of *Ægimius*. Valef.

(k) This was *Cassius Longinus* who has only one Book extant at this day, entitled *De Sublimi Genere dicendi*; most Men think he was a Grammarian; but he profess'd Philosophy, as *Suidas* and others testify: He was *Porphyrius*'s Master in Platonic Philosophy at *Athens*. He liv'd in *Origen*'s time, and was younger than him, and died a long time after him, 'tis a wonder therefore that *Porphyrius* should reckon him amongst the ancient Philosophers. Valef.

*ginus*; and (l) *Moderatus*, and *Nicomachus*, and *Antoninus* the Works of all the famous Men amongst the (1) This *Pythagoreans*; he also made use of the Works of (m) *Charmæon the Stoick*, and of (n) *Cornutus* who was born at *Gades*, now call'd *Cadix*, an Island on the South-side of *Spain* (without the Straits of *Gibraltar*): He wrote eleven Books, ἀγρίων τετρακταρίων, Concerning *Nicomachus*; See *Plotinus* and *Suidas*. Valef.

(m) *Charmæon* was a Stoick Philosopher: *Origen*, in his Books against *Celsus* quotes *Charmæon*'s Book *De Cometa*: He taught *Philosophy* at *Alexandria*, and *Diogenes Alexandrinus* succeeded him in his School. See *Suidas* in *Diogenes*, Valef. Of this *Charmæon*, see *Aristarchus*'s Epig. Book 11. E. p. 57.

(n) This *Cornutus* after *Leptinus* taught Philosophy at *Rome* in the Reign of *Claudius Nero*: He wrote many things concerning Philosophy, and Eloquence: *Perkins* dedicates his fifth Satyr to him, as to his Master: He wrote a Book *De Grammaticâ Theologia*, which is cited by the *Rhetorickist* in the word *εὐαί*. But the name is corrupted by *Altidus Manutius*, and called *Phorastus*. Valef.

And the Precepts of the Divine Philosophy remained uncorrupted, and unshaken in *Ammonius* even till his death; as his Works even to this present do testify; he being famous amongst most Men for his Book which he left behind him: As for example, that Book which is thus entitled, concerning the Concord of *Moses* and *Jesus*, and those other Books of his, whatsoever sort they be of, which are found amongst lovers of Learning. Let what we have said therefore be an evidence both of the Detraction of this lying Accuser, and also of *Origen*'s great knowledge in the Grecian Learning. Concerning which, *Origen* (in an Epistle of his, wherein he makes an Apology for himself, to some who blamed him for his too great studiousness about this sort of Learning) writes these words: When I employed my self wholly in the Scripture, the sale of my progress in Learning spreading it fell every-where, there resorting to me sometimes *Hereticks*, at other times those who studied the Grecian Learning, and especially such as were skill'd in Philosophy, I thought it convenient to make researches into *Heretick*'s Opinions, and into whatsoever things are reported to be said by Philosophers concerning the Truth: This we did, both in imitation of *Panænius*, who profited many before us, (who was furnish'd with no small stock of Provisions of this sort:) And also of *Heracles*, who at this time sits among the Presbyters of *Alexandria*;

(o) whom I found with a Philosophy-Master, (p) under whom he studied diligently five years be- may from fore I began to be an Auditor of his Doctrine, these And for this reason, he wearing a com- mon Habit before, put it off, and put on *Heracles* a (p) Philosophical Habit, which he (q) retains and *Origen* had the same Philosophy-Master, which *Porphyrius* affirms was *Ammonius* the most famous Philosopher of that Age. Valef.

(p) The Philosophick Habit was the *Tallim*, or *Cloak*; which was the usual Badge of the Greek Philosophers, different from that which was worn by the ordinary Greeks; which those Christians still kept to, who before their Conversion had been profess'd Philosophers: This our *Eusebius* affirms of *Justin* the Martyr (B. 4. Chap. 11.) ἐν εὐσεβείᾳ οὐκ ἔπαυτο τὸν τὸν δὲ αὐτοῦ λόγον, one that in a Philosophick habit was an assessor of the Divine Word.

(q) Hence we may conjecture that the Clergy had at that time no peculiar habit; seeing that *Heracles*, a Presbyter of *Alexandria*, and afterwards Bishop, always retain'd his Philosophick habit. Valef.





Alexander most pious Woman, and religious in her Conversion, (Origen's fame being now every-where to spread abroad, that it came even to her ears,) was mightily desirous to see the Man, and to make trial of his Knowledge in Divine Matters, which was so admired by all Men: She therefore making her abode at Antioch, sends a military Guard for him: When he had spent some time with her, and had demonstrated to her most things which tend to the Glory of God, and the Power of the Divine Doctrine, he hastened to his wonted Charge.

## C H A P. XXII.

How many of Hippolytus's Works are come to our hands.

AT this time also Hippolytus, amongst many other Works of his, compiled a Book also (a) concerning Easter. In which having explain'd the Series of Times, and set forth a Canon of sixteen Years, concerning Easter, he determines his Computation at the first Year of Alexander the Emperor. Now the rest of his Works, which came to our hands are these: (a) Upon the six Days Work. Upon those things (b) which follow'd upon the six Days Work. Against Marcion. (c) Upon the Canicles. Upon some Chapters of Ezekiel. Concerning Easter. (d) Against all Heresies. And many more which you may find preserv'd amongst many Men.

And Eusebius Baberius translated it into Latin, but neither of them takes notice that this Canon is only a part of the Book which he wrote Concerning Easter. And through his inadvertency Scatiger blames this place of Eusebius, and says, that Hippolytus's Canon does not end at the first year of Alexander's Reign, but begins there; which is really true: But Eusebius does not speak concerning the Canon which Hippolytus annex'd to his Books, but concerning the Book it self, which ends at the first year of Alexander the Emperor's Reign. Valef.

(b) He means the second Chapter of Genesis, as Scatiger Notes. Where also he reproves Hieronymus as if he had been ignorant of it, but undelicately: For when Hieronymus says he wrote upon Genesis, he means as well his Books on the Hexameron, as those on the Post-Hexameron. Valef.

(c) Theodoret in his Book call'd Eranistes quotes this Book of Hippolytus. Valef. (d) Concerning this Book of Hippolytus's, see Photii Biblioth. Chap. 121. This Book was written against 32 Heresies; the first of which was the Deisthean, the last the Noctian Heretic. Which Heresies Irenaeus having confuted in his Sermons, Hippolytus his Scholar wrote an Epitome thereof. Stephanus Gobarus has often quoted this piece of Hippolytus, as appears from his 7, 10, and 13. Chap. B. 2. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning Origen's Studiousness, and how he was honour'd with the Dignity of Priesthood.

ABOUT this time was the beginning of Origen's writing Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures; Ambrosius chiefly inciting him to it by innumerable Intigations, not with Suppliments and bare Words only, but also with most plentiful Supplies of all things necessary: For there were always by him when he dictated, more in number than seven Notaries, which at set times chang'd Courses with one another. Neither was there a less number of them which

(a) Here the Mar. MS. and that most excellent Copy of Rufinus which we have often quoted, begin this Chap. 23. But Ruf. at set times chang'd Courses with one another. Neither was there a less number of them which

Chap. 23. calls it the 20. Hieronymus takes these words [*ἐν ἑκῇ*] in a bad sense, as if Origen had set himself to write in Emulation of Hippolytus; and refers *ἐν ἑκῇ* to Hippolytus: Which is not so, for we must understand *ἑξῆς*, which thing is common, and so the sense is plain, to wit, from this time. Valef.

wrote Books fair, together with Girls who had been instructed to write neatly and handsomely. To all these Ambrosius liberally afforded a sufficient supply of all things necessary. And indeed he convey'd into Origen an unspeakable alacrity, in his study and labour about the Divine Oracles. By which means chiefly he induc'd him to write Commentaries: Whilst these things were in this posture, Pontianus succeeds Urbanus, who had been Bishop of Rome eight years: And Zebinus [succeeds] Philetus in the Bishoprick of Antioch. At which time, (the Necessity of the (b) Church's Affairs constraining him) Origen (b) Rufinus made a journey through Palestine into Greece; and may here received the Order of Priesthood at Caesarea, by well serve the Imposition of the Hands of the Bishops instead of there. But what Combinations were hereupon a Com- rais'd concerning him, and what (c) Decrees were sent upon this place made by the Prelates of the Churches upon these who has Commotions: And whatever else he did, continu- reading it ing to be of great esteem, contributing to the Preaching of the Divine Word. [These things] was in- requiring a distinct Volume, we have in some the Chur- measure declared in the second Book of our Apology, that of which we wrote in defence of him.

ther to convince Heretics, who grew strong in these Parts. So also says Eusebius in his Catalogue. Valef.

(c) Eusebius ought here to have recited the Decrees of the Bishops against Origen, as being matter most accommodate to an Ecclesiastick History; and might better have omitted other things concerning him, and have inserted these, as most pertinent: But we ought not to blame Eusebius for this omission here, because it had been superfluous, having before declared them in his second Book *De Defense Origenis*: Which Books some Men, through their immatured hatred to Origen, envied us the use of. There is nothing of Eusebius, and Pamphilus the Martyr's *Apologia Origenis* extant, except some Fragments which Photius preserv'd as it were from Shipwreck. He in his Biblioth. chap. 116. says that there were two Synods summoned against Origen; the first decreed that Origen should be banish'd out of the Church of Alexandria, but did not divest him of his Priesthood: The second, which was assembled by Demetrius, consisting of Egyptian Bishops, degraded Origen from the Office of a Priest, to which Decree almost all the Bishops of the World subscribed, as Hieronymus says, whose words Rufinus relates in two *Apolog. Hieronymus* also adds that he was not only deposted, but also excommunicated by the Bishop of Rome. But this Decree of Demetrius is a very unusual for two reasons; first, because he shew'd it out against him in his absence, without any legal Citation; and secondly, because this Sentence was not confirm'd by the Authority of many Bishops, particularly not by the Bishop of Rome. Wherefore Origen still retain'd his Priest's Office, and continued Preaching in the Church, as Eusebius witnesses in this Book, and Pamphilus in his first Book *Apologia Origenis*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning the Expositions he made at Alexandria.

BUT 'twas necessary for us to have annex'd these (a) to the things aforementioned; for (a) He in his sixth Book of his Expositions upon John's means, he [Gospel] he declares he compos'd those five first Books while he yet lived at Alexandria. But only (b) twenty two Books of his Works upon that Gospel are come to our hands. In his ninth Book also upon Genesis (for there are twelve in all) he manifests that he did not only write those first eight Books at Alexandria, but also those Comments upon the twenty five first Psalms: And moreover those Comments upon the Lamentations, five Books of which came to our hands. In which Books there is some mention of his Books

Alexander upon the (c) *Resurrection*: Those also are two Volumes. Indeed he also wrote his Books *De Principibus*, before his removal from Alexandria. He also composed those Books entitled (d) *Stromata*, by which are denoted in number, in that City in the time of the Reign of Alexander, as his (e) *Annotations* written with his own Hand, and prefix'd before those of Origen's Works: Books do manifest.

Thirteen  
 Upon *Genesis*, two Books of *Mythical Fables*: *Excerptions upon Exodus*: *Excerptions upon Leviticus*: Also *Adversus*; and two other *Dialogues*: Two Books upon the *Resurrection*; and four other *Dialogues* concerning the *Resurrection*. *Methodius* the Bishop wrote an excellent Book of the *Resurrection*, against Origen's Books upon the same subject, as *Hieronymus* in his Book *De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis*, and *Maximus* in his *Scholium* upon *Dionysius's Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* do testify: There are excellent fragments of this *Methodius's* book of the *Resurrection*, in *Epiphanius* against the *Originalists*, and in *Isidorus's Etymologia*. And I think 'tis for no other reason, that *Eusebius* never mentions this *Methodius*, (whereas he mentions several Ecclesiastical Writers far inferior to him), but this, that he wrote against Origen: *Eusebius*, being a very great Follower of Origen, could not endure this Man's name in his History, because he was not his friend. *Valf.*

(3) *Hieronymus* in his Epistle to *Magnus* the Roman Orator, says Origen wrote these ten books in imitation of *Clement*; for the Argument of these books and *Clement's* above-mentioned are alike. *Hieronymus* also cites a piece of these Books in his Epistle against *Rufinus*, not far from the beginning. *Valf.*

(c) Translators did not understand what these *ἑξήκοντα ὑπομνήματα* were: *ἑξήκοντα* in this place is the same as *ὑπομνήματα*, written with his own hand. The Lawyers call a Will *testamentum*, which is written with the Testator's own hand, and not only confirmed by his Subscribers. So *Eusebius* here calls these *ὑπομνήματα* *ἑξήκοντα* *ὑπομνήματα* written with Origen's own hand, and either prefix'd or annex'd to every Tome. For 'twas usual for Authors to note something with their own Hands either at the beginning, or end of their Books. *Valf.*

## C H A P. XXV.

After what manner Origen has mentioned the Books of the Old and New Testament.

**B**UT in his Explication of the First Psalm, he has exhibited a Catalogue of the Holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, writing on this manner word for word. (a) We must understand that, as the Hebrew Traditions say, there are (b) twenty two Books of the Old Testament; just so many in number as they have Letters. A little after he adds, saying; 'These are the twenty two Books according to the Hebrews. That which we give the Title of *Genesis* to, is by the Hebrews, from the beginning of the Book entitled *Genesis*, that is, in the beginning. *Exodus*, *Leviticus*, that is, these are names. *Leviticus*, *Leviticus*, that is, and he hath called. Numbers' the Hebrews call. (c) *Hannumpleodim*. *Deuteronomy*, *Hele-haddarim*, that is, these are the words of Jesus the Son of Nave, [in Hebrew] *Sebovay*, *Ben Nave*. Judges, *Ruth*, are by them comprehended in one Book, and call'd *Sophetim*. The First and Second of Kings, among them one Book, termed *Sammel*, that is,

(a) This whole quotation is to be seen in Origen's *Philocalia*, lib. 3; but that place of the *Philocalia* must be corrected by this, for there *εικοσι* in stead of *εικοσι* is read. And this is the common mistake of all Editions that they writ *εικοσι*, when the Word follow'd begins with a Vowel. But in all good Copies *εικοσι* is written, although a Vowel follows. *Valf.*

(b) *Hieronymus* upon the *Apocalypse* says, there are twenty four Books of the Old Testament; to twenty two you may find in *Thomius's* *Excerptions*. Some reckoned twenty two, some twenty four Books of the Old Testament; I suppose this different account, faith *Hieronymus*, because some reckoned the book of *Ruth*, and that of the *Lamentations* of *Jeremiah* in the Catalogue of Scriptures apart by themselves. Others, as *Hieronymus* says, added *Tobias*, and *Judith* to make 24. books of the Old Testament; *Epiphanius* says, that some reckoned up twenty seven books of the Old Testament. *Valf.*

(c) I know not what Copy *Rabert* *Stephens* follows, who here reads it *ὑπομνήματα ἑξήκοντα*. For in the King's, the *Mar.* *Alc.* and *Fut.* MSS. *ὑπομνήματα*, is the reading. *Valf.*

called of God. The Third and Fourth of Kings, amongst the Hebrews one Book, called *Vamme-*

lech David, that is, the Kingdom of David. The Alexander's First and Second Book of *Chronicles*, in one Volume, call'd *Dibre Hajamin*, that is, The words of Days. *Esfars* the First and Second Book, by them made one Book, called *Efra*, that is, A helper. The Book of *Psalms*, *Sepher Tehillim* [in Hebrew.] *Solomon's Proverbs*, in Hebrew, *Adi-lath*. *Ecclesiastes*, *Cobeleth*.

(d) The Song of Songs, *Sir-basrim*. (e) *Esfars*, *Isidus*: *Hierimas* with his *Lamentations*, and his Epistle, all in one Book, called *Ter-mia*. *Daniel*, [the Hebrews also call] *Daniel*.

*Ezechiel*, *Tezebel*, *Job*, *Job*, *Effer*, *Effer* also among the Hebrews. Besides these there are (but not of their number) the *Maccabees*, which are entitled *Sarber* *Surbane-el*. These Origen has set forth in the foregoing Work. But in the first Book of his Comments upon *Matthew's* Gospel, observing the Canon of the Church, he attests there are only four Gospels, in these words:

As I (f) have understood by Tradition, there are four Gospels, which, and only which, are to be allowed without contradiction by the Church of God under Heaven. As for the first, 'twas written by one *Matthew*, formerly a Publican, but afterwards an Apostle of Jesus Christ; he publish'd it, being written in Hebrew for the sake of those Jews who believed. The second is *Mark's* Gospel, who wrote it as *Peter* expounded to him; whom also he confesses to be his Son, in his Catholic Epistle, and in these words, (g) The Church which is at (g) 1. *Pet.*

*Babylon* elected together with you *Salustius* you, and 5. 13. so doth *Marcus* my Son. And the third is the Gospel according to *St. Luke*, which is commended by *Paul*; he wrote it for the sake of the Heathens. Lastly, *St. John's* Gospel. And the same Writer in the (h) fifth Book of his Expositions upon *John* has these words concerning place of the Apostle's Epistles. *Paul* being made a friend of Origen, Minister of the New Testament, nor in the Letter here-ter, but in the Spirit, he who (i) fully preaches it, quotes, is the Gospel from Jerusalem round about to *Illyricum*, in the Pre-wrote not to all those Churches which he taught, face to face, but to those to whom he wrote the sent [Epistles] by his Ex-les that contained] but a few Verses. But *Peter* preaches

(k) on whom the Church of Christ was build-upon *John*; the great part of this Preface is extant in the fifth Chapter of his *Philocalia*. Therefore this place here quoted by *Eusebius* must be joynted to that fragment. In that Preface Origen relates this dispute, whether *Paul's* Books are to be written concerning Sacred things? And he proves it from *Ezekiel* 12. 12. Also he brings for proof the Examples of Holy Men, Prophets and Apostles, who wrote very little. But these Examples the Collector of the *Philocalia* on set purpose omitted, as he himself confesses. *Valf.*

(i) Rom. 15. 19.

(k) *Matthew* the 16 Chap. and ver. the 18. See Dr. *Hammoud* upon the place.



pture Jays of Antichrift. Moreover, this Persecution began when Maximin was Emperor, (after a long continued Peace in the Church,) because of frequent and most dreadful Earthquakes, which the Heathens, as they usually did, imputed to the Christians. Firmilianus in his Epistle to Cyprian attests this: See Baronius at the Year of Christ 237. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning Fabian, how unexpectedly he was elected by God Bishop of Rome.

Gordianus

Gordianus having succeeded Maximinus in the Roman Empire, Anteros succeeds Pontianus, who had been Bishop for the Church of Rome six Years. And Fabian succeeds him after he had perform'd the Office for a Month. They report that after the death of Anteros, Fabian, together with some other of his Acquaintance, came out of the Country to Rome to sojourn there: Where he unexpectedly came to be elected Bishop, through the Divine and Celestial Grace. For when all the Brethren were assembled together in the Church, in order to the Election of one who should succeed in the Bishoprick, and many of them had Intentions of [Electing] several eminent and worthy Men, Fabian being there present, no one so much as thought of him: But on a sudden, as they report, a Dove came flying from above, and sat upon his Head, which seem'd to be a representation of the Descent of the Holy Ghost upon our Saviour in the shape of a Dove: Upon which all the People, being at the same time moved as it were by the Divine Spirit, cry'd out with all imaginable alacrity and one common consent, (a) He is worthy: And without any delay they took him, and set him in the Bishop's Chair. At that time also Zebinus the Bishop of Antioch dying, Babylon succeeded in the Presidency. Heracles also takes upon him the [Episcopall] charge of the Church at Alexandria, after Demetrius (b) had executed that Office for forty three years. And Dionysius succeeds in the Catechetick School there, who also was one of Origen's Scholars.

(a) This was the common Acclamation at the Election of Bishops, of which we have many Examples in Theodorici's Scholars. (b) The Tenth Chapter of the Ninth Book. And in the Relation of what things were done at Basilin's Election, (recorded in Augustine's Epistles) these Acclamations are read, which were then used: They cry'd out twenty times, *Dignus est iustus est, He is worthy and just*: and five times *Bene meritis, bene dignus est, He is very deserving, he is very worthy.* Valef.

(c) The Arab. Maz, and Fab. MSS. add these words, *had executed that Office for forty three years*: But the King's MS. and Rufinus own them not. Valef.

## C H A P. XXX.

Who were Origen's Scholars.

While Origen executed his accusom'd Duty at Caesarea, many, not only Natives of that Country, but also infinite others from places most remote, forsaking their own Countries, resorted to him to be his Disciples. The most eminent of them, we understand, were Theodorus, (who was also called Gregorius, one of the most famous Bishops in our Age,) and his Brother Athenodorus. He by perswasion induced them (being too much addicted to the love of the (a) Roman and Greek Learning, having infused

(a) Eusebius means the Roman Learning, the Civil Law, which Gregory learn'd at the City Ancyra, at that time when Origen periwaded him to nobler Studies, as he, in his Oration to Origen, testifies: The same thing also Origen attests in his Epistle to Gregory, Chap. 13, of his Philocal. Valef.

into them a love of Philosophy,) to exchange their former Studies, for the Study of Divinity: When they had convers'd with him five years complete, they made so great an improvement [of their Knowledge] in the Divine Scriptures, that while they were both as yet young, they were judg'd worthy of the Government of the Churches in Pontus.

## C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning Africanus.

At this time Africanus, (a) the Author of the Books entitled *Cesti*, was very famous; there is extant an Epistle of his written to Origen, in which he suspects the History of *Susanna* in Daniel, to be spurious and fictitious. Origen very fully answers this Epistle. There also came to our hands five Books of this same Africanus's *Antichristians*, written with great care and accuracy. In which Books he says he took a Journey to Alexandria, because of the great fame of Heracles, in who, as we before signified, was intrusted with the care of the Church there for his eminent knowledge in Philosophy, and other Heathen Learning. There is also extant another Epistle of this same Africanus to Aristides, concerning the disagreement which is thought to be betwixt Matthew and Luke, in the relation of Christ's Genealogy. In which he manifestly demonstrates the consent of the Evangelists, out of an History which came to his hands; in which [Epistle] we also took, and placed it in the first Book of this Work in hand, being its proper place.

nothing else, but certain Medicines made up of Herbs, Metals, Magick Figures, Charms, and the like: For, as *Suidas* witnesses, these *Cesti* contain nothing else, and have their Title from *Venus's Cesti*, or Girdle, because they treat of Love-affairs. Besides, this Africanus, the Author of these *Cesti*, seems to be a distinct Person from Africanus the Chronologer, whom *Eusebius* mentions, for, as *Suidas* says, this Author of the *Cesti* was a Libyan by birth, and was called *Σαργίς*. But *Scaliger* in his *Animadvrsions* upon *Eusebius* calls him *Σεπτις Africanus*. But perhaps that *Σαργίς* in *Suidas* ought to be made *Κίρις*: And so he may be called *Africanus Cestis* from the title of his Books, even as *Clement* was called *Symonides*. But this Africanus the Chronologer was born in Palestine, says *Eusebius's* Chronicle; and in a Town call'd *Ennemos*, and his name was *Julius Africanus*: This Africanus was a Christian, but the other was a Heathen, as appears by his Books. There was also another *Julius Africanus*, who wrote a Book *De Apparatu Bellico*; which Book in the Manuscript Copy of the King's Library has the title of *Κίρις*, and under that title it is quoted by *Politianus* in his *Miscellanies*. The Grecians indeed were proud in prefixing Titles before their Books, they seem therefore to call these Books *Cesti*, which were filled with knowledge of divers kinds, like the *Cesti*, which amongst the Grecians signifies a Girdle wrought of divers colours: For that same reason were *Clement's* Books called *Συναξατα*. Valef. \* Book 1. Chap. 7.

## C H A P. XXXII.

What Expositions Origen wrote at Caesarea in Palestine.

About this time Origen wrote his [Comments] upon *Esaia*, and those upon *Ezekiel* at the same time, of which Books there came to our hands thirty five Volumes upon the third part of *Esaia*, unto the Vision of the four-footed Beasts in the Wilderness: And twenty five Volumes upon *Ezekiel*, which were all he wrote upon the whole Prophet: Making his abode at that time at Athens, he finish'd his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*. He also began his Comments upon the *Canticale*, and there proceeded in them to the fifth Book: But

but he afterwards returned to *Cæsarea*, and there finish'd them, being ten Books in number. But what necessity is there at present to write an exact Catalogue of this Man's Works, which requires a Work itself; which we have also written in our *(a) History of Pamphilus's Life*, the blessed *(b) Martyr* of our Times. In which, endeavouring to prove how great *Pamphilus's* care and love towards sacred Learning was, we have publish'd the Catalogues of *Origen's* Works, and of several other Ecclesiastical Writers which he collected. From whence, he that is desirous, may have a full information concerning all the Monuments of *Origen's* Labours which came to our hands. But now we must proceed to the subsequent Series of our History.

Apology against Rufinus; where he also quotes a piece of that Work out of the third Book; he also mentions those Books in his Epistle to Marcella; 'twas in Eusebius's third Book *De Vita Pamphili*, wherein he wrote a Catalogue of Origen's Works. *Vale.*

note I. The *MSS.* and *Sin. MSS.* read *ἱεροσολύμοις*, all in one word, not *ἱερὸν ὑμῶν*. The Greeks call those *ἱεροσολυμοί* who were both Martyrs, and Priests: Therefore Pamphilus being a Presbyter, and a Martyr, may well be styled *ἱεροσολύμ.* The Greeks in their *Hagiologies* have three sorts of Martyrs, some they call *μεγαλομάρτυρες*, i.e. great Martyrs; others they call *ἐπίμαρτυροι*, i.e. help Martyrs; and others they call *καθολοί*, that is, the Bishops, or common Martyrs who suffer'd Mars- martyrdom. All the rest they call *ὑπομάρτυρες*, barely Martyrs: There is also another title yet, namely, *σεπτομάρτυροι*; but this is only proper to Stephen, and Thecla, he being the first of Men, and she the first of Women which were crown'd with Martyrdom. Here we may find what decency the *Greeks* show in the comparison of the *Lazarus*: they give him the same name with which, as with titles they are honour'd distinguished from other Men. *Valete.*

## C H A P. XXXIII.

### Concerning the Error of Beryllus.

**B**eryllus, who was mention'd a little before, Bishop of *Befria in Arabia*, subverting the *Ecclesiastick Canon*, endeavour'd to introduce some new Doctrines alienating from the Faith; *daring to affirm that our Lord and Saviour, before his coming amongst Men, (a) had no proper different Subſistence: Neither any Godhead of his own, but only the Deity of the Father reſiding in him.* Many Diſputes and Conferences having been held by the Bishops against this Man about that Point, amongst the rest *Origen* was called: At first he enters into a friendly Discourse with the Man, that he might discover what his Opinion was; which when he understood by his Discourse, he reprehended him being not Orthodox; and having convinced him by Arguments and Demonstrations, he took him as it were (b) by the hand, and set him into the way of the true Doctrine, and reinstated him in his former found Opinion. There are also written Monuments extant to this day both of *Beryllus*, and also of the Synod which was convened upon his account, which contain *Origen's* Questions proposed against him, and the Diſputes holden in his

\*That is, hence his Inarnation. (at This Phrase *was seen* is nothing else but difference of substance, which may appear by the words of *Gregorius Nyssenus* in his Book *De Differentiâ*

*μετάνοια*, & *ἑστίασις*. *Beryllus* seems to take *εἰσα* to signify a *Person*, in this manner; viz. that *εἰσα* contained the two terms, *ἀνθρώπου*, & *εἰσα*. Concerning the true signification of these two terms, see the *Ercelesick History*, Book 3. Chap. 7. where these terms are largely discussed. *Beryllus* erred in that he believed Christ had no proper personality before his Incarnation; but he was Orthodox in that he holds Christ to be the Second person to himself, only the Godhead of the Father residing in him, and that he was equal to the Father, as the *Fourth Holy Ghost*, is all one, the *Glory* equal, the *Majesty* eternal, & the *essence* would be three Gods, not one God: Therefore if this were *Beryllus's* opinion he may be excused; but he erred in that he asserted the Son by himself is not properly God, but has only a derivative Divinity from the Father, which if he asserted that the Son subverted not personally before his Incarnation, I should have said that he was a *Wise* & *virtuous* *Vatso*.  
(b) *Ἀνακαταβῆναι* here may be best explained by the words of *Nicene*, which says, he regain'd his gentily, and calmly. *Vatso*.

Church, and all that was done at that time. Infinite other *Memoirs* the Ancients of our Times have deliver'd to Posterity concerning *Origin* : Which I intend to omit, as not pertinent to this present Subject; but what things concerning him are necessary to be known, may be read at large in that (c) *Apology* for him which was written by (c) *Hierome*, and *Pamphilus* the Holy Martyr of our times : *synonym* in Which we, Fellow-Labourers, carefully and joyntly composed upon the account of some of also in his his quarrelsome Accusers. *first Apo*

gainst Rufinus, says, *Eusebius* wrote six Books in defence of *Origen*. Rufinus translated the first of these Books, and put it out under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*; for which he is not only severely punished by the Council of Carthage, but he is forth a Book of *Rufinus*, whom Jerome always calls an *Heretic* under the name of *Pamphilus the Martyr*. But Rufinus may make answer for himself from these words of *Eusebius*, who says that that Apology was written by both of them. Which also *Photius* confirms with his Testimony; *Photius's Biblioth.* Chap. 120. From this Book, as well as from *Eusebius's* own Words, we may gather, that *Origen* had many Enemies and Opposers, who charged him with his heresies, and his evil and unchristian treatment of *Methodius*, concerning whom, and the reason why he is not mentioned by *Eusebius* in his History, see Book 6. Chap. 24. Note (c.) Vale!

## C H A P. XXXIV.

*Concerning Philip the Emperor.*

When Gordianus had held the Roman Empire six complete years, Philip, together with his Son Philip, succeeded him. The report is, that he, being a Christian, upon the day which is the last of the *Vigils of Easter*, was desirous to be a Paraker, together with the Congregation, of the Prayers of the Church; but could in no wise be permitted to enter into the Church by him who was then Bishop, before he had made a general confession of his Sins, and recounted himself amongst their number, who were (a) reckon'd the *Lapsed*, and stood in the place of Penitents: For had he not done this, he would not have been admired by the Bishop, because of his many offences: And is reported that he willingly (b) obey'd, and demonstrated in his Deeds, the sincerity and devoutness of his Affection towards the fear of God. Vale!

(b) This Story concerning Philip the Emperor, whom *Babylas* would not admit into the Church, being then Bishop, is told by the Author of *Chron. Alexand.* and also by *Cyriostome* in his Oration concerning Holy *Babylas*; but he does not name the Emperor. *Valeſ.*

## C H A P. XXXV.

*How Dionysius succeeded Heraclas in his Bishoprick:*

IT was the third of Philip's Reign in which *Heraclius* died, after he had govern'd the Church sixteen years, and *Dionysius* succeeded him in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

*What other Books were written by Origen.*

At this time therefore, the Faith (as it was  
happily) daily increasing, and our Doctrine  
being preach'd amongst all Men, *Oron*  
(as I said) was now above fixty years old, and be-  
cause he had now gotten a most excellent habit of  
speaking thro' long use and exercise, he permit-  
ted the Novitaries to (a) write his Discourses which  
he deliver'd in publick, but never before this time  
would he suffer that to be done. About this time  
he

(a) Pan-  
philus the  
Martyr in  
his first  
Book of his  
Apology at  
the request  
of his  
disciples

*Philip*, he wrote eight Books against a Book of *(b) Celsus* the Epicurean, intitled *The Word of Truth*. He also wrote twenty-five Volumes upon *Matthew's Gospel*: And those upon the *Twelve Prophets*, of which Books we have found only twenty-five. There is also extant an Epistle of his to *Philip* the Emperor, another to his Wife *Severa*: And several others to divers other persons: Which being scatter'd here and there, in several Mens hands, as many of them as we could find preserved, being above an hundred in number, we have collected and digested into proper Books by themselves, that they may not hereafter be again dispersed. He wrote also to *(c) Fabian* Bishop of Rome, and to several other Prelates of Churches concerning his own Orthodoxy: You have also the Declarations of these things in the sixth Book of the *Apostle's History* we wrote in defence of him.

was against this latter *Celsus* that *Origen* wrote eight most elegant Books, which are still extant. This is the same *Celsus*, to whom *Lucian* dedicates his Book called *Alexander*, or the *False Prophet*; being intreated by him to write the Life of that Impostor. In the end of that Book, *Lucian* speaking to him, plainly demonstrates him to be an Epicurean. In the same place also he seems to mention *Celsus's* Book, intitled, *The True Discourse*. Valef.

*(c)* *Hieronymus* in his 65th Epistle mentions this Epistle of *Origen's* to *Fabian*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning the Diffension of the Arabians.

**A** Gain, about the same time there sprang up in Arabia Introducers of another Opinion alienating from the Truth. These affirm'd, that Men's Souls even in this present life expired together with their Bodies, and were turn'd to corruption together with them; but that they should again revive together with the Bodies at the time of the Resurrection. No small Synod being call'd together upon this account, *Origen* is *(a)* again sent for thither, and having disputed publicly concerning this Question, he managed the cause so well, that those who before were fallen into Error, changed their Sentiments.

*(a)* *Twas* said before, chap. 33, that *Origen* was sent for to Arabia by the Bishops, to dispute against *Beryllus*: Wherefore this was the second time that *Origen* was called thither to dispute. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Heresie of the Helcesaiti.

**A**T that time also sprang up another perverse Error, called the Heresie of the Helcesaiti, which was stifled in its birth. *Origen* mentions it in *(a)* his Homily to the People upon the eighty second Psalm, in these words. 'Lately there came one, highly conceited of himself for his ability, to defend that Atheistical and most Wicked Opinion, called the Opinion of the *(b) Helcesaiti*, which lately was raised in opposition to *(c)* *Scripture*, *Schools*, and *Homilies*. His Comments he wrote for the sake of the Learned, and his *Schools* also: But upon those Books which did not require long and tedious Comments he made *Homilies*, adapted to the People's Capacity. And this is that which *Sedulius* aims at in his Preface to his *Opus Paschale*. See *Hieronymus* in his Preface to *Isaiah*, and *Matthew*, and also in his Preface to his Comments upon *The Epistle to the Galatians*: Where he mentions this threefold Work of *Origen's*; only in stead of the word *Homilia* he uses *Tractatus*, i. e. *Discourses*, which is all one: For *Tractatus* in Latin is the same as *Ομιλία* in Greek. Concerning this threefold Work of *Origen*, *Rufinus* speaks in his Epistle to *Ursacius*, which he prefixes before his Translation of *Origen's* Book upon *Numbers*. Valef.

*(b)* *Theodoret* in his second Book *Fabularum Hæreticarum*, Chap. 7. calls these Men *Εκλεκταί*, and says they were so called from one *Εκλεκται*. *Epiphanius* names him *Εκτα*, a false Prophet, who joyn'd himself to the *Ebionites*, and was Author of a strange, and unfix'd

Opinion concerning Christ: Which he relates, and which little differs from *Theodoret's* story in the place quoted. Hence it appears that this *Εκτα*, and *Εκλεκται* are one and the same Man. *Epiphanius*, in his *Heretico Offensum*, calls him *Εκτα*, and says he liv'd in *Trajan's* time. At first, he says, he put forth a Book full of Divine Wisdom, and a Prophesying Spirit: But afterwards he affirmed 'twas no fit for a Man to sacrifice to Idols in the time of Persecution, if so be he do it not with his whole heart. The same also *Origen* here relates of these *Εκλεκται*: But *Epiphanius* more plainly demonstrates this in his *Heretico Sampsonum*, where he says, that that these *Εκλεκται* (which we prov'd were the same as *Εκλεκται*) had one *Εκτα*, or *Εκτα*, Author of their Sect. Wherefore *Scaliger* in his *Elenchus*, Chap. 27. errs; where he says, that this *Εκτα* is the same person with *Εκτα*; and that these *Εκλεκται* or *Εκλεκται* are the same as *Εκτα*: Than which nothing is more absurd. Valef.

the Church. I will explain to you what evil things that Opinion asserts, that ye be not drawn away by it. It rejects some things of every part of the Scripture, but makes use of some Texts both out of the Old, and also out of the Evangelical Scripture. It rejects the Apostle [*Paul*] wholly. It says, 'tis an indifferent thing to deny [the Faith]. It holds also, that upon necessity [*c*] a Wife Man would deny [Christianity] with his Mouth, but not with his Heart. It also at the same time. They also carry about with them a Book which, they say, fell down from Heaven; and every one that hears it, and *Christus* believes it, shall obtain remission of Sins: a Remission different from that which Jesus Christ bestow'd." But let thus much suffice concerning these things.

*(c)* The Translator says, 'tis a wife man. See that old Verse of *Heb. 11. 31* *Αἰὼν τοῦ βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὧν ὁὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοῖς σοφοῖς*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning what happen'd in the times of Decius.

**B**UT in the mean while *Decius* succeeds *Philip*, after he had reigned seven years: Who because of his hatred towards *Philip*, rais'd a Persecution against the Churches. In which *Fabian* being Martyr'd at Rome, *Cornelius* succeeds in that Bishoprick. And *Alexander* the Bishop of Jerusalem in Palestine, is again brought before the Governor's Tribunal for Christ's sake: And was very famous for his second Confession at *Cæsarea*, where he was imprison'd: Being now adorn'd with a venerable old Age, and reverend grey-Hairs. After this noble and famous Testimony before the Governor's Tribunal, he expired in Prison, and *Mazabanes* was pronounc'd his Successor in the Bishoprick of Jerusalem. Also *Babylas* Bishop of Antiochia died (in like manner as did *Alexander*) in prison after his Confession, and *Fabius* is preferr'd to be Bishop of that Church. Moreover, how many, and how great [Afflictions] happened to *Origen* in this Persecution, and what was the end of these things, (the Devil with all his forces enviously setting himself in opposition to this Man, and fighting against him with all subtlety and power, assailing him particularly above all those who were for upon at that time;) how many, and how great things he also suffer'd for the Doctrine of Christ, as Bonds, and bodily Torments, the Punishment of the Iron-Chain in the inmost Recefles of the Prison: how he was put upon the *(a)* Rack, his Feet for *(a)* *ἑλκας* (as we before noted) the same as *Nervus*, a pair of Sticks, wherein the Feet are put: But in this place 'tis used for *Eulenas*, a Rack: For, *Eulenas* in this place means, that *Origen*, being put upon the Rack, patiently sustained the threats of Fire and other Torments, *Εὐλας* therefore in this place signifies the same as the Latin word *Eulenas*, where the word added, *(ὡς)* καλῶς, sufficiently sheweth; for as often as this term signifies Sticks, or Shackles, we read *Εὐλας* only; but when it signifies the Rack, καλῶς, or βασιλικός, is commonly added, as here we find it to be. Valef.

several

*Decius.* several days being stretch'd so wide as to the distance of four holes: How valiantly he sustain'd the menaces of Fire, and all other [Tortures] inflicted by his Enemies: What also was the Exit of those things: (The Judge with his utmost power earnestly endeavouring that he might not be slain.) Lastly, what expressions he left behind him, and how comfortable to the (b) comfortless: [All these Particulars] many of his Epistles do both truly and accurately comprehend.

(a) *Ἀναλόγῃ δὲ λέγουσι* are the comfortless, or helpless; which some Translators do not understand; this transposition in Eusebius is common. Eusebius here says nothing of the *Ethiopian*, who was scorned against *Origens*; or concerning his denial of the Faith: *Baronius* with good reason thought these things were fabulous: But *Neposius*, in his *Book De Natura Hominis*, Chap. 30. confirms that Narration of *Epiphanius*. Valef.

## C H A P. XL.

Concerning what things happen'd to Dionysius.

I Will also record some things concerning *Dionysius*, out of his Epistle to *Germanus*. Where speaking concerning himself, he makes this Relation: I speak in the presence of God, and he knows that I lie not. I never made my escape

(a) *Ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν βαλάντιοις*, Not by my own Council, not by my own accord. But the *Fab. MS.* and *Georgius Synellus's* Chronicle read *ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν Μαρ.* and *Med. MS.* *ἐν ταῖς αὐτῶν*. The *Med. MS.* begins this Epistle where we have begun it. Valef.

(b) *Ἄρτι* is here taken for the Degree of the Persecution: And accordingly we have translated the phrase. Valef.

(c) *Frumentarii milites* were Soldiers, sent to seek after Offenders, and to pick up all Rumours and News, and constantly put down this sort of Officers; they were also *Prætor's* under Government of *Proconsuls*, such an one was this *Frumentarius*, whom *Dionysius* here mentions. Valef.

Neither could he imagine that I should stay at home when there was Inquisition made for me. And at length after the fourth day, (when God had commanded me to depart thence, and had miraculously open'd a way for me) I, and my (d) Servants, and many of the Brethren, went out together. Now that that was a special act of God's Providence the sequel declared, in which peradventure I was profitable to some." Again, after the interposition of some words, he relates what happen'd to him after his Flight, in these words: I myself, (and my Companions) being much about the time of Sun-setting apprehended by some Soldiers, was brought to *Tappositis*. But *Timotheus*, according to the Providence of God, was not with us, neither was he taken: But when he at last came, he found the House empty, and Soldiers keeping guard about it, and us reduc'd to Slavery." After some other words he saith thus. "What now was the order and manner of this miraculous act of Providence? (I will tell nothing but truth.) A certain

(e) *Χριστιανὸν* Country-man met *Timothy* as he was flying, *ἄνθρωπος ὁμογενὲς ἰσχυρὸς, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς χώρας*; the Translation of *Georg. Synell.* calls it *insula* neither of them rendering it well: For *Georgius* says Country-Men, *Rufficks*. So in the *Greek Councils* we find *αἱ τῆς χώρας ἀρχιερεῖς*, in head of *αἱ τῆς χώρας ἀρχιερεῖς*, the Country-Presbyters. The *Mar.* *Med.* and *Fab. MS.* in head of *αὐτοῦ* read *ἡμεῖς*, so also does *Alexandrinus* use *ἡμεῖς* for *Rufficks*. Valef.

ing, and thus disturb'd in Mind; and he enquired of him the reason of this great haste; he told him the real truth. When the Man had heard his Relation, (he was then a-going to a Marriage-feast, and 'tis customary amongst them to tarry all night at such meetings) he went his way, and coming into the House, told the story to those that were set at the Table: All of them with an unanimous earnestness (as if it had been by a Compact amongst them) rose up together, set a-running, and with great clamours came speedily upon us. The Soldiers who guarded us being by them forthwith put to flight, they came upon us as we were, and [found] us lying upon

(f) Couches without any Furniture on them; I (God knows) at first supposing them to be Thieves, who came thither for Prey and Pillage, continued lying on the Couch, naked as I was, excepting only a Linen-Garment which I had on; and offered to them my other Cloaths, which lay by me: But they bid me arise, and come out immediately. Then understanding what was the cause of their coming thither, I cry'd out, intreating and beseeching them to depart and let us alone. But if their intent was to do me a kindness, I begg'd of them to behead me, and by that means to prevent those who brought me Prisoner thither. While I thus cry'd out (as my Companions and Fellow-sufferers in all my Troubles do know) they compelled me to rise up: I threw myself on my back upon the ground; but they took me by the Hands and Feet, and dragg'd me out: There follow'd me those who are my Witnesses of these things, *Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul*; (g) who took me together with that Couch upon their Shoulders, and convey'd me out of the Village; and having let me upon an altar, as unfuddled, they carried me away." These things *Dionysius* relates concerning himself.

me, up to *Caius*, and the rest of the Presbyters, and not to the *Rusticus* Country-men, as *Christophorus* does. *ὁ οὗτος* signifies, together with the Bed or Couch on which he lay. *Dionysius* says nothing here of what happen'd to him after the *Rufficks* forc'd him to leave *Tappositis*, having beaten the Guard: But in his Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, which is in the 7th Book, and 11th Chapter, he saith, that he and *Peter*, and *Caius* were separated from the rest of their Company, and shod'd a Mile desert place of *Lycia*. *Dionysius* it is an Exile till the death of *Decius* the Emperor, and from that desert place he wrote Letters to *Domitius* and *Didymus*. Valef.

## C H A P. XLI.

Concerning those who suffer'd Martyrdom at Alexandria.

THE same Man in an Epistle of his to (a) *Nebrianus* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives this account of the Combats of those Martyrs who suffer'd at *Alexandria* in the times of *Decius*. "The Persecution amongst us did not begin at the time when the Imperial Edict was issued out, but preceded it one whole year. For a Soothsayer, and (b) a Poet So also

*Rufinus* names this Bishop of *Antioch*. Valef. (b) I have translated [*ἡμεῖς*] a Poet: First, because there is a great familiarity between *Poets* and *Prophets*, for the Divines or Soothsayers us'd to deliver their Oracles in Verse. Besides, the *Egyptians* were chiefly delighted with Poetry, which *Euempus* takes notice of. Moreover, no People were more malicious towards the Christians than these Soothsayers, moving the People to persecute them, and encouraging them by their Oracles. Valef.



*Decius.* (whoever he was who so endanger'd this City,) had stir'd up, and encouraged the Tumults of the Heathens against us, exciting them to their Country-Superstition. They being prick'd forward by him, and having obtained free Power of acting all Mischief, thought it the most acceptable Service \*and Worship of their Gods to slaughter us. First of all therefore they lay hands upon an old Man named *Metrus*, and bid him pronounce some Atheistical words, and because he obey'd them not, they beat him with Clubs, and prick'd him in the Face and Eyes with sharp Reeds; and when they had led him into the Suburbs, they stoned him to death. Afterwards they dragg'd a believing Woman called *Quinta*, to the Temple of their Idol, and compell'd her to fall down and worship: But she turning away her face, and abominating it, they bound her feet, and dragg'd her through the City, which is pav'd with sharp Stones; and having dash'd her against Millstones, and scourg'd her, they led her to the same place without the City, and stoned her. Afterwards all with one accord violently broke into the Houses of pious Men, and every one of them ran to their Neighbours, whom they knew, and plunder'd and robb'd them; their Goods which were of greater value they (*e*) purloin'd, but the Lumber and what was made of Wood they cast forth and burn'd in the Streets: So that the City seem'd as if it had been taken by an Enemy. But the Brethren withdrew themselves thence and privately fled; and (like those *St. Paul* speaks of) \**took joyfully the spoiling of their goods*. And not one of them that I know of, except one who somewhere fell into their hands, renounced the Lord till this time. Moreover, at that time they took a most admirable Virgin who was ancient, called *Apollonia*, and buffeting her on the Cheeks, they dash'd out all her Teeth. And when they had built a Pile of Wood before the City, they threaten'd to burn her alive, except she should repeat together with them some (*d*) prophane words. But she, having begg'd a little respite, being let loose, forthwith leap'd in to the fire, and was consumed to ashes. They also apprehended *Scapion* as he was in (*e*) his House; and having tortured him with grievous Torments, and broken all his Joints, they cast him down headlong out of an Upper-room. There was now no way for us, not the common High-way, not so much as any narrow Street through which we could securely pass either by day or night. Every body proclaiming at all times, and in all places, that whosoever

would not repeat those blasphemous words, he should be dragg'd away, and burnt immediately. After this manner these things continued for a great while: Afterwards follow'd Sedition, and a Civil War, which [scoiz'd] these Wretches, and returned the cruelty they used towards us upon themselves. And we had a little breathing time, their fury towards us being somewhat appeased. But presently news came of

(13) The *ἀσπίδας νεφέλας*, are the terms here, and what the words were, 'tis hard to conjecture: In his Epistle to *Germanus* he calls them [*ἀσπίδες νεφέλαι*, impious words;] and in this Epistle *δυσχερὲς ἱερουργίας λόγια*. Valef.

(14) Here we read *ἡμέρας*, i.e. in his own House, but *Nicomachus* very ill reads it *corps*. Concerning this *Scapion*, *Valef*, and *Ussanius* speak at the 14th of November. Where they say he suffered in the Reign of *Decius*; but they might better have said in the Reign of *Philip*. For *Thanasius* in this Epistle to *Fabius* expressly affirms that *Scapion*, and some other Martyrs, suffer'd before the Death of *Philip* the Emperor. The same Error is committed in all Martyrologies concerning *Apollonia* the Virgin, which say she suffered in the time of *Decius* upon the 9th day of February. Valef.

the (*f*) Translation of that Empire, which had *Decian.* been more favourable to us: And much fear of a threatening Storm appeared. And now arriv'd the [Imperial] Edict, almost like that fore-told by our Lord, (*g*) representing those most terrible [Times] in somuch that even the Elect, if it were possible, should be discouraged. Indeed, all were put in great fear. Immediately many of them who were more eminent, yielded up themselves [to their Idolatry] through fear: Others, who (*h*) had to do in the management of the publick Affairs, were forc'd thro' the necessity of their Offices [they held]; and they induced others of their acquaintance, who, being summon'd by name, repaired to their impure and prophane Sacrifices. Some look'd pale and trembled, as if they themselves were about to have been Sacrifices and Victims, not Sacrificers to their Idols. So that they rendered themselves the subject of laughter to the Multitude that stood round about them; because they demonstrated themselves to all, to be fearful both of Death and of Sacrificing: But others of them ran to the Altars more willingly, protesting very confidently that they never were Christians before. Concerning whom the Lord's Prediction is most true, *that they shall hardly be saved*. As for the rest, some of them adhered to the one or the other of those Parties we have mentioned; some fled away; others were apprehended. And of these [though] some proceeded so far as till [they came to] Bonds and Imprisonment, and others of them had been imprison'd several days; yet before they were brought to the Tribunal, they renounced [the Faith.] Some of them after they had persisted some time in suffering Torments, yet for fear of what might follow renounc'd [their Religion.] But the steadfast and blessed Pillars of the Lord, being strengthened by him, and having received Power and Patience equal and answerable to their strong Faith, became admirable Witnesses of his Kingdom. The first of which was *Julianus* a Gouty Man, who could neither go nor stand; he, together with two other Men who carried him, was brought before the Judge: One of those Persons straightway deny'd [Christ.] But the other whose name was *Cronion*, but was surnamed *Emus*, together with the old Man *Julianus*, having confessed the Lord, rode upon Camels through the whole City (which you know is very large) and were scourged as they sat on high, and at last in the presence of all the Multitude standing round, they were consum'd by

(*g*) In the King's MS. and *Stephanus's* Edition, in stead of *ἀσπίδας, νεφέλας* is read, but in the *Mar. Med. Lat. and Savil MSS.* *ἀσπίδας* is the term, which is a great deal better as I think. For *Dionysius* here means that this Decree of *Decius* was so terrible, that it seem'd to represent those most dreadful times of *Antichrist*, foretold by our Saviour. Valef.

(*h*) *Christophor.* mistakes in his Translation of this place. I have rendered here [*δυσχερὲς, ἡμέρας*], as it is had been [*ἀσπίδες, νεφέλαι*] the *Decurion* or *Magistrates*. For these always assembled the selves at the reading of the Emperor's Edicts in the Courts; and first of all executed his Commands; hence they were compelled to be present at the reading of this Decree, and immediately after it was read, to forsake to the Gods, according to the Injunction of the Decree. Valef.

Desist.

(i) This  
accusation  
may be re-  
solved

by an (i) exceeding hot fire. A Soldier who attended on them as they were led [to the Stake,] thrust away all those who abused them, and when the People exclaimed against him; this most valiant Champion of God (by name *Belus*) was called in question, and after he had behaved himself nobly in a great Combat in defence of Piety, he was beheaded: Also another Man, a *Libyan* born, (both according to his name and also agreeable to the Divine Benediction truly still'd (k) *Macar*) after much exhortation of the Judge to a Renunciation, being nothing subdu'd thereby, was burn'd alive. After these *Epimachus* and *Alexander*, after a tedious imprisonment, which they endured, having suffered infinite sorts of tortures, as

(k) *Macar* is derived from the Greek term *μακαριος*, which signifies blessed: *Dionysius* seems here to allude to those Words of our Saviour, Matt. 5, 10. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake, &c. *Rufinus* translates this place thus, *Alis guidam, vir nomine sui Macarius, gente Lybi-*

\* *Ευκαρις* is the term in the original: It signifies properly any kind of iron-instrument to make incision: *Dionysius* does here mean by it, an *Excise* wherewith they scraped the flesh from off the bones of the Christians.

† *neftets* tortured, because she had before-hand said she would utter nothing he should enjoy (her,) when she had verified her promise, she was led to execution. Now the rest were these, *Mercutia* a most virtuous and venerable Matron; and *Dionysia* the Mother of a numerous issue, but did not love her Children more than

(l) These words [also another *Ammonianus*.] I have added out of *Rufinus*. For *Dionysius* said there were four Women; but we find but three, except, according to *Rufinus*, we add these words. Valef.

(m) In stead of *Ater* in *Georg. Synclius*, and *Niceph.* we find *Ater*: In *Rufinus* 'tis *Asinus*; in the old Roman Martyrology, which is mostly taken out of *Rufinus*, he is called *Asinus*, at the 19th of the Kalends of January. Valef.

† *ter*, and *Isidorus*, Egyptians, and with them *Dioscorus*, a Lad about fifteen years of age, were set before the Judge. Who first of all endeavour'd to deceive the Youth with words, as thinking him flexible and easie to be perwaded; he endeavour'd also to force him by Torments, [supposing] him to be remis and inclinable to yield; but *Dioscorus* was neither moved with Perswasions, nor yielded he to Torments. When [the Judge] had most barbarously torn the rest with Stripes, and they persisted, he delivered them also to the Fire, but he dismiss'd *Dioscorus*, because he was lovely in the eyes of the People, and he also himself admired him for his most prudent Answers to his Questions: Saying, he allow'd him space for repentance because of his tender Age. And now the most Excellent *Dioscorus* continues with us, reserved for a greater and more lasting Combat. Also one *Nemesion*, another Egyptian, was falsely accused as a Companion of Thieves: But having before the Centurion cleared himself of this Accusation brought against him, as being most absurd,

he was impeach'd as being a Christian, and brought bound before the Governour: Who, (most unjust Man!) having inflicted upon him double as many Torments and Stripes, as upon the Thieves, [commanded] him to be burnt amongst Thieves. Blessed Man! who was honoured after Christ's example. Moreover, a whole (n) File of Soldiers, to wit, *Ammon*, and *Zeno*, and *Prology*, and *Ingenius*, and with them the old Man *Theophilus*, stood together before the place of Judicature. And when a certain Man was accused for being a Christian, and inclined to a Renunciation [of his Religion,] they standing by gnash'd upon him with their Teeth, made Grimaces at him with their Countenances, stretch'd out their Hands, and shew'd mimic and antick Gestures with their Bodies; [in-so-much that] all Mens Eyes were turned towards them. Before any one came to lay hands on them, they ran to the (o) place where the Accused usually sat, confessing themselves to be Christians: Upon which the Governour and the Assessors were surprized with a great fear. The Accused seem'd most courageous at what they were about to suffer, but the Judges trembled. So they went out of the place of Judicature in a kind of Pomp and State, and rejoiced at the Testimony [they were to give to the Faith.] God (p) making them to triumph gloriously.

† But I rather think that were *Legionary* Soldiers of that Legion, which kept Garion at Alexandria, and were under the Command of the Emperor's Deputy-Governour of Egypt; for at that time he who was the Emperor's Prefect in Egypt, had not only power in Civil Affairs, but also in Military. In the old Roman Martyrology the Birthday of these Martyrs is set down on the 19th of the Kalends of January. Valef.

(o) By this word *ἐκδοτα* is meant *Subsellium*, i. e. the place on which the Criminals while they are examin'd by the Judge sat. It is in some places call'd *Ambo*, or *Pulpitum*. Valef.

(p) Οὗτος *ἐκδοτα* ἔστω. *Rufinus* translates thus, *God thus triumphing by his Saints*; hence we may suppose he read *ἐκδοτα*. *Julianus* and *Christophorus* follow this Translation of *Rufinus*: But we must take notice and see whether *Dionysius* means not by *ἐκδοτα* ἄλλα, *ἄλλα*, *ἄλλα*, which I think he does, and therefore have so translated it. Valef.

## C H A P. XLII.

Concerning some other things which *Dionysius* relates.

SEveral others were torn in pieces by the Heathens, both in the Cities, and in the Country-Villages: One of them I will hear speak of for example's sake. *Ischyron* was a mercenary Officer under one of the Magistrates. He, whom he serv'd, enjoy'd him to sacrifice: but when he obey'd him not, he was injurious to him; when he still persisted to be disobedient, he basely reproach'd him. After he had patiently sustain'd all this, he took a great Stake, and having run it through his Guts and Bowels, murder'd him. What need I to reckon up the Multitudes, which wandered in Desarts and Mountains, and dyed by Pestilence, Thirst, and Cold, and by Diseases, Thieves, and Savage-beasts? Such of them as surviv'd are Witnesses of their Choice and Victory. But I will add one Fact for a manifestation of the truth hereof. There was one *Charemon* a very aged Man, Bishop of the City called *Nile*, he together with his Wife

Desist.

(n) ab-  
sque  
sua equi-  
tatione  
Rufinus  
renders a  
Troop of  
Soldiers;  
him Chris-  
tophorus  
also fol-  
lows: But  
I had ra-  
ther tran-  
late it a  
file of men.  
Some may  
perhaps  
think that  
these Sol-  
diers were  
the Pre-  
paritors,  
and other  
Officers,  
because  
they stood  
before the  
judgment-  
seat.(o) ab-  
sque  
sua equi-  
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before the  
judgment-  
seat.(p) Οὗτος  
ἐκδοτα  
ἔστω.  
Rufinus  
translates  
thus, God  
thus tri-  
umphing  
by his  
Saints;  
hence we  
may sup-  
pose he  
read ἐκ-  
δοτα.  
Julianus  
and Chris-  
tophorus  
follow this  
Translation  
of Rufinus:  
But we  
must take  
notice and  
see whether  
Dionysius  
means not  
by ἐκδοτα  
ἄλλα,  
ἄλλα,  
ἄλλα,  
which I  
think he  
does, and  
therefore  
have so  
translated  
it.(n) ab-  
sque  
sua equi-  
tatione  
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renders a  
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it.

Decius.

(a) Hieronymus mentions a

Mountain, called *Arabius*; which *Proton* and others call *Troicus*. *Chrysostom* therefore does not well in calling it a Mountain in *Arabia*. It is a little after called *Arabicus*, from its vicinity to *Arabia*. Valef.

(b) This place ought to be taken notice of for this one thing: For of all the Writers which came to our Hands, there is none (that I know of) who is ancients than *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, that mentions the *Saraceni*. Indeed *Ambrosius Marcellinus* says in his 14th Book, that he mentioned the *Saraceni* amongst the Aids of Prince *Maximus*. So also says *Spaurianus*, (*In Nigro*) saying they were conquered by the Roman Soldiers. Valef.

terwards, after some few words he makes an addition to all this, saying: Therefore those Divine Martyrs, (who are now Assessors with Christ, Colleagues of his Kingdom, and are

(c) It was the Opinion of the Ancient Fathers, that

Martyrs should be

Christ's

Assessors, and should

judge the World together

with him.

So says

*Eusebius*, Bishop of*Caesarea*, in his 4th

Book, against the

*Novatians*. But *Philostratus* in his*Philosophy*, removesthis Opinion. (*Philostratus* says) that those words of St. Paul in the Epistle to the *Corinthians* 6, 2. *Know ye not that the Saints shall judge the World?* Must not be understood as if the Saints were to be judges with Christ: But, says he, only meaneth thus, that other Men who had not lived to be judged by the Saints means he condemned. As it is in the Gospel, The Men of *Ninive*, and the Queen of the South shall rise up in judgment against this wicked Men, and condemn them. Matt. 12, 41. *Philostratus* took this Exposition out of *Cyprianus*, but *Eusebius*'s Opinion seems the truer to me. For if the *Novatians* are now Colleagues of Christ in his Kingdom, Why may not they be partakers of his Judgment? Moreover, Christ expressly promised the Apostles, That they should sit on twelve Thrones, judging the twelve Tribes of *Israel*. Math. 19, 28. Valef.

(d) This place must be rendered according to our Translation; though

*Langens* and *Chrysostom* translate it, as if the *Alexandrians* admitted the

Penitents into the Church: Which they could not do, being in Bonds.

Moreover the Bishop only had power of reconciling Penitents, the Martyrs

could only intercede for them, and write commendatory Letters in their behalf; though this word *overdura* may be rendered passively, as in the 3d Chap. of this 6th Book. Valef.

(e) Communion in the Church is twofold, of Prayer, and of the Sacraments, that of the Prayers was granted to Penitents after a certain

time; but the Communion of the Body of Christ was not granted except to them who were reconciled after long time of Repentance. But

*Dionysius* here means private Communion; by some that I call private Communion, which was granted to any one by some private Persons, and not by the Bishop, whose Power and Duty it was to grant it. The thing these private Persons granted, was this; these Martyrs and Confessors permitted Penitents who desired their pity and intercession, to pray to God with them. Valef.

together, and received them into their Congregation, and (e) communicated with them in Prayer, and in Eating. Now, therefore (Brethren) how do you counsel us concerning these things, what must be done by us? Shall we be of like Mind, and of the same Opinion with the [Martyrs?] Shall we observe their Determination, and the Favour they [shew'd such Persons?] And shall we be indulgent towards them, to whom they were merciful? Or shall we render their Sentence unjust, and make ourselves Examiners and Judges of their Opinion? Grieve their Goodness and Clemency? And de-

stroy the Order [which is constituted?] *Dionysius* very advicably annexed these words, discouraging concerning them, who in the Times of Persecution had lapsed through infirmity of Mind.

ly. Also many about this Mountain *Arabicus* were taken Captives and inflav'd by the barbarous (b) *Saraceni*: Some of which were with much difficulty re-

deem'd with great Sums of Money; but others of them are not yet [redeem'd] even at this time. Now (my Brother) I have not at large related these things to no purpose, but that you may see how great and how grievous miseries hapned to us, which they who have most experienc'd do best understand. Af-

terwards, after some few words he makes an addition to all this, saying: Therefore those Divine Martyrs, (who are now Assessors with Christ, Colleagues of his Kingdom, and are

(c) Partakers of his Judgment, giving sentence together with him) during their being amongst us, receiv'd to themselves some of the Brethren who were lapsed, and lay convict as having sacrificed to Idols: And when they had seen their Conversion and Penitence, judging it might be acceptable to God, who in no wise willeth the death of a Sinner, but rather, that he repent, they admitted them, and (d) brought them together, and received them into their Congregation, and (e) communicated with them in Prayer, and in Eating. Now, therefore (Brethren) how do you counsel us concerning these things, what must be done by us? Shall we be of like Mind, and of the same Opinion with the [Martyrs?] Shall we observe their Determination, and the Favour they [shew'd such Persons?] And shall we be indulgent towards them, to whom they were merciful? Or shall we render their Sentence unjust, and make ourselves Examiners and Judges of their Opinion? Grieve their Goodness and Clemency? And de-

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deem'd with great Sums of Money; but others of them are not yet [redeem'd] even at this time. Now (my Brother) I have not at large related these things to no purpose, but that you may see how great and how grievous miseries hapned to us, which they who have most experienc'd do best understand. Af-

terwards, after some few words he makes an addition to all this, saying: Therefore those Divine Martyrs, (who are now Assessors with Christ, Colleagues of his Kingdom, and are

(c) Partakers of his Judgment, giving sentence together with him) during their being amongst us, receiv'd to themselves some of the Brethren who were lapsed, and lay convict as having sacrificed to Idols: And when they had seen their Conversion and Penitence, judging it might be acceptable to God, who in no wise willeth the death of a Sinner, but rather, that he repent, they admitted them, and (d) brought them together, and received them into their Congregation, and (e) communicated with them in Prayer, and in Eating. Now, therefore (Brethren) how do you counsel us concerning these things, what must be done by us? Shall we be of like Mind, and of the same Opinion with the [Martyrs?] Shall we observe their Determination, and the Favour they [shew'd such Persons?] And shall we be indulgent towards them, to whom they were merciful? Or shall we render their Sentence unjust, and make ourselves Examiners and Judges of their Opinion? Grieve their Goodness and Clemency? And de-

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## C H A P. XLIII.

Concerning Novatus, what manner of Person he was as to his Morals; and concerning his Heresy.

FOR *Novatus*, a Presbyter of the Church of *Rome*, being puffed up with pride against these Men, as if there were no further hopes of Salvation left for them, altho' they perform'd all things appertaining to an unfeigned Conversion, and a sincere Confession, constituted himself the Ring-leader of a peculiar Sect, of those who by reason of their haughty Minds filed themselves

† *Cathari*. Upon this account a very great Synod was assembled at *Rome*, consisting of sixty Bishops, but of Presbyters and Deacons [the number] was greater. And when the Pastors of each respective place in the rest of the Provinces, had consulted by themselves concerning what was to be done; (a) This Decree was promulgated to all: That

*Novatus*, together with all those who imitated his Pride, and who presumptuously assented to his uncharitable and most inhuman Opinion, should be accounted as alienated from the Church: But that the Brethren who were fallen into the Calamity [of the Lapsed], should be healed and cured by the Remedies of "Repentance." There came to our hands the Epistles of *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, to *Fabius* Bishop of *Antioch*; which set forth the Acts of that Synod at *Rome*, and the Opinions of all those in *Italy* and *Africa*, and the Provinces there. There are also extant other Epistles written in Latin, by *Cyprian* and those Bishops assembled with him in *Africa*: By which it appears, that they consented to the relieving of those who were fallen into Temptation, and that the Author of this Heresy ought with good reason to be expelled out of the Catholic Church, together with all those who had been seduced by him. There is also annex'd to these (b) another Epistle of *Cornelius*'s concerning the Decrees of that Synod: And also another concerning the mischievous Acts of these *Novatus*. Part of which, nothing hinders but Epistle that we may here infer, that so they who read this Work, may have a perfect knowledge in all things concerning *Novatus*. *Cornelius* therefore, informing *Fabius* what a Man this *Novatus* was as to his course of life, writes these very words: "But that you may the better understand how this admirable Fellow heretofore covered a Bishoprick, and concealing this his hot am-

(a) *Rufinus* translates this Phras *Epistola maledictus rige pueri*, Decretum significatur quid factu opo esset, but the other Translators in my Opinion turn it better, by translating it thus; Decernitur ab omnibus. Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* contends, and mixes each this Epistle with that which *Eusebius* is here mentioned, as if he over two Epistles of *Cornelius*. *Historia* new in his Book, *De Scripturis Ecclesiasticis*, reckons up four, but *Eusebius* in this place gives us an account of three only. The first and the third seem as if *Cornelius* had writ them in Greek, which may be proved by several Arguments, for *Eusebius* quotes several things out of the third Epistle, but does not in the least signify that it was ever translated out of Latin into Greek, which thing he always does as often as he quotes any Latin Authors. Moreover, in this very Chapter *Eusebius* signifies that the first Epistle was writ in Greek, for speaking of it, he adds that there was another Epistle of *Cyprian* annex'd to it, which was written in Latin. Which Clause certainly he had not added, had not *Cornelius*'s Epistle been written in a contrary Language. Valef.

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*Decius.* bition continued undiscover'd; for a Convert for his Folly, usually from the beginning having the Confessors in his company, I will make this Declaration to you: (c) *Maximus* a Presbyter of our Church, and *Urbanus*, which Men have the second time acquir'd great renown to themselves for their Confessions: *Sidonius* also; and *Celerinus*, a Man who has most patiently endured all sorts of Tortures through God's Mercy; and having corroborated the weakness of the Flesh through the strength of his Faith, utterly vanquish'd the Adversary: These Men [I say, &c.] when they had made enquiry into the Man, and (d) detected his Subtlety and Deceit, his Perjury and Lyes, his Unfociableness and Wolfish Friendship, return'd to the Holy Church; and divulged all his subtil Devices, and his Villanies (which he had kept conceal'd within himself for a long time, refusing to declare them) in the presence both of a sufficient number of Bishops, and al-

(c) Concerning this *Maximus* the Presbyter, *Urbanus*, and *Sidonius*, Confessors, who they deferted to the Church; see *Cornelius* the Pope's Epistle to *Cyprian*. There was also at the same time another *Maximus*, Presbyter of the Church of Rome, whom *Novatianus* employed as Embassador to *Cyprian* in *Africa*, together with *Maianus* and others: Afterwards the Schismatics made this *Maximus* a Bishop in *Africa*, as *Cyprian* in his Epistle to *Cornelius* tells us. *Valef.*

(d) *Kallianus* signifies to catch a man in the very act of Robbery, with the goods, or things which he hath stolen are yet in his hands; hence it signifies to bring any Plot, Robbery, or any other Wickedness to light, to bewray, or disclose. *Ego. Hist. pag. 27.*

so of a great many Presbyters and Laicks; lamenting and repenting, because, having been seduced by this subtil and wicked Beast, for some small time they had abandon'd the Church." After some few words, he also adds this ("Dear Brother") That a wonderful change and alteration we saw made in a short time in him? For this most excellent Fellow, (who affirm'd with terrible Profutations and Oaths, that he did not in the least cover the Office of a Bishop) on a sudden appears a Bishop, as if he had been (e) thrown into the midst by an Engine. For this brave Doctor, who [pretended himself] to be a Maintainer of the Church-Discipline, when he endeavour'd by force to acquire to himself, and surreptitiously to steal the Bishoprick which was not assign'd to him by God, chose for his Confidants two Men, who despair'd of Salvation, that he might send them into some little corner, and the most despicable part of Italy, and there delude three Bishops, who were simple and unlearned Men, by a certain fraudulent enterprise, affirming and professing that with all possible speed they must go to Rome, that all the disagreement which had been there, might by their mediation, together with the other Bishops, be compos'd.

(e) *Theodoret* in his 3d Book of his *Historia*, Chap. 4, writes that *Novatus* himself went into Italy to fetch these Bishops, and when he, with the Bishops upon their Journey, came into some Town or other, he forced them to Ordain him, which those Bishops complain'd of when they came to Rome; but this Epistle of *Cornelius* refutes that Story of his. *Valef.*

(f) *Cornelius* Wine, to give him the Bishoprick by (g) an imaginary and an ineffectual Imposition of Hands: Bishops, and ineffectual Ordination, because it was solemnized by those of another Diocese, and not by those Bishops who had the Right and Power of Ordaining the Bishops of Rome, which were the Bishops of *Offia*, *Tibur*, and others: 'Twas also ineffectual and vain, because it was done by Men who were blind, by force, at the Tenth Hour of the Day, none of the Clergy or People being present; and lastly, because another Bishop was before regularly Ordain'd. *Cornelius* both here,

and in his Epistle to *Cyprian*, says, *Novatianus* was Ordain'd by three Bishops, whereas *Pocianus* says, in his second Epistle to *Simplicianus*, he was Ordain'd by the Letters Commendatory of the Confessors: but these Differences we may thus reconcile. *Novatianus* was named to be the Bishop, by the Epistle of the Confessors, but was afterwards Consecrated by three Bishops. *Valef.*

And he laid claim to that by craft and subtlety, *Decius*, which did in no-wise appertain to him. One of those Bishops not long after return'd to the Church, bewailing and confessing his sin, whom, through the mediation of all the People then present, (h) we received into the Communion of the Laity. We ordain'd Successors for the two other Bishops, and sent them away to possess their Sees.

(i) This Maintainer therefore of the Gospel, knew not that 'twas meet there should be but one (k) Bishop in a Catholic Church. In which he was not ignorant (for how could he be?) that there should be (l) 46 Presbyters, 7 Deacons, 7 Sub-Deacons, Clerks 42; Exorcists, Readers, together with Janitors, 52 Widows and (m) Indigent Persons, which could not maintain themselves, above a thousand and five hundred. All these the Grace and Bounty of the Lord maintain'd; But neither could so great Multitude, so necessary in the Church, (a Congregation which by God's Providence is both rich and numerous, together with a great and innumerable multitude of People) make this Man ashamed of this so desperate an attempt, or deter him from proceeding in it, or recal him into the Church." And again, after some other words, which intervene, he adjoyns these.

But come on, let us in our following words declare, in what Works of his own, or what good Practices he was so confident, as to aspire to a Bishoprick. Was it upon this account, that from the beginning he had been convert in the Church, and had fought many Combats in defence of it, and had been in many and great perils upon account of Religion? No, this is nothing so. For the Devil who had enter'd into him, and for a long time dwelt in him, was the occasion of his being a deliverer. He being relieved [thereof] by the Exorcists, fell into a grievous Distemper, and it being suppos'd that he would die immediately, he receiv'd Baptism, (n) being besprinkled with Water, on the Bed whereon he lay: (For that word *εβαπτισεν* very well renders *perfusus*, besprinkled; for People which were sick, and baptized in their Beds, could not be dip'd in Water by the Priest, but were sprinkled with Water by him: This Baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptiz'd were called ever afterwards *Cincti*, and by the 12th Canon of the Council of *Nicephora*, these *Cincti* were prohibited Priesthood. *Chrysostome* decries this sort of Baptism in his 60th Homily, Tome the 2d. (to the *Catechumen*): *Cyprian* in his 76th Epistle, holds this Baptism to be lawful and perfect. *Valef.*

(n) This Water, on the Bed whereon he lay: (For that word *εβαπτισεν* very well renders *perfusus*, besprinkled; for People which were sick, and baptized in their Beds, could not be dip'd in Water by the Priest, but were sprinkled with Water by him: This Baptism was thought imperfect, and not solemn for several reasons. Also they who were thus baptiz'd were called ever afterwards *Cincti*, and by the 12th Canon of the Council of *Nicephora*, these *Cincti* were prohibited Priesthood. *Chrysostome* decries this sort of Baptism in his 60th Homily, Tome the 2d. (to the *Catechumen*): *Cyprian* in his 76th Epistle, holds this Baptism to be lawful and perfect. *Valef.*

Decid.

(a) The

Canon

was this,

That if they

who were

baptized in

their beds,

if they re-

covered a c-

gain,

should of-

ferwards go

to the

Bishop,

that he

might sap-

ply what was

wanting in

that Bapti-

sm. Nov-

atianus is here ac-

cused by

Cornelius,

because,

after his

recovery,

he never

went to

the Bishop

for the com-

pletion-

of Bapti-

sm, as the

Canon of

the Church

injoineth:

For it is

expressly

comman-

ded in the

47th Canon

of the

Council of

Elvire, Val.

(p) Rufinus

thinketh that

by this Phrase

το βαπτισμα εν

το κρητι

is meant the

Chrism, but

I rather think

he means the

imposi-

tion of Hands,

by which the

Bishops gave

the Holy Ghost

to them who

were baptiz-

ed. Cyrilus,

to Subianus,

confirms our

interpretation.

Tis true βαπτισμα

signifies in

figu, or more,

it also signifies,

to lay

hands on,

as Innocentius

uses it in his

3d and 6th

Chap, to Decentius,

and Marcus in his

Letter to Porphyrius

can be termed Baptism: ) Neither when he had escaped that Sicknes, did he afterwards receive the other things which the (a) Canon of the Church enjoyneth should be received: Nor was he (p) sealed by the Bishop's Imposition of Hands; which if he never receiv'd, how did he receive the Holy Ghost? And again, a little after, he saith: "This Man in the time of Persecution, through timoroufness and a desire of life, deny'd that he was a Presbyter. For being desired and intreated by the Deacons that he would come out of his Chamber, in which he had shut himself up, and succour the Brethren as far as it was meet and possible for a Presbyter to succour the distressed Brethren, who wanted assistance: He was so far from complying with the Deacons who intreated him, that with great indignation he went his way, and departed. For he said he would no longer be a Presbyter; but was a favourer of another kind of Philosophy." Having ran over some few Passages, he makes this addition hereto in these words: "For this excellent Fellow has deserted the Church of God, in which, after he had receiv'd Baptism, he was (q) vouchsafed the Degree of Presbyter by the favour of the Bishop, who by Imposition of Hands Ordain'd him Priest: Who being (r) deny'd [Orders] by all the Clergy, and many of the Laity, (because it was not lawful for one who had been baptized in his Bed by reason of some Infirmitie, as he was, to be admitted into (s) any sacred Order,) the Bishop intreated licence might be granted him to Ordain this Person only." To these impious acts he afterwards subjoyneth this other, the worst of all his wicked

47th Canon of the Council of Laodicea, and in Chap. 39. of the Council of Elvire, Val.

(p) Rufinus thinketh that by this Phrase το βαπτισμα εν το κρητι is meant the Chrism, but I rather think he means the imposition of Hands, by which the Bishops gave the Holy Ghost to them who were baptized. Cyrilus, to Subianus, confirms our interpretation. Tis true βαπτισμα signifies in figu, or more, it also signifies, to lay hands on, as Innocentius uses it in his 3d and 6th Chap, to Decentius, and Marcus in his Letter to Porphyrius Bishop of Gaza, and Ambrose (or whosoever it is who is the Author of those Books) upon the 4th Chap. of Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. This Sealing of the baptized was sometimes perform'd with the Chrism, (that is) when the Person, in case of approaching death, had been baptized by some of the inferior Clergy, and not anointed; but if he had been perfectly baptized before, only imposition of Hands by the Bishop was required, as the Canon Araucanus tells us. Hence I conjecture arose the custom of not using the Chrism in Baptism amongst the Novatians, (as Theodoret tells us) that he did not, in his third Book *Haer. Fabul.* because their Ringleader Novatianus received Baptism without the Chrism.

(q) Hence we may gather that Novatianus immediately received Priest's Orders, being never Ordained Deacon, or Subdeacon; that thing was at that time unlawful in the Church, as we may see in Origen and others. Val.

(r) Formerly Bishops could not Ordain Priests without the consent of the Clergy, and People. Now concerning the requiring of the People's Votes in the Election of Presbyters, the Nicene Fathers themselves do evidence that, in their Synodical Epistle to the Bishops of Egypt. Out of several places of that Epistle we may gather, that the consent of the People was required in the Ordination of Clergy-men. The Holy Fathers also in that same Epistle deprive those Bishops who adhered to Meletius the Schismatic, of all Authority of proposing their names to the People, who were to be admitted into Holy Orders, and only granted it to those Bishops who were pure from all Schism. For, in those days, the Bishops gave up the names of them who were to be Ordained to the People, that if they had any thing to object against any of them, they might attell it openly; as we may read in the *Sacramentarium* of Gregory the Great. I here is also an excellent passage in St. Chrysostome upon the 11th Chapter in his 1st Homily upon the *second Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians*. We have the whole Solemnity excellently described in the *Sacramentarium* of Gregory the Great, pag. 236. upon which place consult the whole Annotations of that most learned Man  *Hugo Mercurius*. Val.

(s) Krieger signifies a Degree or Order of them who have any Office in the Church. So Cornelius calls κληρικος presbyterus, the Presbytership, Eufebius and Irenaeus very often use κληρικος denotative for the Dignity of a Bishop: κληρικος signifies any degree whatsoever. Val.

Exploits; saying thus; 'For he made Oblations, and distributed to every one a part thereof; which when he had (r) delivered, in stead of blessing them, he compelled the wretched (s) Men to swear, holding the hands of him that received with both his hands, and not letting them go, till the Persons had sworn, pronouncing these words; (for I will here make use of his own words: ) *Swear to me by the Body and Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, that thou wilt never desert me, and revolt to Cornelius.* So the miserable Man was not permitted to taste before (u) he had cursed himself. And at the receiving of the Bread, instead of saying *Amen*, he says, I will never return to Cornelius." Again, after some other words he says, thus: "Now you must understand he is strip'd though naked of all his Followers, and left desolate. Is not the Brethren daily deserting him, and returning to the Church: And (x) *Moses a blessed Martyr*, (who lately amongst us suffered a famous and admirable Martyrdom,) taking notice in his life-time of this Man's Impudence and Folly, (y) depriv'd him of Communion, together with the five (z) Presbyters, who with him had voluntarily separated themselves from the Church." Now at the end of his Epistle, Letin

he makes a Catalogue of those Bishops who were present at Rome, and condemn'd the folly of Novatians. He also gives an account of their names, and the name of every one's particular Church, in which he govern'd. He does also expressly mention those, who were not then present [at Rome,] but by Letters approv'd of the Sentence of the foreaid Bishops, together with their names, and the names of the Cities, from which each of them wrote. Thus much Cornelius has recorded in his Epistle to Fabius Bishop of Antioch.

But I had rather read it *κατωθεν*, with George Gennadius. The meaning of the place then is this, That the unhappy Man was not permitted to taste, before he had solemnly cursed himself. Val.

† This Phrase *κατωθεν* is used, instead of saying *Amen* in the same import with what Cornelius has said a little before, viz. *αμην*, after the Priest, delivering the Sacrament: had said, *the Will of our Lord, &c.* See Ambrosius in his B. 4. Chap. 5. De Sacramentis. Cyril of Jerusalem, in his last Catechism; and August. B. 12. Chap. 12. against Faustus, Val.

(x) Concerning this *Moses*, a Presbyter of Rome, Cyrian in his Epistle do speak frequently. After the Martyrdom of Fabianus Bishop of Rome (who suffered Anno Christi 250.) this *Moses* was apprehended, (together with Maximus the Presbyter, and Nicotrianus the Deacon,) call'd into Prison, where after 11 Months and 11 Days, he dy'd, St. Cyrian's 15th Epistle to *Moses* and *Maximus*. Val.

(y) *Moses* being a Presbyter had no Authority to excommunicate his fellow-Presbyters: All he could do was to separate himself from their Communion, when they came to visit him in Prison. This Phrase here *αποχωρισθησιν*, i. e. he depriv'd him of Communion the ancient Writers frequently used, when they spoke of those Presbyters, who abstained from Communion with others. See *Paulinus* in the Life of St. Ambrose. *Moses's* depriving of Novatians of Communion was, I suppose, done by him a little before his death. For at this *Moses* the Confessor had Communion with Novatians: And when the Clergy of Rome wrote that Epistle to Cyrian (which among Cyrian's Epistles is accounted the 31.) *Moses* then had Communion with Novatians; for both of them subscrib'd that Epistle. Moreover, Novatianus himself wrote an Epistle, as Cyrian attests in his Epistle to Amianus: From which Epistle we may perceive the Wit and Eloquence of Novatianus; for that when *Moses* he must confess, is a most elegant Piece; and it was written when *Moses* had been a year in Prison, as may be collected from Cyrian's Epistles to *Moses*. Val.

(z) Who these five Presbyters were, who with Novatianus made a Schism, 'tis to me unknown. I can't think that Maximus the Presbyter and Confessor, who with Urbans, Sidonius, Nicotrianus, and the rest of the Confessors were seduced by Novatianus, adhered to his Party any long time. For Maximus and the rest of the Confessors

went

went over to *Novatianus*'s party after *Moses*'s death. Indeed *Novatianus* separated himself from the Church before *Moses*'s death, which happened in February, *Decius* 3, and *Eusebius* being *Confessors*: But the *Confessors* did not betake themselves to *Novatianus*'s side till after *Moses*'s death.

So good was the power, and authority of *Moses*. Besides, 'tis evident the *Confessors* were not diffident of their imprisonment till *Moses* was dead: For why should they be freed rather than *Moses*? Therefore they became *Novatianus*'s followers after *Moses*'s death. One *Maximus*, native-like to *Maximus* the Presbyter and Confessor, seems to have been one of these five Presbyters; whom *Novatianus* sent as his Messenger afterwards into Africa. *Valf.*

## C H A P. XLIV.

## Dionysius's Story concerning Serapion.

*Dionysius* Bishop of Alexandria sent Letters to this same *Fabius*, who was something inclining to this Schism, and having discoursed several things concerning Repentance in his Letters to him, and also related the Combats of some who had undergone Martyrdom a little before at Alexandria, amongst other Stories, he relates a miraculous thing, which I thought necessary here to insert into this our History: it runs thus: 'I will here propose to you one Example which hapned amongst us. There was amongst us one *Serapion* an old Man, a Believer; who for a long time had liv'd blameless: But in the time of Persecution he lapsed; he often petition'd for pardon, (a) but no body gave attention to him, because he had sacrific'd. Being taken with Sicknefs, he remain'd for the space of three days speechless, and senseless: Being a little refresh'd on the fourth day, he called his Daughter's Son to him, and said, Child, how long do you detain me? I pray make haste, and absolve me quickly, call one of the (b) Presbyters to me: And when he had spoken these words, he was again speechless. The Child ran to the Presbyter. It was now Night; and the Presbyter also was sick, and not able to come. But (because I had before given command, [that those People who were dying, if they desired it, and (c) especially if they had before humbly requested it, should be (d) absolved, that they might depart with a lively hope] he (e) gave any fault had been excommunicated.) And the Bishop himself sometimes asked the Consent of the People. The People also did often intercede for the Penitents to the Bishop, as we may see in the preceding Chapter in the Epistle of Pope *Cornelius* to *Fabian* Bishop of Antioch. *Valf.*

(a) Some one may perhaps ask why *Serapion* did not rather send for the Bishop, whose Office it was to reconcile Penitents. The Bishop had given this Authority to the Presbyters, for fear, lest he being absent, any one should dye without Absolution and the Communion. See *Eusebius* in his *History of the Arians*. This custom of committing this Authority to the Presbyters was usual in all great Cities. *Valf.*

(b) This was the Decree of the African Synod about the same time that *Dionysius* wrote these things. *Valf.*

(c) In the *Savil* and *Fab.* MSS. before this word [*apiesau*] there are some Words inserted which also *Christophorus* infers in his Translation: It may appear from this place that the Sacrament was delivered to such Penitents in case of necessity, without the reconciliatory imposition of Hands. And this Communion was called, the *Piscarium*. See *Cyprian* the 77 and 78 of the 4th Council of Carthage, and the 39th Canon of the first Council of Aradusca: This Communion was called also *dispenfatoria*, because it was granted to dying Penitents, before the completion of the full time appointed for Repentance, and if the penitent Communicant recovered, it was perfected after his recovery by Imposition, he completing his time of Repentance. *Valf.*

(e) This that *Dionysius* here says concerning the giving of the Eucharist to the Boy to carry to the sick Person, ought not to seem strange, for it was frequently done a long time after. So that St. *Udalric* thought it necessary expressly to prohibit it, in his Synodical Speech which *Greiser* published, together with the Life of *Gregory* the Seventh, Chap. 20. But that which *Greiser* takes to be St. *Udalric*'s Oration, I found lately to be the Synodical Epistle of *Ratherius* Bishop of Verona to his Clergy. And so 'tis entitled in the old *Laudunensian* MS. *Valf.*

to the Child a piece of the Sacrament, bidding him to (f) moisten it in Water, and put it into the old Man's Mouth: The Child return'd with it. And when he approached, before he came thither, *Serapion* again recover'd himself a little, and said, Child thou art come, the Presbyter was not able to come; but do thou perform quickly what he enjoynd thee, and let me depart. And it is said the Boy moisten'd it in Water, and put it into his Mouth immediately: And when he had swallow'd it by little and little, he straightway gave up the Ghost. Is it not plain that he was preserved, and his Life prolong'd till he was absolved, that his Sin being quite blotted out, he might for the several good Works he perform'd, be (g) acknowledg'd [by Christ?"] Thus much *Dionysius*.

*Decius*, (f) *Rufinus* translates this phrase thus, *He thus, He thus, He thus*. Bread in Water, as *Adamantius* witnesseth in his 2d Book concerning the Miracles of St. *Columba*, Chap. 6. And *Bede* also in the Life of St. *Cuthbert*, Chap. 31. and in his Poem upon the same Man's Life; and several other Ecclesiastical Writers. But the Eucharist being put in the mouth of sick Persons, is mentioned in the 75th Canon of the 4th Council of Carthage; which Canon is, concerning sick Persons, who desired Repentance, but were speechless before the Priest came to them. See the Contents of that Canon. *Valf.*

(g) *Langus* and *Mafius* render *ἀποκαθάρσις* in this place by the Latin word *confiteri*; which, in my opinion, is intolerable. *Christophorus* renders it, in numerum *Confessorum* referri, to be reckoned amongst the Confessors: Which translation I like, if it be understood thus, referri Christo, to be reckoned by Christ. For *Dionysius* alludeth to Christ's Words in the Gospel; *He who shall confess me before Men, him will I also confess before my Father*, &c. *Matth.* 10. 32. *Valf.*

## C H A P. XLV.

## Dionysius's Epistle to Novatus.

LET us now see what the same Person wrote to *Novatus*, who about this time disturb'd the Fraternity of the Roman Church. Take notice therefore how he writes to him, because he pretended that some of the Brethren were the Authors of his Apostacy and Schism, and how he yielded to it, being compelled by them. '*Dionysius* sendeth greeting to our Brother (a) *Novatus*. If you (as you say) were seduced unwillingly, you should manifest it by a voluntary return. For better it were to endure any thing whatever, than that the Church of God should be rent asunder. Nor were Martyrdom less honourable if a Man suffer death before he will yield to raise Schism in the Church, than if he undergo it rather than he will yield to sacrifice to Idols. Yea, in my opinion, 'tis much more glorious, for in that case Man suffers Martyrdom for his own Soul's sake only: But in this he undergoes it for the sake of the whole Church. Wherefore now, if you can persuade or compel the Brethren to return to concord, your Good Deed will be greater than your Crime; for this will not be imputed to you; but that will be commended. But if you can effect nothing upon the Disobedient, save your own Soul. I wish you Health, and that you may embrace Peace in the Lord.' These things he wrote to *Novatus*.

(a) *Hieronymus*, in his Catalogue, where he relates the beginning of this Epistle, in stead of *Novatus* more truly writes *Novatianus*. And so in *George Synellus*'s Chronicle we read *Novatius*. *Novatius* Rufinus says that *Dionysius* wrote two Epistles after the same Copy; one to *Novatus*, another to *Novatianus*; and at the end of *Dionysius*'s Epistle to *Novatus*, which *Eusebius* here rehearseth, he adds that much, And he wrote these same Words to *Novatianus*: Which Words are nowhere found in the Greek Text. The Greek Writers being deceived through the likeness of the Names, make a confusion betwixt *Novatus* and *Novatianus*, using them both to signify one and the same Person. Our Author *Eusebius* is also guilty of this mistake. *Valf.*

Decius.

## CHAP. XLVI.

Concerning Dionysius's other Epistles.

HE also wrote an Epistle concerning Repentance to them (a) in Egypt; in which he layeth down his Opinions concerning the Lapsed, and makes distinctions in the degrees of Faults. There is also extant a particular Book of his concerning Repentance, to Canon Bishop of the Church of Hermopolis. And another (b) objuratory Epistle to his Flock at Alexandria. And amongst them there is an Epistle written to Origen concerning Martyrdom: And an Epistle to the Brethren at Laodicea, over whom Theymidres was Bishop: He also writ concerning Repentance to the Brethren in Armenia, over whom (c) Meruzanes was Bishop. He writes to all these, and also to Cornelius Bishop of Rome, after he had received his Epistle concerning Novatus: Where he declares that he was invited by Helmus Bishop of Tarsus in Cilicia, and those who were with him;

(a) Hieronymus in his Book concerning the Ecclesiastick Writers, saith, that Dionysius wrote this Epistle about Repentance, and the Order and Degree of Sin, to the Armenians. Valef.

(b) Musculus and Christophor. translate κηρυγματις, an Horary Epistle; but not well: Eusebius uses the same word in his former Books. Valef.

(c) In the Max. Med. and Vul. MSS. in stead of μερζανος, 'tis μερζανος; he was Bishop of Armenia the Less, as I think. Valef.

and also by Firmilianus Bishop of Cappadocia, and by Theodotus Bishop of Palestine, to meet them at the Synod at Antioch, where some Men endeavour'd to establish the Novatian Schism.

(d) Moreover, he sends him word that he had heard Fabian was dead, and that Demetrianus was appointed to be his Successor in the Bishoprick of Antioch. He also writes concerning the Bishop of Jerusalem in these very words: 'Also blessed Alexander being in Prison, there died a happy death.' There is extant besides this another Epistle of his sent by Hippolytus to the Brethren at Rome, concerning the (e) Office of a Deacon. He also wrote another to them concerning Peace, and concerning Repentance likewise. And again he wrote another to the Confessors there, who even at that present were favourers of Novatus's Opinion. He also sent to those same Men two other Epistles, after their return to the Church. He also compiled many more Epistles written to divers persons, wherein he has left to them, who at this time studiously peruse his Works, variety of profit.

(d) We must understand this News was written in the same Epistle, and not in another, as Christophorus thinks. Valef.

Goar, who published Georgius Syncellus, and illustrated him with his Notes, thinks that this Διακονικη was a kind of an Ecclesiastick Epistle, as were the Synodical, the Dimissory-Epistles, and the like: But I rather assent to Rufinus, that it was called Διακονικη, because it treated concerning the Duty of a Deacon. Valef.

28 SEP 60

THE

THE  
SEVENTH BOOK  
Of the Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

THE PREFACE.

**D**ionysius the Great, *Bishop of Alexandria, shall again assist us with his Words in the Composure of this Seventh Book of the Ecclesiastick History; who particularly relates all the Actions of his own Times, in the Epistles which he left to Posterity: And our Narration shall take its beginning from hence.*

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning the Wickedness of Decius and Gallus.*

**G**ALLUS succeeds Decius, who was slain in a short time, together with his (a) Children, before he had fully completed the (b) Second Year of his Reign. (c) About this time died *Origen*, having lived Seventy Years wanting one. But *Dionysius* in his Epistle to *Hermannon*, writes thus concerning *Gallus*: ‘But neither did *Gallus* understand what was *Decius*’s Destruction; neither did he before see what brought his Ruin; But he also stumbled upon the same Stone, which lay before his Eyes. He, (his Kingdom being in a happy state, and all Affairs succeeding according

*Aurelius Quintus*. They were both made *Cæsars* by their Father, and afterwards *Augusti*, as may appear by their Coins, and the Inscriptions upon them. *Valef.*

(4) *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* faith, *Decius* reigned<sup>d</sup> one year and three months. *Aurelius Victor* faith, he died after he had reigned<sup>d</sup> two years compleat. But *Victor* in his *Epiomy* faith he reigned<sup>d</sup> thirty months. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicle* affigne one year and three months to *Decius*, because he had before said that *Philip* reigned<sup>d</sup> seven years, whereas he reigned<sup>d</sup> but six. After his Death *Decius* proclaim'd himself both Emperor and Consul, which was in the Year of Christ 249. And in the Year 250, he was again Consul: And also after he had been Governour, as we may gather by a Decree of the Senate which was made the Year of *Julius* *Tollio* in *Valentin* relates. Wherefore he died the Year following, together with his Sons (when *Gallus* and *Volusianus* were Consuls,) being all kill'd in the Wars in *Thrace*. Valef.

(.) *Baronius* placeth *Origen's* Death at the Year of *Christ* 256. in the 3rd Year of *Gallus* and *Volusianus*: *Eusebius* here placeth it in the same year that *Decius* died, and *Gallus* began to govern. But *Eusebius* himself in the 36th Chapter of the 6th Book of this *History* confirmeth what *Baronius* saith: For he says that in the 3d Year of *Emperour Philip's* Reign, which was the 10th Year of *Emperour* *Septimius* from the 3d Year of *Philip's* Reign to the 3d Year of *Gallus* and *Volusianus's* Consulship, 'tis 9 years. Moreover, if we say *Origen* liv'd 65 years, and died in the first Year of *Gallus* the *Emperor*, he must necessarily be born in the 4th Year of *Commodus* the *Emperor*: But the *Chronicon Alexandr.* assigns his Birth to the 5th Year of that *Emperor*. Vale.

to his (d) desire) persecuted the Holy Men  
who offer'd up their Prayers to God for his  
Peace and Safety, and together with them, drove  
away those Prayers, by which they interceded  
for him." This he writes concerning Gallus.

Stepan.  
Edit. instead of  $\chi\tau\iota$   $\nu\bar{\alpha}\nu$ , read  $\chi\tau\iota$   $\rho\bar{\epsilon}\sigma$ . And make it a Metaphor taken from them who sail with Tide and Stream. Valef.

## CHAPTER II

*Who about these Times were Bishops of Rome.*

**C**ornelius having possess'd the Bishoprick of Rome about three years, *Lucius* was appointed his Successor. He having ministred in the Office not eight whole months, died, and relinquish'd the Dignity to *Stephen*. It was this *Stephen* to whom *Dionysius* wrote the first of his Epistles concerning *Baptism*, there being about that time a great Controversie raised, whether it were lawful for the Converts, of what Sect soever, to be cleansed by Baptism. (*a*) For an old Custom had prevail'd, that about these Converts only Imposition together with Prayer was to be used.

for what follows concerning *Cyprian*, ought to be contain'd in the 3d Chapt. the same Sentence with these last words in this Chapter. And before these words in all Books we find a distinction, which shews, here is to begin another Period. But *Musculus* and *Christoph.* begin the third Chapter where we do. *Valeſ.*

## C H A P. III.

*How Cyprian, with some Bishops which were of his mind, was the first that was of the Opinion, that the Converts of any Heretical Sect whatever, ought to be a rebaptized.*

Cyprian then Bishop of Carthage was the (a) first (a) Cyprian was not of all, who thought, that Hereticks should be admitted unless they were cleansed the first this Opinion; but Agrippinus, who was Bishop of Carthage a long time before



before him, having assembled together the Bishops of Africa and Numidia, made a Decree that Heretics should be re-baptiz'd, as Cyprian faith in his 71 and 72 Epistles. Therefore Cyprian ought here to be excus'd, who only endeavour'd to maintain his Predecessors Opinion, which was establish'd by the Authority of a Synod. But this Custom of re-baptizing Heretics, had been us'd in Cappadocia time out of mind, as Firmilianus Bishop of Cæsarea in Cappadocia testifieth in his Epistle to Cyprian. Valef.

Gallus, from their former Error by Baptism. (b) But Stephen thinking no Innovations ought to be rais'd in opposition to the Tradition which had prevail'd of old, was in no wise well pleas'd the Bishops at this. (a) *Nephele* is in the 74 and 75 Epist. of Cyprian. Firmilianus also, in his Epistle to Cyprian, relates some Heads of that Epistle, and confutes them. Valef.

#### CHAP. IV.

How many Epistles Dionysius wrote concerning this Controversie.

Dionysius therefore having written at large to \* him concerning this business, at last certifieth him, that the Persecution being alay'd, the Churches in all places, which desired Novatus's (a) Novelties, had regain'd a general Peace amongst themselves: Thus he writes.

(a) *Nephele* is in the 74 and 75 Epist. of Cyprian. Firmilianus also, in his Epistle to Cyprian, relates some Heads of that Epistle, and confutes them. Valef.

#### CHAP. V.

Concerning the Peace which followed the Persecution.

(a) *Berenice* is from this Epistle of Dionysius, which was written the Year of Christ 255; gathers that the Eastern Bishops had renounced their Error, and adher'd to Stephen's Opinion. (b) *Heretics* were not to be re-baptiz'd. But any considerate Reader of this Epistle will find it far otherwise. For the Subject of this Epistle is twofold. 1. Whether Heretics were to be re-baptiz'd. 2. Concerning the Unanimity of the Oriental Churches, which had abominated the Novatian Heresie, and decreed that the Lapsed should be received. He therefore tells him, that Dennerianus Bishop of Antioch, Metropolitan of the East, and the rest had subscrib'd to this Opinion; which he knew would please Stephen, because Fabius, Dennerianus's Predecessor, endeavour'd to establish the Novatian Heresie, as Dionysius before signified in the end of the 6th Book of this History. Valef.

(b) These words [and a little farther] are not in the Vulg. and Greek MSS. but Syriac, Nicæborn, King's, May, and Ale. MSS. have them; and though some will have these words to signify ἐκείνην τὴν αἵρεσιν, the more remote Churches, yet I think that they are Eusebius's own words, repeating the Heads of Dionysius's Epistle. And this is my Reason, because in most of our MSS. there is a middle distinction at these words; therefore we translate it thus, a little farther he writes. Valef.

(c) This City was in Dionysius's Days, and also till Constantine's Time called *Elia*. It was afterwards called *Jerusalem* (as I before noted) through the Pride of the Bishops of that See, who termed themselves the Successors of *James the Just*: Hence is it that Rufinus never calls it *Elia*, but according to the manner of his Times, always *Jerusalem*. Valef.

(d) frequently relieve, and to whom you have *Gallus*. now written: *Mesopotamia* also, *Pontus*, and *Bithynia*: And in a word, all People every-where joyce for the Concord and Brotherly-love, and praise God." These are the words of wont for *Xylus* succeeds Stephen after he had merely to execute the Episcopal Office two years. To relieve other Dionysius wrote a second Epistle concerning *Baptism*, and set forth to him the Judgment and Opinion of Stephen, and the other Bishops. Con-*Money* and *Stephen* thus he writes: "Indeed he before (e) wrote Letters concerning *Helens* and *Firmilianus*, and all the [Bishops] of *Cilicia*, *Cappadocia*, *Captivi* and *Galatia*. And moreover, concerning all they, and to neighbouring Provinces, that he would have no communion with them for this very reason, because, says he, they rebaptize Heretics. And consider the weightiness of the Affair; for the truly I hear that there have been Determinations made in the (f) greatest Synods of Bishops concerning this business, that Heretics which were converted, should be first Catechized, and Epistle to then should be wash'd and cleansed from the Filth of their old and unclean Leaven. (And I wrote to him, making intercession for all these Men. And afterwards he says; Also to our Well-beloved and Fellow-Presbyters, *Dionysius* his 4th B. and *Philemon* who were formerly of Stephen's Opinion, and wrote to me concerning the same things) I before wrote in short, but now I have written more at large." But thus much says, that concerning the said Controversie.

continued in the Church of Rome in his days. And to that purpose Collections were made in the Church. *Emperors* properly signifies, to supply one with all things necessary for a journey, *viaticum* præbere, and also it signifies (as it does here) to relieve charitably, as we do *Beggars* with *Alms*, or *Alms*. So *Clement Alex.* in his first Book *Stromata*, and *Cyprian* in his 67th Epistle upon *Martyrs*, use the word. Valef.

(e) Stephen wrote another Epistle (besides that we mentioned, before he wrote to the Bishops of Africa) to the Eastern Bishops, which Firmilianus mentions in his Epistle to Cyprian, near the end: Where Firmilianus says, that he broke off all Peace and Friendship with the Eastern Bishops, but he did not, only threatened that he would renounce all communion with them, if they persisted in their old Opinion, as Dionysius here expressly testifieth. It is certain that Stephen never proceeded in this matter farther than threats; for after Stephen's death, Dionysius wrote to Xylus desiring his judgment in that point. For Dionysius inclined to the Opinion of the Africans, and the Eastern Bishops, as Hieronymus witnesseth. Firmilianus in his foresaid Epistle does strangely aggravate the business; so that some think from his words they may gather that Stephen excommunicated those Bishops: He was indeed much displeased that the African Synod should pretend to disannul so ancient a custom, and make Decrees, that Heretics should be re-baptiz'd, without the knowledge of the Church of Rome: But he never broke Peace with them, nor excommunicated them: For he wrote an answer to Cyprian. And altho' his Letters to Cyprian were something sharp, yet they still remain'd Friends: For Cyprian afterwards in his Letters to Pompeian, called Stephen Brother. In fine, the Africans, notwithstanding Stephen's Letters, re-baptiz'd Heretics till the Times of *Constantine*, as we may see from the Council of *Arles*. Valef.

(f) He means by these great Synods, the Synod of *Laodicea*, of which see Firmilianus's Epistle to Cyprian; the Council of *Synnada*, and the Council of *Carthage* under Cyprian: In which Council above eighty Bishops gave their Opinion, some of which were Martyrs and Confessors: In the Council of *Laodicea* fifty Bishops met, as Augustin, attests in Book 3. and Chap. 3. against *Crisostomus*. But the Eastern Churches, especially the Churches of *Cappadocia*, still retained their old custom of re-baptizing Heretics. And that custom remained amongst them even till the first Synod of *Constantinople*. Valef.

#### CHAP. VI.

Concerning the Heresie of Sabellius.

(a) After this Head of discourse, he informs him (a) *Infidel* of the (b) Sabellian Heretics, who at that time, the King's MS. reads ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, which reading we follow, and understand *καταδύει*, which word is us'd in *Eusebius* before. Now ἐπὶ αὐτῷ signifies, *Post illud capitulum, after that Chapter, or Head of Discourse*. Dionysius's Epistle to Xylus consisted of two principal parts, which were the Matter and Subject of the whole, (viz.) Concerning Heretics being re-baptiz'd, and concerning Sabellius's Heresie. Valef.

(b) These Heretics were very ancient, even before Sabellius, though

those who maintained these Opinions were afterwards also denominated from Sabellius. For we find this was the Opinion of Praxeas, against whom Tertullian wrote. After Praxeas followed Novius, (See *Epiph. Hier.* 57.) from whom they were called Novians. Suddenly after Novius arose Sabellius, from whom all which held the same Opinion were afterwards called Sabellians. This Sabellius (the reviver of this Heresy) was a Lybian, born at Prolemais a City of Pentapolis: He affirmed the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but one Substance, one Person under three several Names, which in the time of the Old Testament gave the Law under the notion of the Father; In the New, was made Man in the capacity of the Son, and descended after Novius undertakes this Man; but managing the Cause with too much eagerness and fervency of disputation, he bent the Stick too much the other way, asserting not only *τρεῖς ἰσότητες ἀλλ' ὁμοουσιον, a distinction of persons*, but also *ἕως διαφοράς, a difference of essence*, and an inequality of Power and Glory. Upon which account he is severely censured by St. Basil, (*Epist.* 41. *ad Magn. Theoloph.*) and others of the Ancients, as one of those who in a great measure opened the Gap to those Arius Impieties, which afterwards broke in upon the World.

time abounded mightily; and thus he writes; For concerning the Opinion which lately sprung up at Prolemais a City of Pentapolis, which is impious, and full of Blasphemies against God Almighty, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; and contains much Infidelity against his only-begotten Son, the first-begotten of every Creature, the Word that was conconvert all Men; and is full of stupidity and senselessness about the Holy Ghost: When Letters came to me from both Parties and Brethren to discourse with me, I wrote some (c) Epistles according to my ability with God's assistance, explaining those [Points] more at large like an Instructor: Of which Epistles I have sent you Copies.

Bishop of Bernici, and that to Telephorus, and that to Euphrasius: All against Sabellians. Eusebius mentions these Epistles, in Chap. 26. of this fourth Book. Athanasius in his defence of Dionysius Alexandrinus mentions but one Epistle of Dionysius to Ammonius and Euphrasius. Dionysius was accused by some Bishops of Egypt, for speaking some things about Christ in that Epistle which were not Orthodox. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

Concerning the most execrable Error of the Hereticks, and concerning the Vision sent from God, which appeared to Dionysius, and the Ecclesiastick Canon he received.

THE same Dionysius in his third Epistle concerning Baptism, written to Philemon, Prefbyter of the Church of Rome, annexeth these words: I have read over the Books and Traditions of the Hereticks, desiring my Mind for a little while with their most accursed Inventions: Indeed, I received this advantage from them, that I can the better confute them in my own thoughts, and do grow to a greater detestation of them. And when one of my Brother-Presbyters prohibited me, fearing lest I should be mixed and disordered with the Filth of their Wickedness; (for he said my Mind would be defiled, and truly I was sensible he said true:) A Vision sent from God corroborated me. And a voice came to me, which gave me this express command, saying, Read all things that thou shalt take into thy hands, for thou art able to search into, and to examine every thing, and this was the principal cause of thy becoming a Christian: I gladly received the Vision, as being consonant with the (a) Words of the Apostle, who speaketh thus to those who are able,

(a) These Words with the

(a) These Words with the *ὁμοὺς τρεῖς ἰσότητες, be ye skilful Tryers or Examiners*, are no where found in the Apostle. Indeed we have, in the first Epistle to the Thellianians Chap. 5. ver. 21. these Words, *Prove all things, and hold fast that which is good*: Which are the same in effect with these, *be ye Tryers, &c.* But Origen and Hieronymus say that these words, *Estote boni*

*Tryepites*, are an express command of our Saviour's: And that the place out of the Thellianians above-quoted has relation to these words *δοκιμαζέτωσαν*, and exactly agrees with them; whereas I am of the same mind with the Learned *Cyber*, who in his *Proleg.* to *Ignatius's Epist.* cap. 8. says, this command of Christ is taken out of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. These words are also quoted in *Cyri's Hieroglyph.* his 6 Catechism, near the end. Valef.

Be ye skilful \* Examiners. Afterwards, having spoken something concerning all the Heresies, he continues, saying: I received this Rule and Canon from Heraclas our Blessed Pope. For the original is that those who were Converts from Heresies, (although they were (b) Apostates from the Church; or rather not Apostates, but seemingly assailed themselves, and were privately discovered to frequent any of the Heterodox Teachers) he excommunicated, and would not again admit them into the Church although they intreated him before they had made a publick Confession of what they had heard from the adverse Party. And then he again admitted them to Communion, but thought no second Baptism was requisite for them, because they had before received Holy \* [Baptism] from him. Again, Law (Ex. 64. 32.) thus concludes: This furthermore I understand, that the Africans of this Age were not the only Introducers of this Custom, but this was established long before by Bishops, who were before our Age, in their most populous Assemblies, and in the (c) Synods of the Brethren at Iconium, and at Synnada, and amongst many other Persons; whose Sentiments and Decernments I will by no means overthrow, nor excite them to Contention and Strife. For it is the

example, (which by the length of their journey they were sometimes disabled to do) these Trapezite set up their Tables in the very Temple, that to them might traffic with all that had use of them; in like manner as others brought Oxen and Sheep and Doves, to sell there to them which had brought their Sacrifices with them. See Dr. Hammond on *Mat.* 21. v. 12.

(b) Here we may see the Difference between *Apostates*, and those which are simple Hereticks. *Apostates* were baptized in the Catholic Church, but had deserted the Church and revolted to Hereticks: Simple Hereticks were those who had never been admitted into the Church. And this was the custom in the Church, that *Apostates* as well as simple Hereticks should be received (when they returned to the Church) by imposition of Hands. St. Augustin, in his 25 Epistle to Vincentius saith, the Church dealt more kindly with them who were never received into the Church, (that is with them who were simple Hereticks) than with them who had been received into her, and deserted her, (that is *Apostates*). This is therefore the first of Dionysius's words here, as we may gather by the aforementioned Words of St. Augustin. Dionysius here says, Heraclas his Predecessor had this form of admitting Converts, who had been *Apostate Hereticks*, into the Church. He required a publick Confession (which is called *Exomologesis*) of the Principles of that Heresy which they had followed; but he did not baptize them, because they had been before baptized: He immediately after this Confession he laid his Hands upon them (as we may gather from Dionysius's words) this imposition of hands upon an *Apostate*, and a simple Heretic, was different. The one was ad *penitentiam*, in order to Repentance: The other was ad *translucendum Spiritum Sanctum*, for the delivery of the Holy Ghost: the first was used at the admission of *Apostates*, the other at the admission of them whom they called *pure Hereticks*. See *Cyprian's* Epistle to Stephen. In the MS. and *Rob. Stephens's* Edit. the reading is [τῶ τῷ ἀποστατῷ, &c. for they had received the Holy Spirit, &c.] in the King's, Mar. and Euk. MSS. the word [τῷ τῷ ἀποστατῷ, &c.] is wanting: Which in my judgment is the true reading. For Dionysius gives the reason why Heraclas did not reiterate Baptism in the admission of Hereticks in these words. [τῶ τῷ ἀποστατῷ, &c. ἀποστατῶν, &c.] [understand *Βαπτισμῶν, Baptism*] [for they had before received Holy Baptism from him.] Dionysius calls *Βαπτισμῶν*, to distinguish it from the Baptism of Hereticks; which *Cyprian*, *Vincentius*, and others (who at that time defended the opinion of not rebaptizing Hereticks) call *profane*: Dionysius was a favourer of their party, as appears both from his Epistles here quoted by Eusebius, and also from St. Jerome's Testimony. Valef.

(c) That these Synods were before Dionysius Alexand. his time, we may easily gather by his own Words here: For he expressly affirms that these Synods were *παλαιὰ ἀπὸ πατέρων, long before our time*. The same thing Eusebius witnesseth, in his Epistle to Cyprian concerning the Synod of *Knoum*. This Synod was a long time before the Days of Stephen Bishop of Rome, as we may gather by *Virginianus's* Words in his said Epistle to Cyprian, where he expressly affirms that this Synod





eminent Man, the very chief of the City: And before he reigned (as Hieronimus aver) was judged worthy of the Empire by common consent. This Translation and Mistake of *Christoph.* has also brought *Baronius* into an Error. *Valer.*

*Valerian.* Empire, but being unable to put on the Imperial Dignity, because of his feebleness of Body, he made his two Sons Emperors, who were Heirs of their Father's Iniquities. The Prophecy which God spake is most evidently accomplished in these two Brothers: *Visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me:* For he imposed his own (!) evil Lusts which he could not enjoy, upon the Heads of his Children, and imprinted on them his own Wickedness and Hatred against God.\* Thus much *Dionysius* writes concerning *Valerian.*

(1) *Valerian.* *et* we have rendered (which he could not enjoy) And if that reading [*ἀντὶ τούτου*] be true, it must be so rendered: The King's MSS. and *Steph. Edit.* read [*ἀντὶ τούτου*] But the *Mar. Med. and Luk. MSS.* read *ἐκ τούτου*, which he justifiably obtained; and in my opinion 'tis the better reading: For *Maximian* did obtain the Empire, which he was so desirous of, but by reason of his debility of Body he was unable to carry the *Insignia* of the Empire, but raised his two Sons to that Dignity, whereupon upon the obtaining of all these his desires, *Dionysius* might well say of him, *ἐκ τούτου ἐπέβησαν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὰ βασιλείᾳ*, that he was *capax* *capax*, Master of all his wishes. As for this feebleness of Body (*ἀσθενεῖα καὶ ὀλιότης*) which he attributed to *Maximian*, we find it mentioned in no Historians, except in *Zonaras's Annals* (who was the only Man that gave us a true Relation of the Acts of *Maximian* and his Sons) and he says *Maximian* was lame. *Valer.*

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning what then happened to *Dionysius*, and to those Christians which were in Egypt.

**B**UT concerning the Persecution which raged exceedingly against him; what [Sufferings] also he and others sustained upon account of the worship of the Supreme God, his own words will declare, which he wrote in answer to \* *Germanus*, a Bishop of those times, who endeavour'd out of malice to revile him: Thus he answers him. (a) I run the hazard of falling into great folly and stupidity, being compelled of necessity to relate the miraculous Providence of God concerning us. But because 'tis said; (b) It is good to keep close the secrets of a King, but it is honourable to reveal the works of God: There-

\*The passage which follows, is an eminent argument of the Epistle or rather the Book which *Dionysius* wrote against *Germanus* the Bishop, and it is to be joined to that other argument of the same Book, which you had in Chap. 4. of Book 3. *Valer.*

(a) This place in *Dionysius* alludeth to that of *Saint Paul* in the 11th Chap. of the 2d Epist. to the *Corinthians* v. 15; where *St. Paul* useth this same exhortation, being absent to comfort himself: Upon which place *Christophorus* Annotat. 121-2.

(b) These words we find in the 12th Chap. of *Tobit* ver. 7.

fore I will hand to hand engage in the assault made against me by *Germanus*. I came to *Emilianus* not without company, for there followed me *Maximus* my Fellow-Presbyter, and *Eusebius*, *Eusebius*, and *Cheremon* who were Deacons. One of the Brethren of *Rome* also then present went in with us. Neither did *Emilianus* say to me at first, do not you hold solemn Assemblies; For this was needless for him to have said, and a recursion from the last to the first, or principal thing in hand: For it was not his desire that we should not assemble others, but his principal care was that we ourselves should not be Christians. And he commanded me to leave off that way of Worship, for he thought that if I would change my mind, others would follow my example: I replied not

impertinently but in short, that (c) we ought to *Valerian.* obey God rather than man. But I openly protested that I worshipped him who is the only true God, and adored no other, and that I would never change my mind, nor ever cease being a Christian. After these words he bid us depart thence into a Village called *Cephro* adjoining to the Wilderness. But hear what words passed on both sides, as we find them inserted in the (d) Publick Records (e): When *Dionysius* and *Kauslus*, and *Maximus* and *Marcellus* and *Cheremon*, were brought in *Emilianus* the Governour said; I have also discoursed with you by word of mouth concerning the Clemency which our Lords the Emperors have used towards you, for they have given you power to remain in safety, if you will but turn to that which is agreeable to nature, and adore the Gods which are Protectors of their Empire, and forget those things which are repugnant to nature. What say you to these [Proposals?] For I hope you will not shew yourselves ungrateful towards their Clemency, because they incite you to better things. *Dionysius* replied, all Men do not worship the same Gods, but every one worships those whom they think to be Gods: But we pay reverence and adoration to one only God, the Creator of all things, who gave the Empire into the hands of the most Sacred and August Emperors *Valerian* and *Gallienus*. And to him we offer up our Prayers incessantly for the permanency and stability of their Empire. *Emilianus* the Governour said unto them, who hindereth you but you may also worship him (if he be a God) together with them who are by nature Gods: For you are commanded to worship the Gods, and also those Gods whom all Men own to be such: *Dionysius* replied, we adore no other. Then said *Emilianus* the Governour unto them, I see you are altogether ungrateful and insensible of the Emperor's Lenity towards you: Wherefore you shall not abide in this City, but shall be sent into the parts of *Libya*, to a place called *Cephro*; for this place I have design'd for you according to our Emperor's command; and it shall in no wise be suffer'd that either you, or any others, keep your Meetings, or have recourse to the places called the (f) *Carneteries*; but if it appears that any one of you be not gone to the place which I have commanded you to go to, or shall be found afterwards in any Assembly, he will bring imminent danger upon himself, for a necessary observation [thereof] shall not be wanting. Therefore depart

Chap. 5. of the Acts of the Apostles, ver. 29. they are *St. Peter's* answer to the *Sanbedrim*, when they laid to their charge the preaching the Gospel: But how these words come in in this place I cannot tell, except we read with the Kings MSS. *ἀποκρίσας δὲ ἐκ ἀποστόλων τῶν ἐκ τῆς Ἀπολλείας, ὅτι (c) ἡμεῖς προσκυνούμεν αὐτὸν οὐ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὡς τὸν ἀντίστοιχόν τῆς Ἀπολλείας.* *Valer.*

(d) *Christophorus* translates [*ἐπιμαρτυρία*] sent a question in *Commentariis relata sunt*; but we have rendered it thus, as they are inserted in the Publick Records. For the Greeks use *ἐπιμαρτυρία* in the same sense as the Latines use their word *Acta*, see Book 1. Chap. 9. Note (a). Those which wrote these *Commentariis relata sunt* Latines call *acta* *Actis*, Registers, Records. We find mention of these Registers of *Alexandria* in several places. *Lucianus* was once Recorder of *Alexandria*, and he (it is said) had a large Salary out of the City Treasury for the performance of this Office; and for the good execution thereof he had the Government of a Province conferred upon him. *Valer.*

(e) This was the form of the publick Acts, as *Ann. Mod.* informs us in his 22 Book. *Valer.*

place I have design'd for you according to our Emperor's command; and it shall in no wise be suffer'd that either you, or any others, keep your Meetings, or have recourse to the places called the (f) *Carneteries*; but if it appears that any one of you be not gone to the place which I have commanded you to go to, or shall be found afterwards in any Assembly, he will bring imminent danger upon himself, for a necessary observation [thereof] shall not be wanting. Therefore depart

+ *Cephro* was the most rude and barbarous tract of the *Lybian* Desert; and *Calutib* (a place hereafter mentioned in this Chapter, to which *Dionysius* was in particular design'd) was, 'tis like, the most uncomfortable part of this tract. See *Nicéphor. B. 6. Chapter 1.*

(f) Those places which *Εσκληρία* in Greek here calls *κατακρήνη* the Latines call *atra*. *Valer.* They were the places where the Martyrs were usually buried; upon which account the Christians frequent them. See Book 4. Chap. 11. Note (a.)

wards in any Assembly, he will bring imminent danger upon himself, for a necessary observation [thereof] shall not be wanting. Therefore depart

Valerian. depart hence whither you are commanded: And he compell'd me, altho' I was sick, to depart, and gave not one day's respite. (g) How then could I have any leisure to call or not to call a Meeting? After some Passages again he saith; But neither were we absent (by God's assistance) from a corporal Congregation: For with greater diligence I gathered together those in the City, as if I had been present with them, being absent in Body (as I b. said) but present in Spirit. In Cephro also there was a great Congregation assembled with us, some of whom were the Brethren who follow'd us out of the City; others came thither from the rest of Egypt: And there God opened to us a Door [to preach his] Word: At first indeed we were persecuted and stoned: But afterwards some of the Heathens, and those not a few, forsook their Idols, and were converted to God; for the Word, which they had not before received, was then first won amongst them by us; as if God had sent us away to them for this End. After we had here fulfilled the Ministry, he again removed us to another place. For Amilianus resolved to convey us into places more uncomfortable (as he thought) and more like the Libyan Desert: And he gave command that we should altogether repair to Marcatis, having allotted particular Villages throughout that Region for every of us. But he ordered us to reside near the High-road, that we might be the first that should be apprehended. For this was wholly his Contrivance and Provision, that whenever he had a mind to apprehend us, he might have all of us easily taken without any trouble. But when I was commanded to depart to Cephro, although I knew not where the place lay, (having scarce ever before heard the name of it,) yet I went away willingly, and not at all disturb'd. But when they told me I was to depart thence to the (i) [Parts] of Coluthis, they who were present with me can tell how I was then dispos'd; for here I will blame myself: At first indeed I was griev'd and sorely vexed; for altho' I had a better knowledge of, and was more acquainted with those places, yet they reported it was a Country not inhabited by Brethren and good Men, and expos'd to the Disturbances of Travellers, and Incurfions of Thieves. But I received comfort by the Brethren, when they suggested to me, that it lay nearer to the City; and although Cephro had brought us a great Multitude of Brethren out of Egypt, so that we could hold larger Assemblies, yet there, the City lying nearer, we should more frequently enjoy the Company of our truly beloved Friends and Acquaintance, for they would flock thither, and reside with us. And there would

be (k) particular Congregations, as if it were in the more remote Suburbs. And so it fell out to be." After some other discourfe thus again (k) These writeth concerning what happen'd unto him, words, [But perhaps] Germanus \* glorieth in his many Confessions; and he can enumerate a great many [Afflictions] which have befallen him. But how many Sentences of the Judges may he reckon up which were pronounc'd against us; [how many] Confiscations, Proscriptions, Plunderings of Goods, (l) Deprivations of Dignities, Contempts of worldly Glory, Despising of the Praises of the Præfects and (m) Senators? What patient sufferance of public Menace, of Exclamations against us, and of Perils, and of Persecutions, of wandering up and down in Exile, and of Anxieties, and of all sort of Tribulation: What things happen'd to me under Decius, and (n) Sabinius, and what to this present under (o) Amilianus. But where appear'd Germanus? What report is there concerning him? But I desist from this great Imprudence which I am fallen into upon Germanus's account. Wherefore I willingly give those Brethren, who perfectly know these matters, leave to make a Narration of every thing which did befall us." The same Dionysius, in his Epistle to Domitian and Didymus, doth again in these words mention some things concerning this Persecution; 'It is superfluous to recite to you, who knew them not, the names of all our [Martyrs,] which were very many. But understand thus much, that both Men and Women; Young and Old; young Women and ancient Women; Soldiers and Rusticks; Persons of all sorts, and all Ages; some of them having been victorious in the Combat by Scourges and Fire, and others by the Sword, received Crowns of [Martyrdom.] But a long interval of time pass'd away, being insufficient to make some appear acceptable to the Lord: In like manner, as for me it hath not seem'd [sufficient to make me acceptable] who have continued even till this. (p) These time: Wherefore God hath reserved me for a time words which he knows to be opportune, who saith; (q) cur in ha-

(a) Here Dionysius answers Germanus's Caution, who assur'd him, because he never call'd an Assembly of the Brethren before the Persecution began; which was a custom in those days, (b) That the Bishops, upon the approach of a Persecution, should gather the People together, and exhort them to a constant perseverance in Christianity; and Baptize Infants, and Catechumens, lest they should die unbaptized; and also distribute the Sacrament to Believers. (c) Altho' we read [as above] and have so translated it, yet the Max. and Med. MSS. read [as above] [as one may say] [The Fek. and Savil MSS. read he said to Dionysius, as the Arabic said: 'This certain Dionysius shew'd to that of the Apostle in the First to the Corinth. Chap. v. Ver. 3. Valef. (d) of the Heathens, and those not a few, forsook their Idols, and were converted to God; for the Word, which they had not before received, was then first won amongst them by us; as if God had sent us away to them for this End. After we had here fulfilled the Ministry, he again removed us to another place. For Amilianus resolved to convey us into places more uncomfortable (as he thought) and more like the Libyan Desert: And he gave command that we should altogether repair to Marcatis, having allotted particular Villages throughout that Region for every of us. But he ordered us to reside near the High-road, that we might be the first that should be apprehended. For this was wholly his Contrivance and Provision, that whenever he had a mind to apprehend us, he might have all of us easily taken without any trouble. But when I was commanded to depart to Cephro, although I knew not where the place lay, (having scarce ever before heard the name of it,) yet I went away willingly, and not at all disturb'd. But when they told me I was to depart thence to the (i) [Parts] of Coluthis, they who were present with me can tell how I was then dispos'd; for here I will blame myself: At first indeed I was griev'd and sorely vexed; for altho' I had a better knowledge of, and was more acquainted with those places, yet they reported it was a Country not inhabited by Brethren and good Men, and expos'd to the Disturbances of Travellers, and Incurfions of Thieves. But I received comfort by the Brethren, when they suggested to me, that it lay nearer to the City; and although Cephro had brought us a great Multitude of Brethren out of Egypt, so that we could hold larger Assemblies, yet there, the City lying nearer, we should more frequently enjoy the Company of our truly beloved Friends and Acquaintance, for they would flock thither, and reside with us. And there would

(i) In the Original the reading is [παρὰ κολυθίων] but we must necessarily understand ὑπὸν [parts,] and so we have translated it. This Coluthis was a part of the Libyan, Præfecture in Egypt; so called from them who were formerly Possessors of it. Coluthis is a common name amongst the Egyptians, and hence came κολυθίων which in Niceph. we find written with a single (L.) There were several Egyptians call'd by this name Coluthis. Valef.

Valerian. congregations, are in Greek ἀγῶνες συναγωγῶν. d. Those that dwell in the remotest parts of the Suburbs were not bound to come to the Congregation of the Great Church: But in that part of the Suburbs there were particular Assemblies in a Church, or some other place fit for that purpose. Thus much we may gather by this Passage of Dionysius. Moreover, the Greeks did not call those places singly which join'd to the City ἄγῶνες, but also the Villages which were a great way distant from the City. Canopus which was twelve miles from Alexandria, is called by Athanasius, in his Libel which he presented to the Council of Chalcedon, ἀπόστατον. Further, from this place we may gather, that in Dionysius's days there was but one Church in Alexandria, whither all the Christians assembled themselves to pray: But afterwards, in the Days of Athanasius, the number of the Churches being increased by the bounty of the Bishops of Alexandria, the Citizens of Alexandria had particular Congregations in divers Churches; except in the solemn Festivals of Easter and Whitsuntide, when all the People assembled themselves in the Great Church. Valef. \* These things concerning Germanus are here spoken ironically. Valef. (i) By these words, ἀναμνησκόμενος, Depositions of Dignities; we may conjecture that Dionysius was descended of a good Family; for dignitas is that which cometh by nobleness of birth. Thus we find, in Gess. Pueri, Cædiciani, that Vidor being ask'd by Zeno, what the President, ejus conditionis esset, he answered, he was Praefessor litterarum Romanarum, and when he ask'd him ejus dignitatis esset, he answered he was praefectus a Patre Decurione Cassianianisimorum, avo militis, qui in Comitatibus militaverat. Dionysius Alexandrinus, before he turn'd Christian, was by Profession an Orator, or Teacher of Rhetorick. Valef. (m) Augustus commanded the Alexandrians to govern their City without any Senators or Aldermen. But afterwards Severus the Emperor granted the Alexandrians power of having a Senate, as we may read in Book 51. of Dio. And in Athanasius's Epistle Al sibi tractus, there is mention of the Senators of Alexandria. Valef. (n) This Sabinius was Praefect of Egypt under Decius the Emperor: of him Dionysius speaketh in his Epistle to Fabian, which Epistle is quoted in Chap. 41. Book 6. of this History. But Amilianus, who is here mentioned as Governor, afterwards seized the Empire, as Pollio writeth in his 30 Tyrants. Valef.

(p) These time: Wherefore God hath reserved me for a time words which he knows to be opportune, who saith; (q) cur in ha-

*Valerian.* In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in a day of Salvation have I helped thee. But because you are inquisitive after our Affairs, and desirous to be informed in what condition we live: You have fully heard, how when I, *Caius, Faustus, Peter, and Paul* were led away Prisoners for the Centurion, and *(p)* the Magistrates [of Alexandria] and the Guards and Officers that were with them, *(q)* some of them of *Marcius* came upon them, and took us away by force, dragging us by violence who were unwilling, and would not follow them. But at this present, I, and *Caius, and Peter* being alone, and deprived of the rest of the Brethren, are shut up in a desert and most uncomfortable place of *Libya*, being three days journey distant from *Paratonium*. And a little after these words, he saith; Some have hid themselves secretly in the City that they may visit the Brethren; as *Maximus, Diogenes, Demetrius, and Lucius*, who are Prefbyters. (For *Faustus* and *Aquila* being Men more eminently known in the World, travel up and down *Egypt*.) But the Deacons that are surviving, besides those that died in *(r)* the Plague, are these: *Fausus, Eusebius, Charemon, Eusebius*, [I say,] one whom God hath impow'rd from the beginning, and furnished with great vigour to fulfil the Office of Ministration to the Confessors in Prison, and to perform the Funeral *(s)* Rites due to the Bodies of the perfected and blessed Martyrs, with great hazard and danger. For to this very present the Governour exacteth notwithstandingly to slay some who are brought before him, (as I before told you) to tear in pieces others with tortures, and to make other some to pine away in Prisons, and Bonds, giving a strict charge that none approach them, and making diligent search whether any one be come near them. Notwithstanding, God through the cheerfulness and fortitude of the Brethren, doth incessantly refresh the afflicted. These are *Dionysius's* words, and are contained in that Epistle.

At wherefore this word *ἐπαγγέλλω* must here signify some other Officer besides a Captain, we will therefore render it the *Dumvir*, or, as we call them, the *Sheriffs, or Magistrates of Alexandria*; which are in Greek often called *ἐπαγγέλοι*. Now it was the duty of these Magistrates to apprehend Criminals, commit them to Prison, examine them, &c. still reserving the power of judging to the Roman President. Wherefore 'tis not here absurd, that very reasonable to say, that *Dumvir* allotted the Governour in leading these Men into banishment: The following Words also *ἐπαγγέλοι* and *ἀρχαὶ* confirm our Opinion: For *ἐπαγγέλοι* are the Guards which belonged to the Prefect; *ἀρχαὶ* are the Officers belonging to the *Dumvir*, or Sheriff. *Athenag.* in his Epistle ad *Solitarios*, calls this Magistrate, or *Dumvir*, *ἐπαγγέλος*.

*(q)* These things were said by the sentence of *Sabinus* the Governour, was led to *Tyberius*. See his own Epistle to *Valius* in Chap. 40. Book 6. And whosoever does compare that Epistle with this here, he will conclude them both written concerning the same thing. Wherefore, *Eusebius* mistakes when he thinks that the subject of this Epistle here to *Dionysius* is that thing which happened in *Valerian's* Reign: For none of these things which I here mentioneth, happened in *Valerian's* Reign, but in the Persecution which began a little before *Decius's* Reign, as *Dionysius* himself saith in his Epistle against *Germontus*, which *Eusebius* quoth in the 6th Book. But in the Persecution under *Valerian*, he had only those Companions which he mentions in the beginning of this Chapter. *Valer.*

*(r)* *Rufinus* in *stead of whom* readeth *themselves*, and accordingly he translates the place, *from who died in the Hand*: But *Dionysius* means the Plague, which in *Galles* and *Belgium* time, spread itself quite through the Roman Empire, as *Eusebius* and others Record. *Valer.*

*(s)* *Christoph.* renders this word *ἐκταφύει*, by a long Periphrasis thus, *ad linthea, quibus corpora beatorum Martyrum jam vitâ defunctorum involverantur, conficiuntur*; he all along having relation to the usage in our days, for with us the dead are wrapped in linnen-cloth, and so interred. But the Ancients, I mean the Christians, used to wrap the dead in moist costly clothes, and so bury'd them. But see *Christophoro's* translation, we have *Athenagoras's* authority, who saith, in his Epistle to *S. Anthony*, that the *Aegyptians* used to wrap their dead Bodies, especially those of the Holy Martyrs in Linnen, and did not inter them, but laid them upon Beds, and kept them within their own private Houses. *Valer.*

We must further understand, that this *Eusebius* *Valerian*; whom he before called a Deacon, was a *(r)* great while after constituted Bishop of the Church of *Laodicea* in *Syria*. And *Maximus*, who he said was then a Presbyter, succeeded *Dionysius* himself in the Government of the Brethren at *Alexandria*. *Fausus* also, (who together with *Dionysius* was at that time famous for his being a Confessor) was reserv'd even till the Persecution in our days, and being very old, and full of years, he was persecuted by Martyrdom, being beheaded even in our Age. But thus much concerning what happen'd to *Dionysius* about that time.

was a great while after that *Eusebius* was ordained Bishop of *Laodicea*. For he exceeded *Socrates*, as *Eusebius* attests a little lower. *Valer.*

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning the Martyrs which suffered at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*.

IN this Persecution under *Valerian*, three Men of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* were eminent for their Confession of Christ, were crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, being made food for the Wild Beasts. One of them was called *Prifens*; the other *Malechus*; the name of the third was *Alexander*. They report that these Men, living in the Country, should blame themselves first for being careless and slothful Persons, because they were negligent of, and did not eagerly catch at the Crown of Martyrdom, seeing that was a seasonable time of distributing those rewards of Victory to them who had the least spark of Celestial love in them. Then, when they had consulted about these things amongst themselves, they took a journey to *Cæsarea*, and went immediately to the place where the Judge was, and received the afore-mention'd Sentence of Death. Besides these, there was a Woman of the same City, in the same Persecution, who they report, strove in the same Combat: But 'tis famed that she was one of *Marcian's* Sect.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning the Peace under *Gallienus*.

*(a)* BUT not long after, *Valerian* being *(b)* captivated and enslaved by the Barbarians, his Son reigned alone, who behav'd himself more prudently in his Empire. He immediately putterh a stop to the Persecution against us by his Edicts; and gave command that the Prelates of our Religion should securely, and with freedom execute their usual Offices, by his Rescript which runs thus: **EMPEROR CÆSAR PUBLIUS LICINIUS GALLIENUS, PIUS FELIX AUGUSTUS,** To *Dionysius*, Pinna, Demetrius, and the rest of the

*(a)* *Rufinus* here alters the count of the Chapters, and placeth there which we place here as the 12th and 14th, after the 19 Chapter immediately; but in his Index before this History, he keeps the same method as the Greek Copy of *Eusebius* does: Why he should here pervert the Order, I cannot tell; except it is, because he thinks it more convenient to subjoin the sufferings of *Marinus*, and *Asterius* to the sufferings of the Martyrs of *Cæsarea*. But he ought to observe that those Martyrs of *Cæsarea* suffered in *Valerian's* Persecution; but *Marinus* and *Asterius* suffered in the Reign of *Gallienus*. This mistake of *Rufinus* has brought several other Authors into the same Error. *Valer.*

*(b)* *Valerian* was taken captive by the King of *Perfia*, in the year of Christ 259.

Bishops: We have commended that the Indulgence of our Gracious Bounty be published through the whole World: That all shall quickly depart out of Religious places. And for this cause you are empower'd to make

*Gallienus* make use of a Copy of our Rescript, that no body may molest you: And that which is lawful for you to put in execution was granted by Us long ago: And

(c) For an upon this account Aurelius Cyrenius, Our (c) High-  
Steward shall keep the Copy of this Edict granted by Us. For the more manifest understanding of the Office, see these things, they were translated by Us out of Latin into Greek, and here inserted. There is also extant another Rescript sent to other Bishops, in which he permitteth to them the Restauration of the places called (d) *Cameteria*.

(d) They were the places where they buried their Dead, and often assembled for their Religious Solemnities, especially the Memorials of the Martyrs; as has before been remark'd.

## C H A P. XIV.

What Bishops flourish'd in those Times.

(a) *Xistus* At this time (a) *Xistus* still continued to pre-  
fide over the Church of Rome; but *Deme-  
trianus* succeeded *Fabius* in the Bishoprick of *An-  
tioc*; *Firmilianus* was Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Cap-  
pado*; Moreover, *Gregorius*, and his Brother  
Martyr in *Athenodorus* governed the Churches of *Pontus*; they were both *Origen's* Scholars. *Theodotus* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Palestine* being dead, *Dom-  
nus*, whenus succeeded in that Bishoprick: He living but  
Tullus and a little while, *Theotecnus*, who lived till our times,  
was constituted his Successor. And this person  
also was one of *Origen's* School. But *Mazabades* the  
Bishop of *Jerusalem* being dead, *Hymenaeus* succeeded  
in that See, who also was very eminent in our  
days.  
see in *Cyprian's* Epistle. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XV.

How Marinus was Martyr'd at Caesarea.

(a) General Peace being at this time restored  
to the Churches in *Caesarea* of *Palestine*, *Ma-  
rinus*, a Man honour'd with a (a) Military Digni-  
ty, and eminent for Decent and Riches,  
was beheaded for his Confession of Christ,  
upon this account. There is a certain Digni-  
ty amongst the *Romans* termed the (b) *Vine*,  
which those that obtain'd, are said to be made  
Centurions; (c) this place being vacant, *Ma-  
rinus*, whose course in order it was, was called to  
that Promotion: When he was forthwith to have  
been invested in that Dignity, there came ano-  
ther of the *Forum*, &c. Which could not be spoken of the *Militia Caesars*.  
Had the *Camp-militia* been spoken of here, *Marinus* must have pleaded  
his Cause before the Captain or Deputy of *Caesar*. The Ordinary Judges  
thier *Centurions* and *Centurialis* in their Court. Yea, almost all  
the names of the Officers under them were taken from the *Camp-militia*,  
as *Africanus* *Pellucius* has remark'd. *Valef*.

(b) The Phrase in the Original is [*Τὸ κλῆμα*] which we have rendered [*The Vine*]. It was enacted by a Law amongst the *Romans*, that no Citizen should be beaten with Rods, but with Vines; See *Liuy*, in li's 57 Book. Upon this account the Soldiers were by the Centurions beaten with Vines; whence at last the Vine came to be the Badge of the Centurion's Office. *Spartianus* (in the Life of *Hadrian*) uses it in this sense; and so does *Plutarch* in *Galba*.

(c) In the *Max. Eccl.* and *Med.* MSS. there is a slip here; but in the King's MS. there is none: Which Foundation in the three MSS. first named, *Salmusius* (in his Notes on *Spartianus*) defends against *Cassianus*, (in his Notes on the same Author,) who thought that the Vine was a Badge which denoted those that were to be chosen Centurions, who should bear that Office, when there was a Place vacant. And therefore *Cassianus* read this Passage thus; [There is a certain Dignity amongst the *Romans* termed the Vine, which those that obtain are said to be made Centurions when there is a place vacant.] Which Reading agrees with the King's MS. But *Salmusius* makes a slip (as we do) at the word [Centurions], which doubtless is the true Reading: See Note (b) in this Chapter. *Valef*.

ther before the Tribunal, and accused him, say-  
ing, it was unlawful according to the Old Laws,  
for him to hold any Dignity amongst the *Ro-  
mans*; for he was a Christian, and did not sa-  
crifice to the Emperors; therefore the Office be-  
longed to him. (d) *Acbaus* (for that was the (d) That  
name of the Judge) being enraged at this, first was the Judge's  
ask'd *Marinus* what Opinion he was of: Then name: So  
when he saw that he steadfastly confes'd himself a famous  
to be a Christian, he granted him three hours Captain  
respite for deliberation. When he was gone out of the place of Judicature *Theotecnus* the Bishop of  
that City coming to him, took him aside to  
discourse with him; and laying hold of his Hand, leads him to the Church; wherein when he had placed him at the very Altar, he put his (e) Cloak a little aside, and shewed him the Sword where-  
with he was girded, and also brought the Book of the Sacred Gospels and placed it right against him, bidding him on his own accord to take of those two best pleased him. When *Marinus* without any delay had put forth his Right Hand, and taken up the Sacred Book, *Theotecnus* said unto him, adhere therefore, adhere to God; and being empower'd by him thou shalt obtain what thou hast chosen; go in peace. Immediately as he return'd from the Church, the Crier, who stood before the Tribunal, called him; for the time allotted him was now accomplish'd: When he was brought before the place of Judicature, and had shew'd a greater courage in the Confession of the Faith than he did before, immediately he was halled away to Execution, and was (f) crown'd with Martyrdom.

erroneous Reading. The *Clamps* and the *Baltes* (i. e. the Cloak and the Belt) were Military Badges, as may be proved from innumerable places in *Chrysostom*, *Libanius*, and others. *Valef*.

(f) The term here is [*τὰς κορώναις*], i. e. he was persecuted by Martyrdom. For Martyrs were initiated by Consecration, and perished by Death; as *Dionysius* observes it at the end of Chap. 11. in this Book. *Clement Alexandrinus* (in Book 4, Stromat. pag. 206.) gives another reason, why Martyrdom is called *τὰς κορώναις* ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ ἱερῷ ἀγῶνι ἀνδραγαθία, because it demonstrates the Perfection of Love. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XVI.

A Relation concerning Astyrius.

*Astyrius* also is much fam'd for his Religious boldness and freedom at that time: A Man who was a Roman Senator, a singular Favourite of the Emperor's: And both for his nobleness of Birth and Estate, known to all Persons. He, being present at the Death of the forefaid Martyr, took up the Corps, wrapped it in a white and precious Garment, laid it upon his Shoulders and carried it away; and when he had adorn'd it very richly, he deposited it in a decent Grave. This Person's Familiars, who lived till our days, relate infinite other things concerning him.

## C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the mighty Miracles of our Saviour at Paneas.

Amongst which they relate this Miracle. At *Caesarea-Philippi*, (which the (a) *Phanicians* (a) Those  
call *Panear*) they report there are Springs to be whom our  
Eusebius  
here calls *soinnes*, *Phanicians*, are the *Grecians* which inhabited *Pha-  
nicia*. For *Panear* is a Greek name, the *Syrians*, or rather the *Syro-  
Phanicians*, called this City *Dan*, as *S. Jerome* affirms in his *Quaestio-  
on Genesi*; his words are these: *Dan Phanices oppidum, quod nunc*  
PANEAS



*Panice dicitur. Dan autem unus e fontibus Jordanis. Nam et alter vocatur Jor, quod interpretatur gaderus. Quibus ergo fontibus, qui bant procul a se distant, in unum rivulum jaderitis, Jordanis deinceps appellatur. I. e. Dan est a Terna of Pheuticia, which is now called Panace. Also Dan is the name of one of the Spring-heads of Jordan. For the other is named Jor, the interpretation whereof is [a Stream.] These two fountains therefore, which are not far distant from each other, are united into one Rivulet, which is afterwards called Jordan. Valef.*

*Gallienus*, seen at the foot of the Mountain called *Panias*, out of which the River *Jordan* hath its Original. They say, that on a certain Festival they used to

(b) This custom, *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, of casting the Sacrifice into the Springs, or Wells, which they worshipped, was used by the Heathens. And hence it is that *Publilian* asked *Augustine*, in his 153. Epistle, whether it were lawful to drink of that Spring or Well, into which any part of a Sacrifice had been cast. Valef.

my struck with admiration at what was done, was sorry for their Error. Then he lifted up his Eyes to Heaven, and besought the supreme God, by Jesus Christ, that he would rebuke this Devil which seduced the People, and command him to cease from deceiving of Men. They report that when he had prayed thus, the Sacrifice floated upon the Waters immediately. Thus perish'd their Miracle, and never afterwards was there any Prodigy done near that place.

## C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the Statue, which the Woman who had the Flux of Blood, credd.

**B**UT since I have made mention of this City, I think it not at all unsuitable to produce a Story, which is worthy to be related to Posterity. For they say that the

(a) This place of *Eusebius*, concerning the Woman who had the Issue of Blood, is quoted in the *Seventh Syntaxis*, *Acton* 3. pag. 568. See also what *Pliny* says in his *Seventh Book*, Chap. 3. And what *Nicodemus*, who borroweth it from him. Valef.

Woman, (a) who had the Issue of Blood, whom the sacred Gospels inform us to have been healed by our Saviour, was born in this City: And that her House may be seen there, and that the

illustrious Monuments of our Saviour's beneficence shown towards her do yet remain. For near the Gate of her House ('tis said) stands upon a Pillar of Stone, the Effigies of a Woman in Bra's, kneeling on her Knees, and stretching forth her Hands forward in the form of a Suppliant. On the other side opposite to it stood another Image of a Man made of the same Metal standing upright, dressed decently in a short

\* *Διὰ τοῦτο* it sometimes signifies a Military Cloak: This term occurs *Jude* 100. 29. where 'tis rendered a Mantle. (b) *Rufinus* understands this place [*μυσεὶ τῇ νεκρῷ ἀντί*] as, as if this Herb had no healing virtue till it was grown up to the Skirt of our Saviour's Vesture: But since *Eusebius* does not expressly determine it that way, every one may interpret the place as pleaseth him best. I think *Eusebius* meaneth by the addition of these words, that the Herb grew up no higher than the Skirt of our Saviour's Doublet, as it were in reverence to him. See *Nicodemus*, Book 6. Chap. 15. Valef.

City to see it. Nor need it seem a wonder that the ancient Gentiles, who received Benefits from

our Saviour, did these things; seeing that we have seen the Pictures of his Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*, and of Christ himself, drawn in colours, and preserved till our days. It is probable enough that those Ancients, according to the custom of the Heathens, were wont (c) unadvisedly to honour all those after this manner as Saints, by whom they have been any ways benefited.

*indifferenter, indifferently*; but I rather think *ἀμετάσχετος* here; *miseth inconsequently, unadvisedly, contrary to the Doctrine of the Ancients, unwise*. Moreover, *Sir Henry Savil* in the Margin of his MS. upon these words *ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*, the custom of the Heathens, bids us take notice that this is here spoken concerning Images. Valef.

## C H A P. XIX.

Concerning the Chair of James the Apostle.

**T**HE Episcopal Chair of James the First Bishop of Jerusalem, who was consecrated by our (a) Saviour himself, and the Apostles; (who in Holy Writ is honoured with the title of the Brother of Christ;) being reserved till this time, the Brethren who have succeeded in that Apostolic Church do reverence it: Hence they plainly manifest to all what great veneration and respect, both the Ancients, and also those of our Age, have, and do pay to Holy Men for their love to God. But thus much concerning these things.

*Christ*, in his 38 Homily upon the Epistle to the Corinthians, on these words, *Deinde iussu est Jacobi*, Then he was seen of James; expressly affirmeth it: The same also *Epiphanius*, *Nicodemus*, *Callist*, and others do affirm. They all seem to borrow this Opinion from the First Book of *Clement's Recognitions*: Also in the Eighth Book of his *Constitutions*, Chap. 35. we find him speaking of James the Bishop of Jerusalem in these words, *ὁ ἅγιος ἀποστόλος καὶ ἱερεὺς*, Ordained by our Saviour himself, and the Apostles. We must farther advertise the Reader that these words *ἅγιος*, the Apostle, as wanting in the King's, Fulk, and Maz. MSS. and in *Rufinus*: But in our Maz. Med. Fulk. MSS. in the Contents of this Chapter, we find this word *ἅγιος*, the Apostle: Although in the Index of the Chapters which are prefixed, we find it thus written, *ὁ ἅγιος Ἰακώβος ὁ ἀποστόλος*, concerning the Chair of James the Bishop. Valef.

## C H A P. XX.

Concerning Dionysius's Paschal Epistles, in which he prescribed a Canon concerning Easter.

**M**oreover, besides those his fore-mentioned Epistles, the same *Dionysius* at the (a) same (a) From time wrote these still extant, called (b) *Paschal E.* this word *Discois* amongst which he interweaves *Panegyric* *πανηγυρικός* *Discois* concerning the Feast of Easter. One of these time, some Epistles he dedicateth to *Flavianus*; another to *Dionysius*; and another to *Domitius* and *Didymus*: In which he published a Canon of eight years, having proved that we ought to celebrate the Feast of Easter, at no other time, these Epistles but after the Vernal Equinox. He composed these in the another Epistle besides these, to his Fellow-Prebiter at Alexandria, and others to divers other Persons, and these he wrote whilst the rage of the Persecution still continued.

for this Epistle to *Domitius* and *Didymus*, was written in the Reign of *Diocletian* the Emperor. Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* very well translates this word *ἐπιστολὰς*, in this place, *Paschales*, Paschal Epistles. The Bishops of Alexandria used to write these *Paschal Letters* every Year, and send them to the rest of the Churches of Egypt; that they might all agree in the time of the Celebration of Easter. There are at this day extant Epistles of this sort, written by *Theophilus*, *Cyril*, and others: What was the Form of these Epistles we may understand from the 30 *Paschal Homilies* of *Cyril*: first they discoursed some thing concerning Easter: In the end they declared the beginning of Lent, and the Day of Easter, whence we may call them *Homilies*, as well as Epistles. Valef.

Gallicenus.

## C H A P. XXI.

Concerning what things happened at Alexandria.

**D**ionysius returned to Alexandria, Peace being as yet scarce thoroughly settled there. But when Sedition and War joyntly raged again there, so that he could not visit all the Brethren in the City, they being divided into the one or the other Party of the Faction: Again, even on *Easter-Day*, as if he had been exiled out of Alexandria, he conversed with them by Letters. And in his other *Paschal Letter*, which a little after this he wrote to *Hierax*, one of the Egyptian Bishops, he mentioned the Sedition then at Alexandria, in these words: 'It is no wonder if it be difficult for me to converse with Men far remote even by Letters, whereas it is render'd now no easie matter for me to discourse with my self, and to give advice to my own Soul. For I am compell'd to send Letters even to my own Bowels, my Brethren, who live under the same Roof, have the same mind, and are Members and Inhabitants of the same Church; and it appears to me a great difficulty, how I should convey my Letters to them: For a Man may with more ease and less danger travel not only beyond the Bounds of this Province, but even from East to West, than out of Alexandria into Alexandria. For the very Middle-street of this (a) City is more unfrequented and unpasable than that vast and invidious Wilderness which *Israel* travelled through in two Ages. (b) Those calm and still Havens do represent the Sea through which the *Israelites* had a spacious passage, it being divided, and made like a Wall on both hands; (c) but the Egyptians were drown'd in the Paths thereof. And through the frequent slaughters perpetrated therein, they were like a Red-Sea. The River which runneth by the City seem'd sometimes more dry and uncomfortable than the thirsty Wilderness, through which the *Israelites* travelled, they were so thirsty, that they murmur'd against *Moses*, until by the Power of God (who only doth marvellous things) Water gush'd out of a craggy Rock for them. At other times it overflow'd in such abundance, that it laid all the Country round about under water, the High-ways and the Fields, and seem'd to threaten a return of that Deluge which was in the Days of *Noah*. It runneth by, being continually polluted with Blood, and murdered, and drowned Bodies;

(a) In the King's Ms. we find, in stead of the word, *this City*, *the* *measures*, *these* *Cities*; which reading is agree to be expell'd: for that Faction had so divided Alexandria, that in a moment it became of one City 114, as before he cometh to inter-  
when he saith, that

a Man may with more ease travel from East to West, than out of Alexandria into Alexandria. This great Sedition, I think, happened, when *Antianus* posselt himself of the Government of Alexandria. Valef.

(b) There are divers ways of translating this place according as we get it. Most Translators have erred here, by an Erroneous conjunction of this Sentence with what precedeth. But *Dionysius's* following words confirm our Punctuation and Version: The sense of which is that the Havens of Alexandria, overflowing with the Blood of the slaughtered Citizens, did truly represent the Red Sea. Wherefore it is not the Middle Street of the City which is compared to the Red Sea (although some so interpret it) but the Ports or Havens are said to represent that. Valef.

(c) Betwixt these words where we use only a middle distinction or comma, *Robert Stephens* uses a full period, contrary to the Authority of all the MSS. we ought rather to follow the punctuation of the MSS. and join this passage with what precedeth: But here we meet with a Genitive singular of the Article [ὅς], which we translate in the singular number, and refer it to *Σαλαῶνος* the Sea, which is a singular put for the plural number. For the Sea was divided into two parts, and opened a broad way for the *Israelites*; so that what was really but one Sea, seem'd to be two; but if we translate it according to *Stephanus's* Punctuation, we can find no word to which this Genitive case plural of the Article can reasonably be referred. Valef.

like that River which by *Moses*, in the fight of *Gallicenus*, *Pharaoh*, was turned into Blood; and stank: And what other Water can purifie this Water which purgeth all things itself? How can that vast and immense Ocean which is unpasable by Men, cleanse this bitter Sea? Or how can that great River which springeth out of *Eden*, though it gather its four Heads, into which it is divided, into that one of *Goan*, wash away \* The very hurt be purified, which on every side is defiled withation of most noisome Exhalations? For such Vapours Alexandria did doubleless conduce much to the insalubrity of the place. For these (d) continued Plagues; whence these noisome Diseases; these Contagions of all kinds; and this various, and numerous Destruction of the Men proceeds. They admire why this great City contains not in it as many Inhabitants, as (e) (should they be number'd even from Infants to the most Aged and Decrepit) as it formerly it under maintained Persons, who were (e) lively old Men, as they called them. But in those days there were many persons betwixt forty and seventy years old, that their number could not fit. The now be made up, although all from fourteen to fourscore years of age were registred, and their names enroll'd in the Tables, that they might partake of the publick Distribution of Corn. And our youngest Men now look as if they were of the same age with our old Men formerly. And altho' they see Mankind so diminished and consumed from off the Earth, (their intire Destruction being increased and augmented incessantly) yet they tremble not.

*civitas ingens cisterna concamerata, crassique innitens fornicibus suffronda est, in qua centum Nilus per aquaductum in planitie usque artificio construxit extra Alexandriam delatam, sub eius matibus demittitur, &c.* This artificial conveyance of the River, though it was otherwise acceptable to the Inhabitants, yet it could not be without some annoyance to the Air, the Complexion whereof suffered much alteration by the noisome Vapours which rose up out of the Waters, which in tract of time purified in their Cisterns. It is the collection of the forcible *Levee*, in his following Words, *Cisterna parva temporis successu turbida ac congesta, diuturni officii tempore languinis occasione prebet, &c.* The same Author gives us another reason for the unwholesomeness of that City; which was caused by certain little Gardens planted near the City, the Fruits whereof were so unwholesome, that the Inhabitants were thereby made subject to very noxious Fevers, and many other Dilemmas. See *John Lee's* *descrip. Afric.* 675, and 676. Edit. 1744. *Bonn.* 162.

(d) *Σωμφορῶν* *καταστροφῶν*, continued Plagues without intermission. The Plague even from the times of *Galus* and *Polysenus*, and *Eusebius* destroyed almost all the *Romans* *Εὐνοπίου* saith that the Reign of *Galus* and *Polysenus* was very remarkable for the great Plague which happened in their Days. *Aurelius Victor* affirms that *Galus* and *Polysenus* were beloved very much on this account, because they took care of every one, even of the poorest Man's Funeral. The Plague afterwards raged at *Rome*, and in the *Roman* Provinces, in the Days of *Gallicenus*, as *Pollio* in *Gallicenus's* Life attells. Valef.

(e) *ἡλικιωτέρων* & *ἡλικιωτέρων*, *Hoary*, *hoary* old Men. So they were called at Alexandria, who were betwixt forty and seventy years old. Their names were registred in Tables that they might partake of the publick distribution of the Corn, as *Dionysius* attells in his following Words. Over these were the *Archigrautes*, of whom mention is made in the *first Law of the Codex Theodosianus*, de *Alexandria plebis primatibus*. Hither may be referred that which *Gregor. Naz.* affirms, in xi. 21 *Oratio* concerning *St. Athanasius*, to wit, that the Alexandrians were wont to be distributed into *Stets*, *Ages*, and *Troops*, as often as, out of respect, they went forth to meet any Person. Valef.

## C H A P. XXII.

Concerning the Plague which then raged.

**A**fterwards the Pestilence succeeding the War; when the Feast [of *Easter*] was at hand, *Dionysius* again writeth to the Brethren, M. 4. describing

*Gallienus*, describing the Miseries of that Calamity in these words : (a) To some Men this present may seem

(a) This Exordium of this Epistle of *Dionysius* is really a most elegant one. Here he saith, that this present time, when all things were so lamentable a posture, would seem to the unbelieving Heathens no fit time to keep a Feast : But neither this time, which (saith he) is really a time of mourning, nor any other, though never so undisturbed, never so merry, could possibly yield the Heathens any true joy. For the Wicked and Unbelievers can never keep a Feast, altho' they daily sacrifice, because they can't enjoy any true Mirth : Only the *tristis* and *Virtuosus* do truly keep a Feast, because they perform their duty, and offer Prayers and unbloody Sacrifices to God. *Origen*, in his 8th Book against *Celsus*, discourses at large concerning this Opinion : Which Passages in him are borrow'd from the Stoicks, and they give much light to the understanding of this place of *Dionysius*. Valef.

(b) Here we read only *ὁ βασιλεὺς, and I wish* : But *Tunnebus* in the Margin of his Book very well correcteth and pointeth it thus ; *Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν ὁ θεὸς, And I wish only one had died in every House*. The King's MS. reads thus ; *ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦν ὁ θεὸς, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς*. But *Tunnebus* does very well amend this place of *Dionysius*, by his foreaid Punctuation of it. Valef.

(c) *Dionysius* here makes a commendable Repetition of all the Sufferings of the Christians from the time he was first ordain'd Bishop of *Alexandria*. First, he recounts the Persecution and Exile, which began in the last Year of *Pekip* the Emperor. Next the Civil War which immediately follow'd ; concerning which Civil War, see Chap. 4. 1. Book 6. of this History. Then he saith, after a little Cease in follow'd the Plague ; which he rag'd privately in the times of *Calpurnius* and *Valerianus* ; but it began in *Diocles*'s Reign. For it is evident by *Dionysius*'s Epistle to *Domitian* and *Dionysius*, that some Persons died of this Plague in the Reign of *Decius*. see Chap. 11. Book 7. Valef.

granted to us alone : But when both we and they had enjoy'd a very short time of Refreshment, this Plague immediately invaded us. A thing most formidable to them, and more calamitous than any accident whatsoever. And, as one of their own Writers saith, it was the only thing which furlmouted all Men's expectation and fear. It was indeed no such thing to us ; but rather an exercise and tryal, nothing inferior to our former Sufferings : For this Plague did not spare us ; but it rag'd grievously amongst the Heathens." After these words he continues, saying ; " Indeed many of our Brethren through their superabundant love, and brotherly kindness neglecting their own selves, and firmly adhering to one another, without any thing of caution visiting them who are infected, carefully ministring to them, and healing them in Christ, most willingly died with them ; infe-

cting themselves with other Men's Distempers, attracting the Disease from their Neighbours upon themselves, and voluntarily (d) drawing the Infection out of them by translating it into themselves. And many who had cured and restored others to their former health, died themselves, having brought their Death upon themselves ; and being thus made the Ransom and Expiation for them all, they died, really fulfilling that common saying, which always hitherto hath seem'd to contain no more than an officious (e) Friendship. Thus therefore died the best of our Brethren ; some of whom were Priests, and others Deacons ; also those of the Laity which were eminent died voluntarily : So that this kind of death which was suffered upon account of Piety, and a steadfast Faith, may be esteem'd no less honourable than Martyrdom. They took the dead Bodies of the Saints up in their open hands, and into their Bosoms ; they clos'd their Eyes, and shut their Mouths ; carried them upon their Shoulders ; and (f) buried them : They stuck close to them ; embraced them ; washed them ; and (g) adorned them curiously in their Cloaths ; not long after they had the like good Offices performed to themselves : For those who survived did continually tread in the steps of such as went before them. But the *Gentiles* practice was quite contrary to this. They thrust out of doors those which began to be infected ; they fled away from those who were most dear to them ; they deserted them being half-dead in the High-ways ; and cast forth the dead Bodies unburied ; being utterly averse from a Participation and Society [with them] in Death, which yet was in no wise easie for them to avoid, though they used all Arts and Devices to decline it. After this Epistle, when Affairs in *Alexandria* were in a peaceable and quiet posture, he again sendeth selves, another *Paschal* Epistle to the Brethren throughout *Egypt* ; he also writ several other besides this. There is also extant an Epistle of his concerning tion of the Sabbath, and another concerning Excommunication. Again, in an Epistle to *Hermammion*, and the Brethren in *Egypt*, he has a long Discourse concerning the Improbability of *Decius* and his Successors, where he also makes mention of the Peace in the Reign of *Gallienus*.

and Infection. It is no more than what he said in their words, *ὁ νόσος ἐξ' αὐτοῦ ἐλκουμένη*, drawing the Infection upon themselves. Valef.

(e) This word *εὐφροσύνη* we have here rendered Friendship ; yet the word primarily and properly signifies that which the Latines call *Comitas*, that is, Complaisance, Courtesynesse, Civility, Affability : As in this term *ἀντιλογία*, which we have translated a Ransom ; we find it in the first Epistle to the *Corinth*. Chap. 4. v. 13. This word seems to have been used by the *Alexandrines* in their Salutations : When they met together, and promised their sincere love, willingness and diligence in serving one another, they used to say *ἐὰν εἰπὶ ἀντιλογία σὺ ;* or else we may take the word in this sense ; as if the Heathens should call the Christians the very *Faces Populi*, and the *Pargamenta Scuti* ; which Interpretation is not to be rejected here. Valef.

(f) *Χριστόφ.* in his Latin Version, renders this word [*ἀντιλογία*] *decussat ornamentis*, dressing them up neatly : But he mistakes ; for *Dionysius* speaks of their Dress afterwards in their words, *ἀντιλογίας καπνοσώματα*, decking them in their best Cloaths : *ἀντιλογία*, here we therefore render *Companions*, (that is) burying them ; and so the word is used in *Prophane* as well as in Sacred Authors : *Compessus* pro sepulto, in *Virgil*, and *Horace*. Valef.

(g) *Πτεσάδαι καπνοσώματα*, some render *lintheo funebri involuente*, spreading them in a winding-sheet. But this is contrary to the custom of Buryings in those Days ; for the Heathens used to dress the Dead in their best Cloaths, and so inter them. And the Christians used in like manner to to dress the Saints Corps : See Chap. 16. of this Seventh Book, concerning *Affurius*. Valef.

Gallienus.

C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning the Reign of Gallienus.

Nothing hinders but we may hear his own words, which run thus : *[(a) Macrianus]* therefore, having treacherously betray'd one of the Emperors which preceded him, and made War upon the other, was immediately extirpated, and together with his whole Family became extinct. *Gallienus* was now proclaim'd, and by common consent receiv'd Emperor. He was both an old Emperor and a new ; for he was before \* them, and also surviv'd them : For according to that which was spoken by the Prophet *Esaïas*, † *Behold the former things are come to pass, and new things shall now rise up.* For as a Cloud rising up before the Rays of the Sun, overhadowed it for a while, and appears to be substituted into the place thereof : But when the Cloud has gone over it, or is dissolved ; the Sun, which before was risen, seems then to arise again : So *Macrianus*, who set himself before, and (b) approach'd the very Empire of *Gallienne*, now is not, for he never was : But *Gallienus*, as he was Emperor before, so he now continues to be. And the Empire itself, having deposited its old age as it were, and being cleansed from the Dregs of its former Improbability, now flourisheth with greater vividness ; is seen

and heard of at a larger distance, and spreads its fame in all places.\* He afterwards declares the time when he wrote these things, in these words ; *It now again comes into my mind to contemplate the Years of our Emperor : For I see how those most impious Persons who had so great a name, are in a short time become most obscure.* But our most Pious and Religious Emperor, having pass'd his seventh, is now in the ninth year of his Empire, in which we are about to solemnize the Festivals.

C H A P. XXIV.

Concerning Nepos, and his Schism.

Besides, *Dionysius* wrote two Books concerning the Promises. The occasion of his writing these Books was *Nepos*, an Egyptian Bishop, who taught that the Promises, which were made to the Saints in the Sacred Scriptures, should be perform'd in the \* Jewish fence, and affirmed that there was to come a thousand year's State upon Earth, which should be spent in bodily pleasures. Now he supposing he could confirm his own Opinion out of *John's* Revelation, wrote a Book upon this Question, and intitled it, *A Confutation of the Allegorical Expositors ;* which Piece *Dionysius* confutes in his Books concerning the Promises. In the first Book of which he propoeth his own Opinion concerning the Question. In

the second he discourseth concerning the Revelation of *John*, where in the very beginning he makes mention of this *Nepos*, and writes thus concerning him : But because they produce a Book of *Nepos's*, on which they rely very much,

as if it did (a) infallibly demonstrate that the Kingdom of Christ should be [set up] [on Earth : Indeed for several other things I commend and love *Nepos*, for his Faith, his industry and study in the Scriptures, and also for the many (b) Psalms and Hymns he compos'd, with which many of the Brethren are even at this time much delighted. And I reverence the Man for this reason chiefly, because he is (c) dead. But I judge Truth must to be beloved, and to be the most precious of all things. It is our duty to praise, and freely to commend whatever is truly said : But we are also to examine and correct whatever unfound opinion appears to have been committed to writing. Now could he be present, and discuss his Opinion by word of mouth, then a bare discourse by Questions and Answers, without any writing might suffice to convince and reduce the perverse Party to an agreement. But since there is a Book published (and as to some it seems) a most

pernicious one ; since some Teachers look upon the Law and the Prophets to be of no value ; neglect to follow the Gospels ; have small esteem for the Epistles of the Apostles ; and

(d) promise great things concerning the Doctrine of this Book, as containing some great and hidden mysteries ; since they will not suffer the more ignorant of our Brethren to think of any thing that is sublime and great, neither of the glorious and truly divine Advent of our Lord, nor of our Resurrection from the Dead ; our gathering together to him, and our being made like him : (e) But persuade 'em to think that Men hope for nothing in the Kingdom of God, but abject and mortal things, such as they now hope for : It is necessary we enter into a dispute against our Brother *Nepos*, as if he himself were present. After some words he continues saying ; When I was in the Province

of the (f) *Asiennae* (where, as you know, this Opinion was long since propagated so far, that there were Schisms and Revoltings of whole Churches together ;) having convened the Presbyters and Teachers

(a) We have here sufficient evidence that this Book concerning the Promises was written in answer to *Nepos*. I wonder that *Hieronymus* in his Preface before the eighteenth Book of his Comments upon *Esaïas*, should affirm that this Book was written against *Irenaeus* Bishop of *Lions*. Indeed *Irenaeus* was one of them who believed that Christ should come and reign on the Earth 1000 years, which Opinion was grounded on *Papias's* Authority, as *Hieronymus* himself affirms, and also our Author *Eusebius* in the end of the third Book. But as well from this place, as also from *Hieronymus* himself, in his Book *De Script. Ecclesiasticis*, we may gather that this Book was not written against *Irenaeus*, but against *Nepos*. Valef.

(b) *Ψαλμοὶ*, we have here translated, the Composition of Psalms and Hymns ; according to the custom of the Christians, who used to compose Psalms and Hymns in honour of Christ, as *Eusebius* in the end of the fifth Book attelleth. We also find mention of these Hymns in the Epistle of the Council of *Antioch* against *Pant* of *Samosata*, and in the last Canon but one of the Council of *Lapidea*, where there is an express prohibition, that no Psalms which in Greek are called *Ψαλμοὶ*, that is, composed by private or ignorant Persons, should be sang in Churches. Valef.

(c) *Πῖν* in his 25 Book, Chap. 2. saith, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. Valef.

(d) *Πῖν* in his 25 Book, Chap. 2. saith, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. Valef.

(e) *Πῖν* in his 25 Book, Chap. 2. saith, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. Valef.

(f) *Πῖν* in his 25 Book, Chap. 2. saith, why we affirm, when we mention any dead persons, that we will not vex or disturb their memory. Valef.

\* That is, that the Promises were to be literally understood.

Gallienus.

Teachers of the Brethren in every particular Village, (such Brethren also as had a mind to come being present,) I advised them that there might be Researches made into this Doctrine, in the presence of a publick Assembly. And when they produced this Book as a defence, and an impregnable Bulwark, fitting with them three whole Days together from Morning till Evening, I endeavour'd to discuss the Contents thereof. In all which time I did extraordinarily admire the Constancy of the Brethren, their

(1.) *Εὐμεγέλειον*, is the term in the Original; I have rendered it *docilitatem*, aptness to be taught. For Auditors are properly said *εὐμεγέλειον*, when they apprehend the sense of words. Valef.

and yield our assents. For we took special care never pertinaciously to defend our former Opinions, when once they were found to be erroneous: Neither did we shun the Objections of others; but to the utmost of our power, we endeavour'd to

(b) The Greek Phrase is *ἐνταύτην τὴν περὶ τῶν σημειώσεων*, which Valefius renders, *ad ea de quibus instituta erat disputatio cuncti*; and we, to keep close to the Points of the Question in hand, or the present Question.

(i) This phrase *ἡ ἀκατακτάτος* is truly translated thus, *expansis cordibus*, & *patulis*, with hearts unfolded, and, as it were spread abroad: But some translate it *simplicibus cordibus*, with pure and single hearts: Which sense tho' the words may bear, yet it is not so good in this place, as the other Version. Valef.

(k) *Εὐμαρτυρία*, is not put in this place for Dispensation, but for the same *εὐσυνέλευσις*, (i. e.) an Union, and Reconciliation: And to Dionysius uses the word a little before: St. Paul also in his Epistle to the Colossians, Chap. 2. Ver. 2. and 19. with *εὐσυνέλευσιν*, and *εὐσυνέλευσιν* in this sense. Valef.

## CHAP. XXV.

### Concerning the Revelation of John.

HAVING interposed some words, he afterwards says thus concerning the Revelation of John: Indeed some of our Ancestors disown'd, and wholly rejected this Book; confusing every Chapter, and demonstrating it to be an unknown and senseless Work, and that the Title is forged; for they say it is not John's: Neither is it a Revelation, because it is covered over with so thick and dark a Veil of Ignorance; And that not only no Apostle, but also no Holy or Ecclesiastick Person, could have been the Compiler of this Work: But that it was \* *Cerinthus*, the Founder of the Heresie, called from him the *Cerinthian Heresie*, who was desirous to have

\* See B. 3. Chap. 28. Page. 44. Note c. & d.

a creditable name prefix'd before his Forgery: Gallienus. For this, they say, was *Cerinthus*'s Opinion and Doctrine; that Christ's Kingdom should be terrestrial: And whatsoever he, being a carnal and voluptuous Man, most lusted after, in these he dream'd the Kingdom of Christ consisted; as in indulging the Belly, and the Parts beneath the Belly; I mean, in eating, drinking, and marrying; and also in Festivals, Sacrifices, and killing of Victims, by which these might with more specious pretences be acquired. I dare not indeed reject this Book, since many of the Brethren have it in great esteem. But this is the Opinion I have of it, I think the Sense or Subject thereof surpasseth my apprehension, and that there is a mysterious and admirable meaning covertly contain'd in every part of it; for though I do not understand it, yet I suppose there is a more profound meaning comprehended in the words. I do not judge of, nor fathom these things by the Line of my own Reason; but attributing much more to Faith, I esteem them more sublime than to be comprehended by me. I do not condemn those things I could not understand, but I rather admire them because I cannot see through them." After these words, having carefully look'd into the whole Book of the Revelation, and demonstrat'd that it was impossible to be understood according to the obvious sense of the words, he goes on, saying, "But having finish'd his Prophecy, (as I may call it,) the Prophet pronounceth blessing upon all them who keep it, and moreover on himself too; for he saith, \* *Blessed is he that keepeth the words* \* Revel. of the Prophecy of this Book: And I am John c. 22. v. 7, 8. of which saw and heard these things. I do not indeed deny that his name was John, and that this was John's Book: [For I grant that it was written by some Holy and Divinely inspired Person:] But I cannot easily be brought to give my consent that this was John the Apostle, the Son of Zebedee, the Brother of James, the Author of the Gospel according to John, and of the Catholick Epistle. For I conjecture by the Genius and Nature of them both, by the form of the Style, and the Method and (a) Disposition

(a) *Διευκρίσις* is a term proper to the Rhetoricians, as plainly appears by the following word *εὐκρίσις*: I think that *διευκρίσις* has the same import with *Dispositio*, or *dispositio*; for *διευκρίσις*, in *Suidas* is the same as *dispositio*, to dispose, or handle. Or we may render it the form and manner of writing: For he proves the Revelation not to be John's the Apostle, by the *εὐκρίσις*, the Genius, or Nature of the Writer: Then by the Style and Manner of writing, that is, by the *ῥησις* and the *ῥησις*. Valef.

the Revelation prefixeth his name at the very beginning; [where he says,] † *The Revelation of Jesus Christ which he gave unto him to shew to his servants quickly, and he sent and signified it by his Angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things which he saw.* † Afterwards he writes an Epistle: \* *John unto the seven Churches in Asia; Grace, be unto you, and peace.* \* Now the Evangelist has not prefix'd his name, nor before his Catholick Epistle: But, without any Circumlocution, has made his beginning from the Mystery of the Divine

† *Revelat. of Jesus Christ which he gave unto him to shew to his servants quickly, and he sent and signified it by his Angel unto his servant John, who bare record of the word of God, and of the testimony of Jesus Christ, and of all things which he saw.*

\* *John unto the seven Churches in Asia; Grace, be unto you, and peace.* \* Now the Evangelist has not prefix'd his name, nor before his Catholick Epistle: But, without any Circumlocution, has made his beginning from the Mystery of the Divine

Galileus.

\* 1 John.  
c. 1. v. 1.† Match.  
c. 6. v. 17.\* Rev. G.  
t. v. 9.\* Rev. G.  
t. v. 13.

§ We ought to take special notice of this Passage concerning the Primitive Christians custom of calling their Children, by the names of Peter and Paul, which they did both for the reverence and love they bare to thole Saints, and also that their Children might be beloved and no less dear in the sight of God than thole Saints were. Chrysostom in his *Oration* concerning St. Asterius faith, that the *Asterius* had such a reverence and esteem for him, that the Parents called their Children after his name, that they might have their Houses in a manner adorned with his presence. The same Father also in his 21 *Homily upon Genesis*, adviseth his Auditors that they should not carelessly call their Children by their Grandfather's or Great-Grandfathers, or some noble Heroes names, but that they should rather give them the names of some Men who were famous for Virtue and Piety; that the Children, by their Example, might be excited to an imitation of them. *Valer.*

\* Acts 11. 25. and 13. 5.

Divine Revelation. \* That which was from the beginning, which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes. For upon account of this kind of Revelation the Lord hath pronounced Peter blessed in these words, † Blessed art thou Simon Bar-jona: for flesh and blood hath not revealed it unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven. But neither before the second, nor third Epistle of John which are extant, although they are very short, is John's name exprelly prefix'd; but he is namelessly intituled, the Elder. But the other [John] thought it not enough to name himself once and fo to proceed in his relation, but he again repeateh his name. \* I John, even your brother and companion in tribulation, and in the kingdom and patience of Jesus, was in the Isle that is called Patmos, for the word of God, and for the testimony of Jesus Christ. And at the close of this Book he faith; † Blessed is he that keepeth the sayings of the prophecy of this book. And I John saw these things and heard them. Therefore that it was John who wrote these things, we ought to believe, because he affirms it. But what John it was 'tis uncertain; for he has not said that he himself was that John, who in several places of the Gospel is called the beloved disciple of the Lord; or that he was he who lay in the Bosom of the Lord; or that he was the Brother of James; or that he was the person who with his own Eyes and Ears saw and heard the Lord. For certainly he would have mentioned some of these fore-mentioned [Descriptions,] if he were desirous to have made himself apparently known. But he has recorded none of these Passages in his Writings, but styles himself our Brother and Companion and Witness of Jesus, and calls himself Blessed, because he saw and heard these Revelations. I suppose there were many of the same name with John the Apostle, who thro' their love to, admiration and zealous emulation of him, and because they were desirous to be beloved of the Lord as he was, had a great love for his name:

(b) As we see many Children of the Faithful called by the name of Paul and Peter. Moreover there is another John mention'd in the Acts of the Apostles, surnam'd \* Mark, whom Barnabas and Paul took to be their Companion. Concerning whom it is again said, \* They bad John to be their Minister. Whether it were he that was the Author of this Revelation or not, I dare not affirm. For 'tis no-where written that he came with them into Asia, but 'tis said that when Paul and his Company loosed from Paphos, they came to Parga in Pamphilia: and John departing from them, returned to Jerusalem. † Therefore I think it was some other John, one of them who lived in Asia.

For 'tis said there are two Tombs at Ephesus, and both called by the name of John's Tomb.

(c) Also from the Sentences, the Words, and

were not written by one and the same John; for he had urged his first Argument begun at Note (a) to this place: Now here he begins a second, (viz.) to prove by the Words and Sentences, and by the placing of the Words or method, that they were two distinct persons: For I render this word *ἀνίστατο*, the placing or ordering of words, according to Cicero; though *ἀνίστατο* in this place may as well comprehend the ordering and modelling of sentences, as of words. But here we may take notice what an excellent Critick Dionysius Alexandrinus was. For it is the property of a Critick to judge of the Writings of the Ancients, and to discern what is true and genuine, and what spurious and supposititious. *Valer.*

the disposition or placing of them, this John who wrote the Revelation, may with good reason be suspected to be a distinct person from the other John; for there is a mutual agreement betwixt the Gospel and the Epistle, and they both begin alike. The Gospel begins thus; In the beginning was the Word. The Epistle thus; That which was from the beginning. The Gospel says; And the Word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us; And we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only-begotten Son of the Father. The Epistle says the same with a very little variation: That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled of the word of life; for the life was manifested. For these are his Preludiums, directing his words (as in the following Passages he has declared) against those who denied that Christ came in the Flesh: Wherefore on that purpose he subjoyneth this, And what we have seen we bear witness to, and shew unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us. That which we have seen and heard, declare we unto you. He is constant to himself, and does not in the least wander from his subject proposed, but in the same

(d) Periods and Words he does prosecute all Points, some of which expressions we will briefly recount. He who does carefully read them, will both in his Gospel and Epistle, very frequently meet with life; very often with light, an avoiding of darkness; very frequently with truth, grace, joy, the flesh and blood of our Lord, judgment, forgiveness of sins, the love of God towards us, the commandment of mutual love one towards another, and that we ought to keep all the Commandments. There is also contained in them

(e) the condemnation of the World, of the Devil, and of Antichrist; the promise of the Holy Ghost; the Adoption of the sons of God; a faith universally required

of us; mention of the Father and the Son in every place. In sum, they who note the Phrase in all things thoroughly, may easily discern, that the Genius and Style, both in the Gospel and the Epistle, appears to be one and the same. But the Revelation is altogether different from, and unlike to these; it has no allance to, nor (as I may so say) familiarity with either of these: Nor has the Revelation so much as one syllable in it which is common to these: Neither does the Epistle (for I omit the Gospel) make the least mention of the Revelation; nor the Revelation of the Epistle: And yet Paul in his Epistles mentions something concerning his Revelations, which he did not digest into a Volume by themselves. Furthermore by the Phrase, the difference betwixt the Epistle and Gospel and the Revelation, may be easily conjectured: For those are not only written most correctedly

(d) *ἀνίστατο* in this place signifies Periods or Sentences, by which an entire sense is concluded. Chrysostom also they may be called, the Greeks also call them *συντάξεις*, the Latines *Capitula*. *Valer.*

(e) *ἐν παντι* & *πανταχού*, made I think he rendered here rather the condemnation of the World, than the revealing of the World. In the old *Oracles* we find *πανταχού* to signify judgment. *Valer.*

(f) This is Dionysius's second Argument; by which he proves that the Gospel and Revelation

*Gallienus.*

\*See Jude  
vers. 24.  
*ἐμμέλως;*  
without  
any error,  
or mistake.

(f) By both faculties he means that which the Greeks call *αἴσθησις* and *ἐκείνη* (i. e.) *extensus* and *internus sensus*, which is afterwards mentioned. I judge and think are explained.

ly\* and agreeable to the *purity* of the *Greek Tongue*, but they are also compos'd with great elegance in the words, in the *Argumentations* and whole *Contexture* of the Discourse: So impossible is it for one to find any Barbarism or Solæcism, or lastly, any Idiotism in them. For [the Evangelist] ('tis apparent) had (*f*) both Faculties; the Lord had endow'd him with both, that is, the gift of knowledge, and the gift of speaking. As touching this other *John I* do not indeed deny that he saw the *Revelation*, and that he received the [gift of] knowledge and of prophecy. But I take notice that his Dialect and Style is not pure *Greek*, but he makes use of some barbarous words, yea and in some places he has Solæcisms, which it is not now necessary to give a Catalogue of. For I would have no one suppose that I have said these things in a way of derision; but only on this account, that I might explain the Dissimilitude of these Books.

τῶν τῆς γνώσεως, τῶν τῆς οὐρανοῦ λόγων, the gift of know-  
ledge, gift of speaking; by which subsequent words the preceding  
are, Valer.

## C H A P. XXVI.

Concerning Dionysius's *Epistles*.

(a) Hence we may gather that the two Books concerning the Promiser, out of which Rufinus has the fragment afore-quoted, were by the same author. We may confirm this by a passage in Chap. 12, where *Petrus* and *Paulus* are mentioned, which is an *Epistola Petri ad Paulum*. But be-

Here are extant many more of *Dionysius's* Epistles (a) besides these. As for example, his Epistles to *Ammann* Bishop of *Berenice* against *Sabellius*; and an Epistle to *Telephorus*; also one to *Empranzor*; and again, another to *Ammann* and *Euporus*. He also wrote (b) four more Books upon the same Subject, and dedicated them to his Namesake *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*. There are also more of his Epistles besides these extant amongst us: And moreover some Books of his, which are something verbose and prolix, and are written in an Epistolary form: As for example, his Books concerning (c) *Nature*, which are dedicated to *Timotheus* a Child, concerning *Tentations*, which he dedicated to *Empranzor*: Besides these Books, in his Epistle to *Euphides* Bishop of *Amphipolis*, he says he wrote a *Comment upon the beginning of Ecclesiastes*. He has also left us several Epistles which he wrote to this (d) *Basilides*. Thus many are *Dionysius's* Works. But now after an Historical Relation of those things, we will deliver to the knowledge of Posterity an Account of our own Age.

As *Alexand.* in his Epistles against *Sabellius* seemed not to touch, as touching the *Divinity of Christ*, and he was accused of *Monis* Bishop of *Rome*, by some of the Bishops of *Pentapolis*, at *Rome*, *Dionysius Roman* called a Synod, heard the Accusing examined some false Opinions in *Dionys.* Epistles, *Dionys.* *Alexand.* desiring him that he would more distinctly Enrich and Opinion concerning those matters. Upon this *Alexand.* wrote four Epistles to *Dionys.* *Roman*, which he ἐπιστὰς εἰς πεντάπολιν, (that is,) concerning the confutation of

12, and concerning his own Apology, or defence of himself. V. Aci-  
ur, in his 13th Book *De Preparat.* produces an excellent  
Book *De Natura*. It was dedicated, *Τιμωμένῳ τῷ υἱῷ*;  
being dubiously taken to signify either a Son, or any other  
parent, 'tis some difficulty to determine who the Person was,  
as was dedicated, some say to his Son: I have here rendred it  
For I cannot think that *Diogenes* was ever married. The  
V. occurs in Book 6. Chap. 40. *Idem.*

ie many Epistles written by *Dionysius* to this *Basilides*, only extant, which *Theodoros Balsamo* has preserved for us. *Vales.*

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Concerning Paul of Samosata, and the Heresie founded by him at Antioch.*

**D**ionysius, Namefakē to Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria, succeeds Xystus, after he had presided over the Church of Rome (a) eleven years. About the same time also died Demetrius Bishop of Antioch, whom Paul of Samosata succeeded in his Bishoprick. This Paul had an abject and low Opinion of Christ, contrary to the Doctrine of the Church, as if he had been by nature of no more than a meer Man; Dionysius Bishop of Alexandria was increased to come to the Synod: He having complained of his Age, and also of his Infirmary of Body deferr'd his coming: But he openly declared by Letter what his fence Months, and opinion concerning the matter in debate. But the rest of the Pastors of the Churches from all Parts hastned to Antioch, and were convened there, as against the Corrupter of Christ's Flock. But

(a) Here Eusebius is in a gross mistake, for Xystus was not Bishop of Rome only 2 Years, but only 2 Years and Eleven Months, as we may see in the Book De Pontifici, ubi dicitur, *Gelasianus* first published, and that Book is most exact in its account of the times of the Popes, from Callistus to Liberius: The same also says Xystus suffered Martyrdom on the eighth of the Ides of August: But our Author neither here, in his Epistle, nor in his Chronicle mentions any thing of Xystus's Martyrdom, which I really admire, and should more admire, did not I certainly know that Eusebius is not over-jollicitous and curious in his History concerning what things were done in the Western parts. Moreover Eusebius in his Chronicle asserts Eight Years to Xystus, and he says that Dionysius succeeded Xystus in the 12th Year of Gelasius, and that Maximus succeeded Dionysius Alexandrin, in the 11th Year of the Good Gaius the Emperor. Which is most absurd, whenas 'tis evident that Dionysius Alexandr. dedicated his four Books against Sabellius to Dionysius Roman, as our Author tells us in Chap. 26. of this 7th Book. Vale.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*Concerning the Eminent Bishops of those Times.*

THE most Eminent of these assembled were Firmilianus Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia; Gregory and Athenodorus both Brethren, Bishops of the Churches of Pontus; Besides these there were Helenus Bishop of Tarfus, and (a) Nicomachus-Bishop of Iconium: Also Hymeneus Bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctenus Bishop of Caesarea upon the Confines of Jerusalem: Besides these, Maximus, who with great commendation governed the Brethren of Bosphorus. And a great many more may be reckon'd: who, together with Presbyters and Deacons, were convened in the aforesaid City at the time aforesaid, and upon the same account. But these were the most eminent of them. All these therefore being assembled in the same place together; (b) divers times and often, Disputations and Questions were rais'd in every Synod. On the one side Paul of Samosata endeavour'd to conceal and hide his Heretodox Opinions; on the other, these Persons striving with all diligence to denudeate and make apparent his Heresie and Blasphemy against Christ. In the which subscribed to the Council of Nice, Nicomachus Bishop of Bosphorus was named the first, the Bishops of the Province of Arabia: But the common MSS. read Nicomachus, and so we find it in the MS. of C. Justinian, which is of the 16th century.

(b) We here translate it, *divers times*, though some Greek Copies read only  $\alpha\gamma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ . But all our MSS. read  $\alpha\gamma\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\ \delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\sigma\theta\epsilon\varsigma$ . There were several Synods called against this *Paul of Samosata*. Hence follows the word [ $\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{o}\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ ] which we must in no wise suppose to be superfluous here. *Eusebius* lays, *There were many Synods assembled at several times, and in every Synod there were many Seignors or Bishops*. The first Synod against *Paul* was at *Antioch* in the *Seventh* year of *Gallienus*; of which Synod *Firmilianus* was President: Concerning which see *Bede* *histor.* *Anno Christi* 265, and 266. *Valef.*

*Gallienus*. interim *Dionysius* † dies in the twelfth year of *Gallienus*'s Empire, after he had presided in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria* seventeen years. *Maximus* succeedeth him. *But Gallienus*, having held the Empire fifteen years compleat, *Claudius* was constituted his Successor. He, having reigned two years, left the Government to *Aurelianus*.

## C H A P. XXIX.

How Paul being confuted by Malchion a Presbyter, (who formerly had been one of the † Sophistas) was deposed.

(a) **I**N this Emperor's time was the last Synod convened, which consisted of a very great number of Bishops: The Author of that Heresie at *Antioch* being now convicted, and by all manifestly condemned of false Doctrine, was Excommunicated out of the Catholick Church, which is under Heaven. But one (b) *Malchion* most especially confuted and convinced him, being desirous to keep himself concealed: He was a most eloquent Man, and Master of the *Grecian Philosophy-School* at *Antioch*. And moreover, for his surpassing sincerity in the Faith of Christ, he was honour'd with a Presbytership of the Church there. Now this Man having undertaken to dispute against *Paul*, (the Notaries having written down all the Passages of that Disputation, which is at this day extant) was the only person that was able to detect and convince that crafty and deceitful Fellow.

The Council of *Ephesus*, in pag. 228. utterly destroys this Opinion of *Baronius*: For it says that *Paul of Samosata* was excommunicated 160 years before that time; and if we reckon backwards we shall find, that the year of *Claudius* and *Paterius*'s Consulship, that is, the year of Christ 270. is the 160 year backwards from the time that Book was written, which was *Theodosius* 13th, and *Valentinianus* 3d being Consuls. Moreover, if *Baronius* reckon those things done in the 2d year of *Aurelianus*, he must necessarily make *Dionysius* to continue Bishop of *Rome* till that Year; but that is contrary to the Authority of the *Lib. Pontifical*. Farther, in the second year of *Aurelianus*'s his Reign, there was a War waged against *Zenobia*, when *Antioch* and other Cities were taken, so that it is impossible there should be a Synod of Bishops that year there. Valef.

† *Leontius* in his first Book against *Nestorius*, has a Fragment of this Disputation. In *Theodoret*, this *Malchion* is called *Malchion*; but truly, 'This Man gained such Honour in this Constitution of *Paul*, that he was thought worthy to be Canoniz'd in the *Grec Ecclesiology*, at the 5th day of October. Valef.

## C H A P. XXX.

Concerning the Epistle of the Bishops against Paul.

**T**HE Prelates therefore, being assembled together, by common consent writ an Epistle to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*: And then sent it over all the Provinces; both manifesting their diligence to all Men; the perverse Heterodoxy of *Paul*, the Confutations and Disputes which were held against them; and also giving in a Narration of the whole Life and Morals of the Man, whose words in which Epistle, that Posterity may remember them, it will be convenient here to relate.

## THE EPISTLE.

To *Dionysius* and *Maximus*, and to all our Fellow-Ministers over the whole World, Bishops, Pres-

byters, and Deacons; and to the whole Catholick *Aerolis-Church* under Heaven; *Helenus*, *Hymenaeus*, *Theophilus*, *Theotecnus*, *Maximus*, *Proculus*, *Nicomachus*, (a) *Eliaianus*, *Paul*, *Bolanus*, *Protegeus*, (b) *Hierax*, *Eurychius*, *Theodoros*, *Malchion*, and *Ant. Fek. Lucius*; and all the rest of the Bishops of the neighbour-*At. d. ring Cities* and Provinces which are with us, the *Syn. MSS.*

(b) *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, and the Churches of God, thus write To the beloved Brethren in the Lord, health. After *some words* interposed, they add these following. We have written to, and intreated many of the Bishops far remote, that they would come and assist in the Curing of this Pestiferous Doctrine: For we wrote to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and to *Firmilianus* Bishop of *Cappadocia*, Men of blessed Memory. The first of them wrote to *Antioch*, but did not so much as vouchsafe the Author of the Heresie a Salutation; (c) neither did he write to him by name, but to the whole Church: A Copy of which Letter we have here inserted. The other, *Firmilianus* came twice, and command'd *Paul's* Novelties, as we who were then present do attest, and many others do also know as well as we. But when he promised to recant, *Firmilianus* believing him, and hoping that the business might be composed (d) without any reproach to our Religion, deferred his Sentence; being deceived by him who denied his God and Lord, and who kept not the Faith which he formerly profess'd. But *Firmilianus* was now about coming to *Antioch*: And he came as far as *Tarsus*; for he had had experience of his malicious wickedness who denied his God. But in the interim of our assembling, and whilst we were sending for him, and expecting his coming, he died. After some other Passages they describe his Morals, and what course of Life he led, in these words: But since he turn'd to forged and seditious Opinions, departing from the (e) true Rule, it is not our concern to examine the Actions of one who is out of the Church: Neither how he, who was formerly poor and indigent, (having had no Estate from his Parents, Faith nor got any thing by any Trade or Profession) is now become, incredibly rich, by his unlawful and sacrilegious dealings, (f) by extortion, and vexatiousness used towards the Brethren, and by (g) taking Bribes from our

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but in some printed Editions, *his* *advocates*, *Antiochians*, *Allo-* *Rufinus*, and *Nicophorus* call him *Euse-* *lianus*. *Athenagoras* says there were Seventy Fathers in this Synod, who divelled *Paul* of *Samosata*. Valef.

(b) We ought to take notice of the inscription of this Epistle: For we had here not the Names of Bishops only, but also of Presbyters, and Deacons, and of the Laity also. The time we may see in the Acts of the Council of *Carthage*, in which *Cyprian* was President, and in the Council of *Eltherin*. Valef.

(c) Hence we may gather, the Epistle of *Dionysius*, *Alexand.* to *Paul* of *Samosata*, which is inserted in the 11th Volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, is a supposititious, together with the ten Trigacons of *Paul*, and *Dionysius*'s Answers to them. For the Fathers of the Council of *Antioch* do here affirm, that *Dionysius* did not write to *Paul*, but to the whole Church of *Antioch*. In that Epistle which goes under the name of *Dionysius*, we find that he wrote to *Paul* twice. But the title of the Epistle and Answer is not at all like *Dionysius*'s Works. So that I am fully persuaded, although *Baronius* takes that Work to be true and Genuine, it is false, and adulterate. Valef.

(d) The Greek words [*Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, *Antiochians*] may be translated, *Unto all Religious persons* contemned, and we have rendered them in English accordingly: But *Christophorus* seems to follow that excellent Version of *Rufinus*, which agrees with us. Valef.

(e) The Greek words [*Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν*, *Antiochians*] may be translated, *Unto all Religious persons* contemned, and we have rendered them in English accordingly: But *Christophorus* seems to follow that excellent Version of *Rufinus*, which agrees with us. Valef.

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*Aurelianus* those that were injured, promising to help them to their Right, for a Reward; but he deceived them too, (b) getting Money for doing nothing through their willingness, who were entangled in Suits, to give any thing for a delivery from those Troubles: He (i) supposed godliness to be gain. Neither need we declare how proud and insolent he was, being invested with secular Dignities; and desiring to be styled a (k) Ducenarius, rather than a Bishop: And how he walked in state through the

\* Forum, reading and dictating Letters as he walked in publick, with a numerous Guard about him, some going before and some following him.

In so much that there was an ill Opinion and an Oidium brought upon the Faith through his Pride and Haughtiness. Neither [does it concern us to examine] his vain-glorious Ambition in the Ecclesiastick Conventions, which he greedily pursues, being desirous of Glory, and affected with an imaginary Pomp: With such Devices as these terrifying the Minds of the Faithful and Ignorant. Besides, he erected for himself a (l) Tribunal, and a lofty Throne, not like one of Christ's Disciples, but had a place called his (m) Secretum, like as the secular Magistrates have. He also used to clap his Hand upon his Thighs, and stamp'd upon the Throne with his Feet.

And such as did not commend him, and shake their (n) Orraria, as they usually did in the Theaters, and did not make loud Exclamations, nor leap up and down in the same manner as his Favourites (which were a company of silly Men and Women that during their hearkening to him used such Indecencies) did; but were attentive to him with such a seemly reverence and decency as befits the House of God: Those Persons he rebuked and reproach'd. In his publick Discourses he reflected upon those Doctors of our Religion that were dead, with all imaginable scorn and contumely; but he magnified himself not as became a Bishop, but rather like a Counterfeit, and an Impostor. He abolished the Psalms, which were usually sung in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ,

as novel, and the Compositors of modern Men. On the great Feast of Easter, he appointed Women to sing Psalms in his commendation in the Body of the Church, which whosoever heard might justly tremble at: He also privately sent the (o) Bishops of the neighbouring Villages and Towns, and the Presbyters who were his Flatterers to make Discourses to

the People in commendation of him. For he will not Aurelianus join in a Confession with us, that the Son of God came down from Heaven, that we may now premise some things of what we shall hereafter more at large declare in writing: Neither shall this be affirmed on our bare words, but it is evident in many places up

and down his (p) Acts which we have sent you: And most especially there where he says that Jesus Christ is of the \* Earth: But those who chaunt out his Praises, and sing his Encomiums amongst the People, do say, that this their impious Master is an Angel come down from Heaven: Nor does that haughty Prelow prohibit these Expressions, but is himself present when they are spoken. What need we here mention his and his Presbyters and Deacons (q) introduced Women (as the Antiochians term them?) (r) Those in whom he conceals not only this, but many other damnable Crimes, (which he is conscious of, and of which he has been convicted they are guilty) that by this means he may keep them so obnoxious, as not to adventure, through a fear of their own guilt, to accuse him for his impious words and practices. Moreover, he has enriched them. And this is the reason he is beloved and admired by them who cover such things. But why do we write these things? We know (Beloved) that it is the duty of a Bishop, and of the whole Clergy, to be Examples of good Works to the People: Neither are we ignorant, that by introducing Women into their Society, some have wholly fell away from Goodness, and others have been suspected. Although therefore it be granted he committed nothing that was unchaste, yet the very suspicion which arises from such a thing, ought carefully to be avoided, lest it should be offensive to any one, and induce others to imitate it: For how can be reprove, or admonish another not to frequent the company of Women, and to take heed lest he fall, (as it is written,) who has now indeed sent away one, but keeps two that are young and beautiful with him? And where-ever he goes, he carries them along with him; and therefore indulges, and (r) fluffs himself with Delicacies. These are the Reasons that all People sigh and lament privately: But they so dread his Tyranny, and Authority, that they dare not accuse him; now, (as we have before said) any would call a Man, who professes the Catholick Doctrine, and is reckoned of our Communion, to an account for these things. But from one, who has abjured the Mystery [of our Religion,] and has boasted in that cursed Heresie of Artemas, (for why may we not manifest to you his Father: ) We judge it needful to require an account of these things. Afterwards in the Close of the Epistle they adjoin these words. Having therefore excommunicated this contumacious Enemy of God; we were necessitated to Ordain another Bishop in his stead over the Catholick Church, (as we are persuaded, not without the Providence of God) [to wit,] Domnus (the Son of Demetrianus of blessed Memory, who before him was the Eminent Governor of that See) a Man adorned with all Accomplishments requisite to a Bishop. Which we have therefore signified to you, that you may write

to him. (p) *Τὸν Ἰωάννην* are here Gellio, or Albia, Publick Acts; such are commonly Registered; but some fully translate them Commemorative. Now the Acts of this Synod of Antioch were nothing but the Disputations of Malchion against Paul of Samosata; which were Registered by the Notaries. Vales. \* See Job. 8. 23.

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(a) *Εὐσεβίου* seems to mean the Chorepiscopi, which some term *Vicarii Episcopi*, and *Vicariis*, *Episcopos*, i. e. Deputies of the Bishop, and *Vicar-Bishops*. They here make a distinction betwixt the *Episcopi Crivatum*, and *Episcopi Pagorum*. And these latter, the Fathers here say, sang, or repeated these Songs or Hymns in their Sermons, and Congregations. See *Danaus Epist.* concerning these.

(b) *Εὐσεβίου* seems to mean the Chorepiscopi, which some term *Vicarii Episcopi*, and *Vicariis*, *Episcopos*, i. e. Deputies of the Bishop, and *Vicar-Bishops*. They here make a distinction betwixt the *Episcopi Crivatum*, and *Episcopi Pagorum*. And these latter, the Fathers here say, sang, or repeated these Songs or Hymns in their Sermons, and Congregations. See *Danaus Epist.* concerning these.

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*Aurelius* to him, and receive from him (f) Communicatory Letters: But as for this [Paul] let him write to Artemas, if he pleases, and let the followers of Artemas, hold Communion with him.

The Latines call them, *Literæ communicatoriæ*, communicatory Letters; these wherof is very ancient in the Church. They were also called *formatæ*, as *Augustine*, in *Epist.* 163. attests. There were two sorts of these Letters. One sort was given to the Clergy and Laity that were going to travel, that they might be admitted to Communion by foreign Bishops. Another sort were those, which Bishops sent to other Bishops, and received from them mutually, to attest and declare their mutual Communion: Concerning this latter sort the *Synod* speaks here. They were usually sent by the new Bishops a little after their Ordination. See *August.* 162 *Epist.* and *Cyprian's* Letter to *Cornelius*, p. 92. *Valef.*

(g) And let these things be here by us inserted.

*Paul* therefore having been deposed of his Bishoprick, and being also fallen from the Orthodox Faith, *Domnus* (as is aforesaid) succeeded in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: But

(u) *Paul* being by no means willing to quit the Possession of the \* Church; an Address was made to *Aurelianus* the Emperor, who most justly determined concerning this business; giving command that the Palace should be resign'd, to whom the Bishops of the Christian Religion in *Italy* and *Rome* should assign it by their Letters. Thus therefore the aforesaid *Paul*, was with the greatest disgrace thrust out of the Church by the imperial Power. Thus indeed was *Aurelian* affected towards us at that time; but in the following part of his Empire, his Mind towards us being alter'd, he was induced by the advice of some Men to raise a Persecution against us. Much discourse there was every-where concerning it: But the Divine Vengeance assaulted him, (being now ready, and, as I may say, almost subscribing the Edicts against us, [repressing] his design, and binding him (as it were) by the Arms; making it evidently apparent to all Men that the secularity of the Princes of this World [to persecute us] can never prevail against the Churches of Christ, unless the invincible Hand of God in his Divine and Celestial Judgment, permits it to be done for our chastisement and amendment, at those times in which he judgeth it most seasonable. Moreover, *Probus* succeeds *Aurelian*, having reigned six years. And after he had held the Empire the like number of years, *Carnus* together with his Sons, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, succeeded him. Again, these having not lived three full years, the Empire falls to *Dioclesian* and those who were adopted with him. In whose

the Creed which was composed by the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*, but by them of the *Nicean* Council. For the more certain demonstration of this, See the 3d Tome of the *Acts of the Council of Ephesus*, pag. 273; where this Creed, which *Baronius* mentions as composed by the Fathers of this Council of *Antioch*, is expressly assign'd to the Fathers of the Council of *Nice*. Wherefore that Creed which *Baronius*, and *Baronius*, following his example, have placed in the *Acts* of this Council of *Antioch*, must be razed out. There is also extant an Epistle of the *Bisshops of Antioch* to *Paul* of *Samosata* in the 11th Tome of the *Bisshops of Antioch*, which Epistle was written about the beginning of the Session of this 2d Synod; but *Baronius* ascribes that Epistle to the 1st Synod, which cannot possibly be, because of the title, and the Person mentioned in it, and other Circumstances. *Valef.*

(a) After the Sentence of being deposed was passed against *Paul*, he kept his Church for some years; and would not obey the decree of the Bishops; relying on the power of *Zenobia* an Eastern Queen. *Theodoret* says, in his 2d Book *Hæretic. Fabul.* that *Paul* did flatter her, and used all means possible to get her favour. When *Zenobia* was conquered, the Christian Prelates petition'd *Aurelianus*, that this *Paul*, who had conspired with *Zenobia* against the Romans, might be removed from the See of *Antioch*, which was done in the third year of *Aurelian*.

(b) The *ἑκκλησία* *δομνῆ* the import of which words, being literally rendered, the House of the Church: Perhaps they mean the Bishop's Palace; a little after they call it *δομὸν* *δομνῆ*; which we have rendered the Palace. *Valef.* renders the first Phrase *Ecclesie Domus*, and the se-

times the Persecution against us was accomplish'd, and at the same time with it was the demolishing of the Churches: But a little before this died *Dionysius*, after he had govern'd the See of *Rome* nine years, and *Felix* succeeded him.

## C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning the Heterodox and Corrupt Opinion of the Manichees, which sprang up at this time.

AT the same time that *Mad-man*, (truly called *Dioclesian*) led (a) *Manes* who gave denomination to that furious Heretic, was arm'd with madness; but, as we Satan himself that Adversary of God, having produced him for the destruction of many Men. This derives person was barbarous in his whole course of life, the name in his very Discourse and Manners, he was as to his Disposition devilish and mad: He undertook from the what was agreeable hereto, and attempted to feign Greek himself to be *Christ*. Sometimes he declared himself word *παρὰ*, to be the \* *Paraclete*, and the very *Holy Spirit*, being also, besides his Madness, put up with Pride: The Lear- At other times, as if he were *Christ*, he elected new Bishop twelve Disciples to be Colleagues of his, and new form'd Opinion. Moreover, when he had patch'd up a Collection of false and atheistical Opinions, *Manes* to gather'd out of various Heresies which were long he a Title since extinct, he pour'd them, like some deadly Poison, out of *Persia* into (b) our Country. Hence came that impious name of the (c) *Manichees*, which at this time abounds in many places: Such therefore was the Original of this (d) forged Doctrine which sprang up in the times before mention'd.

tick: See his Reasons for this derivation, in his marginal Notes at p. 64. of his Exposition on the Creed; Edit. Lond. 1663.

\* See the Note on Chap. 14. B. 6.

(b) The Phrase in the original is *ἐν τῇ πατρίδι* *ἡμεῖς ἀνευρέθημεν*; which *Valef.* renders in *Orbem Romanum*, into the Roman Empire.

(c) *Manes* was not the first Author of this Heretic, though his followers were from him called *Manicheans*. Indeed *Manes* disseminated this Heretic in the days of *Aurelianus*, or *Probus* the Emperor: But he had a Predecessor, though not a Matter, called first *Terebinthus*, afterwards *Buddas*: Which *Buddas* had a former Master, by name *Syrianius*, who was the first Author of this Heretic, and lived about the Apostolical times. See the Pedigree of this Heretic drawn at large by *Epiphanius*, *Advers. Manicheos*; pag. 176, &c. Edit. Petav.

(d) *ἡ δοκίμη* *ἡ πᾶσις*, knowledge falsely so called. 1. Tim. 6. 27.

## C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning those Ecclesiastick Men who were famous even in our Age, and which of them lived till the demolishing of the Churches.

AT this time *Eusebius* succeeded *Felix*, who had been Bishop of the Church of *Rome* five years. And (a) he, having not lived not full ten (a) This months, leaves the dignity to *Crispin*, who lived in *Eusebius* our Age: When he had prelied there about fifteen years, *Marcellinus* was ordain'd his Successor; *Rome* 8 whom the Persecution overtook: At this time years and *Timæus* succeeded *Domnus* in the Government of the Church of *Antioch*: After him *Cyril* succeeded as is evident in our memory. In his time we knew one (b) *Dorotheus*, who then had the dignity of Pref-

which the years of all the Popes from *Callistus* are very well digested by the Consuls, under whom they began their Presidencies, and under whom they died. *Eusebius* here takes away 8 years from *Eusebius*, and ascribeth them to *Justin*. See Chap. 27. Note (a). *Valef.*

(b) This *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, *Baronius* (in his Notes on the Roman Martyrology) takes to be the same with that *Dorotheus*, who was a Presbyter of *Tyre*: But this is a Mistake in him; which Error *Blondellus* undertakes to correct; but in the interim committeth one Error more. For he confoundeth this *Dorotheus* Presbyter of *Antioch*, with



those only to whom the Senate had given licence; but a great many others under pretence hereof) should make their escape secretly; who being disguised in Women's habit, went in the night out of the Gates by his procurement, and fled to the Roman Army; where *Eusebius*, receiving them all, like a Father and Physician, refreshed them, who had been afflicted with a (i) tedious Siege, with all imaginable care, and methods of cure. The Church of *Laodicea* was honoured with two such Pastors as these by the Divine Providence, one succeeding the other, [for] after the War of the Jews afore said was ended, they both removed from *Alexandria* into [Syria.] Indeed *Anatolius* did not write many Books: But so many [Works of his] came to our hands, that from them we may perceive both his Eloquence and his great Learning; especially from those [Canons] of his in which he gives us his Opinion concerning *Easter*: Out of which it may be requisite to make mention of these words in this place.

(k) *Excerptions out of Anatolius's Canons concerning Easter.*

(l) These Words ought to be separated from the Text of *Eusebius*, as we have here done in the Translation. For they are a Title as it were, which notheth that the Fragment following is out of another Author. *Valf.*

(m) *Eusebius* says that this Siege of the Church of *Laodicea* lasted several years. *Valf.*

(n) You have therefore in the first year New-moon of the first month, (which is the beginning of the Circle of nineteen years;) according to the Egyptian account on the 26 day of the month *Phamenoth*; but according to the Macedonian Computation of months, on the 22 day of the month *Dysperis*; and as the Romans phrase it, before the 11 of the Calends of April: On the afore said 26 day of the month *Phamenoth*, the Sun is found not only to have entered the first Segment [of the Zodiac], but is then going the fourth day

in it: They usually call this Segment, the first *Dodecatemoria*, the *Æquinox*, the beginning of months, the head of the Cycle, and the (n) original of the course of the Planets. The Segment next before this they commonly call the end of the month, and the twelfth segment, the last *Dodecatemoria*, and the term of the circuit of the Planets. Wherefore we affirm that they who place the first month in this Segment, and take the 14 day (n) from it to be the Feast of *Easter*, are, as it happens, in no small mistake. Neither is this our Opinion, but it was known to the ancient Jews even before Christ's [coming;] and it was also in an especial manner observ'd by them; which may be understood from the words of *Philo*, *Josephus*, and *Miscellus*. And not from the words of these persons only, but from them who were ancienter than they; to wit, from the two (o) *Agathobolus's*, who were fir-

st named the *Masters*: And also from the (p) Famous *Arifobolus*, who was one of the seventy, that at the request of *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus* and his Father, translated the Sacred and Divine Scriptures of the Hebrews, and dedicated his *Expositions on Moses's Law* to the same Kings. These Authors in their Solutions of the Questions upon *Exodus*, say that all ought to sacrifice the Passover together after the vernal *Æquinox*, in the middle of the first month. Now this happens when the Sun goes through the first part of the Solar Circle, or (as some of them term it) the Zodiac: But *Arifobolus* addeth, that not only the Sun, but the Moon also must of necessity pass through the *Æquinoctial* Segment on the Feast of the Passover: For whereas there are two *Æquinoctial* Segments, the one called the Vernal, the other the Autumnal; and they diametrically opposite the one to the other; and whereas the Feast of the Passover is granted to be on the 14 day at evening, the Moon shall be diametrically opposite to the Sun, as we may see it is in full Moons. Wherefore the Sun will be in the vernal *Æquinoctial* Segment; and the Moon will necessarily be in the Autumnal *Æquinoctial* Segment. I know they have said a great deal more; (part whereof is probable, and part concluded from most certain Demonstrations;) by which they endeavour to make it evident, that the Feast of the Passover, and that of *Unleavened Bread* must always be celebrated after the *Æquinox*. But I omit the requiring such abundance of Demonstrations from them, off whom the *Veil* of the *Mosaic Law* is taken: And by whom (the face being now uncover'd) may be seen as in a Glass for the future, both Christ himself, Christ's Doctrines, and his Sufferings. Now, that the first month amongst the Hebrews does begin about the *Æquinox*, the Precepts in the (q) Book of *Exodus* are a sufficient evidence.

The same *Anatolius* has left us *Institutions of Arithmetic* in ten entire Books, as also several other evidences of his diligence about, and great experience in, the Holy Scriptures: *Theodosius* Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* first Ordain'd him Bishop by Imposition of Hands, providing him to be his Successor in his own Church. And indeed for some small time they both (r) preferred over that Church together. But the Synod against *Paul* being convened at *Antioch*, amongst the

Apocryphal Books, and the ancient Fathers in imitation of them, have not been afraid to quote Apocryphal Books which seemed to confirm the truth. *Gregorius Synes* in his *Chronicle*, quotes an excellent Fragment out of this Book of *Enoch's*. *Valf.*

\* Some Excerptions out of *Anatolius's Arithmetic* are yet extant. *Valf.*

(r) We have the like Example in Chap. 11. Book 6. Where *Alexander* ruled the Church of *Jerusalem* jointly with *Narcissus*. These two are the most ancient Instances of Assistant Bishops (as they are now called.) These sort of Assistants were first instituted for the ease of Aged Bishops; but afterwards they grew customary; and were chosen not out of necessity, but ambition and pride: But the Fathers of the Council of *Sardis* put a stop hereto. *Valf.*

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*Diocletian* (f) he going through the City of *Laodicea* [towards that Synod] was there detained by the Brethren, *Eusebius* being then dead: After the death of *Anatolius*, *Stephen* is ordained Bishop of the last before the Persecution, being admired by many for his Eloquence, Philosophy, and his other Grecian Learning: But he was not (t) so well affected towards the true Faith [of Christ,] as the time of the following Persecution afterwards demonstrated; which manifestly declared him to be a dissembler, fearful and cowardous, rather than a true Philosopher. But after this the affairs of that Church did not forthwith run to decay; for *Theodotus* (u) ordained Bishop of that Church by God himself the preserver of all things, immediately restored all things to their former splendour. He was a person who in deeds verified his true name, and made a true representation of the Episcopal Office; he was of all men the most eminent for his skill in Physick and in curing of the Body. And there was no Man his equal for healing of Souls; for Humanity, sincerity of Mind, Commendation, and Diligence in helping those who wanted his assistance: He was also incomparably well exercised in divine Learning. Such a person was this *Theodotus*, *Agapius* succeeded *Theodotus*, who had governed the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* with great care. Who, we know, was very laborious, and most sincerely solicitous for the good of the People over whom he presided; and with a liberal hand relieved all, most especially the Indigent: In this Man's times we knew *Pamphilus* (a most Eloquent Man, and a true Philosopher in the Practices of his Life) honoured with a Presbytership of that Church. To declare what a Person this Man was, and whence defended, would be a copious Subject. But all things relating to his life, the † School he founded; the Conflicts which during the time of Persecution he underwent in several Confessions, and lastly the Crown of Martyrdom with which he was encircled, we have fully declared in a (x) peculiar Work. Indeed this *Pamphilus* was the most admirable person of all that lived here. (y) Amongst those Men

in the beginning of this Chapter (see) that he went to the Synod of *Antioch*, which was called upon *Paul's* account, and in his return was stopped by the *Laodiceans*, and made Bishop of that place. Now again we find the same concerning *Anatolius*; Which cannot possibly be defended, except we should say that *Eusebius* died some few Days after his Ordination: But in opposition to that we will produce *Hieronymus's* authority, who in the second year of *Aurélianus* writes thus; *Eusebius* is now famous at *Laodicea*. Valef.

(1) That is, he was not so well affected to the Christian Faith, as he was to Philosophy and Grecian Learning: Some will have the Greek Phrase [ἐν δυνάμει] to have reference to something else; but thus I understand it. Valef.

(u) *Anatolius* and *Christophorus*, because in the † Life publication of this place, translate it otherwise than we have done. They misinterpret ἀποβήσθαι, for a passive, and thus point it, ἀποβήσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ θέν, &c. all things were referred to their former state by God the preserver. &c. But after diligent inspection into this place, I think the Words [ἀπὸ τοῦ θέν] ought to be referred to ἀναβήσθαι, and then the sense will be agreeable to our translation; to wit, *Theodotus*, who was elected Bishop by God himself the preserver of all things, restored the affairs of the Church to their former splendour. Valef.

† His own translation of the Greek words, concerning the School in which he was educated: But I understand them spoken of the School which *Pamphilus* founded at *Cæsarea*: Concerning the Library which he erected at *Cæsarea*, see *Hieronymus's* Catalogue; where he speaks concerning *Matthew*; see also his Epistle to *Marcella*. Valef.

(x) *Christophorus*, takes these words, ἐν ἰδία ὁνομασίᾳ to signify one Book only: But *Eusebius* wrote three Books of the Life of *Pamphilus*. Which *Hieronymus* attests in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*; and in his Apology against *Rufinus*. Valef.

(y) Ὁ τοῦ τῆς πόλεως τοῦ θέν, &c. (that is,) as we have translated it, amongst those Men who lived nearest to our times, &c. Some will have ἡλικίαν to be referred to *εὐσεβίου*, most eminent *Alen*; but that I cannot approve of. *Pierius*, and *Meletius*, of whom *Eusebius* afterwards speaks, lived even till *Constantine's* time; concerning *Pierius*,

see *Photius* and *Hieronymus*. *Rufinus* does not call him *Pierius*, but *Hierius*. So does the old *Roman Martyrology*, at the fourth day of November. But this *Martyrology*, I think, is neither the old one, nor the *Roman*. For had it been the *Roman Martyrology*, we should have had mention of none but *Roman Martyrs*. But in it we have a Catalogue of the Martyrs of all Countries. That I think (if any desire to know which it is) is the old *Roman Martyrology*, which *Zacharius* published with the Canon of *Viktorius Aquitanus*, although that looks more like a Calendar, than a *Martyrology*. There is indeed none which is properly the *Roman Martyrology*: For that which *Gregory the Great* mentions in his Epistle to *Eulogius*, is St. *Hieronymus's* *Martyrology*, which the *Western Church* then used, as we shall hereafter at another place demonstrate. Valef.

who lived nearest to our Times, we knew these *Diocletian* to be most eminent, *Pierius* one of the Presbyters of *Alexandria*; and (z) *Meletius* Bishop of the (y) This Churches in *Pontus*: *Pierius* was egregiously c- is the m- steem'd for his [voluntary] Poverty, and his Philo- whom A- sophick Literature: He was also a Man singularly exercised in Contemplations upon the Scri- Speech a- pures, Expositions, and publick Discourses in the Church; and *Meletius* (whom the Learned called the (a) *Honey of Attica*) was such a Man as one would describe to be most accomplish'd with all sorts of Learning. The powerfulness of his Eloquence can't worthily be admired. But, should any one say that he had this Faculty by nature, [we answer,] who could excel him in his knowledge in many other Arts and Sciences, and in his various sorts of Literature? Certainly, should any person have made trial of him, he would have affirm'd that he was a Man most acute in all Sciences which have a dependence on reason; and also most eloquent: The Virtue and Piety of his Life was also correspondent to these his Accomplishments. In the time of the Persecution we knew this Man, when he absconded for the space of seven years compleat in the Regions of *Palestine*. After *Hymenaeus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, a little before mention'd, *Zambdas* entered upon the Government of that Church; who dying not long after, *Hermion*, the last of the Bishops before the Persecution in our Age, succeeded in the Apostolick Chair, (b) which is preserved there even to this day. *Theonas* succeeded *Maximus* in the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*, who had been Bishop there eighteen years, since *Dionysius's* Death. In his days *Abelliar*, who at the same time with *Pierius* was honour'd with a Presbytership, was very famous [at *Alexandria*] who was intrusted with the care of the \* Catechetick School. He in his Actions exhibited a most excellent Example (inferior to none) of a more sublime Philosophy, and a genuine Pattern of an Evangelick Converse. After *Theonas* had born the Episcopal Office nineteen years, *Peter* succeeded in the Episcopate of *Alexandria*. He also was esteem'd a person very eminent in his Function, which he bore twelve years compleat. Having presided over the Church almost three of those twelve years before the Persecution, he pass'd the rest of his time in a more strict and (c) A stricter course of life: but (c) There more frequent in *Eusebius* than the use of these Words, ἀσκήσις, and φιλοσοφία; which terms the Christians borrowed from the Philosophers, as I noted Chap. 17. Book 2. Note (a.) The Philosophers called

*Arrian* calls *Meletius* the Great, pag. 291. Where in his Catalogue of the Orthodox Bishops, he reckons *Meletius* Bishop of *Pontus* for one. *Philoforgius* in his first Book calls him Bishop of *Scythopolis* in *Pontus*. He says he was at the Council of *Nica* with *Basilis* Bishop of *Amasia*, and that he sided with the *Arrians*: But *Arrianus* in the place above-quoted, proves that to be false. Valef.

(a) Therefore the name of *Meletius* is derived from τὸ μέλι, or from *Honey*. *Gregory Nazianzen*, in his lambicks calls *Meletius* the Bishop of *Amiche*, ἀμικίτης ἐπίσκοπος. Valef.

(b) By these words [ἐπὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας παλαιᾶς] it means, that the Throne of *James* the Brother of our Lord, was preserved at *Jerusalem* till that time, as 'tis recorded, Chap. 29. Book 7. So also at *Alexandria*, the Chair, or Throne of *Saturninus* the Evangelist who first founded the Church of *Alexandria*, was preserved there for a long time. Valef.

\* This is the Catechetick School, or the School of the Divine Faith.

called those *ascetics* who professed a stricter kind of life. Hence it is that *Arcandrius* in his fourth Book, Chap. 35. calls *Alexander* the Philosopher *ἀσκητικόν*. *Ascetic Philosophy* is opposed to Philosophy which consists in bare words. When the Christians first made use of this name *Asceta*, they bestow'd it on the Clergy: A long time after that, the Monks laid claim to this name. But at the first it was used as was before shown: See Chap. 17. Book 2. Note (a.) Which may be proved by the instance here of *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, and *Pierius* the Presbyter; both whom *Eusebius* in this Chapter calls *Ascetas*. *Eusebius* also, Chap. 11. concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, calls *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, *Asceta*. Valef.

*Dioctes* continued to be apparently solicitous for the publick Utility of the Churches. Upon which account being beheaded in the ninth year of the Persecution, he was adorned with a Crown of Martyrdom. But having here terminated the History of the Succession of Bishops from our Saviour's Nativity, to the demolishing of the Churches; which [History] comprehendeth

the space of (d) three hundred and five years; in the subsequent [Books] we will record the Confessions of those, who in our Age courageously fought for Religion, how many and how great they were, and leave them for the information of succeeding Ages.

in regard *Eusebius* here sums up the time which he hath comprehended in his *Ecclesiastick History*. He faith that from our Saviour's Birth to the demolishing of the Churches, which was in the nineteenth year of *Dioctes*, there were 304 years. Also in *Eusebius's Chronicle* the 304 year of Christ is set opposite to the 19 year of *Dioctes*. But in *Saliger's* Edition, the year in which the Persecution under *Dioctes* began, is reckoned the 304 year of Christ. Hence arises this difference; *Saliger* in his Edition of *Eusebius's Chronicle*, reckons not that to be the first year of Christ in which he was born, but the year following. But *Eusebius* reckons that to be the first of Christ in which he was born, as I before noted Chap. 5. Book 1. Note (a.) For *Eusebius* places his birth on the 8th of the Ides of January. Indeed, in all the MSS. of *Eusebius's Chronicle* (which have the Years of Christ annex'd, particularly in that of *Milain*, which is ancienter than any other) that is noted for the first year of Christ in which he was born in *Bethlehem of Judea*. Valef.

# THE EIGHTH BOOK Of the Ecclesiastical History OF EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

## The PREFACE.

HAVING comprized the Successions of the Apostles in Seven entire Books, in this Eighth we have thought it requisite to set forth the Affairs of our own Age, (which deserve no trivial Description,) being a matter most necessary to be deriv'd down to the knowledge of Posterity. And our Relation shall take its beginning from hence.

### CHAP. I.

Concerning those things which preceded the Persecution in our days.

(a) In the most ancient Maz. MS. and in the Editions of Rufinus, the first Chapter is begun at these words, *Hung great, &c.* Valef.

(b) The true reading of this place; which is [ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ, of sacrificing:] the same reading *Gruter* found in his Copies. The Governours of Provinces were obliged to sacrifice to the Gods, and to the Emperors, and to be present at Sacrifices. Upon which account the Christians abstin'd from the Magistracy, and refused the Government of Provinces, offer'd them by the Emperors. Valef. The reading in *Robert Stephens* Edit. is [ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ.]

need we mention those who were conversant in the Imperial Palaces? Or the Emperors themselves? Who permitted their Domesticks, together with their (c) Wives, Children and Servants, freely and openly to make profession of their Religion by their words and practices, even before their own faces, and in a manner suffer'd them to boast of their fearlessness and freedom in professing their Faith: Whom also they had an high esteem for, and accounted them more acceptable than the rest of their Attendants. Such a one was that metlick.

(d) *Dorotheus*, a person who of all Men declar'd the heartiest affection to, and fidelity in, their Service, upon which account he was more highly valued by them than the Magistrates and most Honourable Governours of the Provinces: To whom we will add the most renowned *Gorgonius*; and as many others as arrived to the same degree of Honour with them upon account of the Word of God. The same Affection, Obediency, and eminent Favour you might see vouchsafed to the Prelates of every Church, as well by all

(e) This *Dorotheus* was of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor *Dioctes*, or *Galerius Caesar*: So *Nicetas* affirms, in the Act of the Martyr, *Indes*, and *Donna*, chap. 23. Valef.

## C H A P. II.

Concerning the Ruin of the Churches.

*Diocletian* (e) Private Persons as Governors of Provinces. But now, how should any one be able to describe (e) in the those numerous (f) Congregations; and the Multi- tudes of Assemblies thro' out every City which flock'd Atq. MSS [to embrace the Faith of Christ;] and those famous the rea- Concourses of the People [in the Churches? For

is [μεγαλὴ συναγωγὴ, &c.] a- monish the procurators, &c. which MSS. have not these words [εὐ- ερεσις καὶ ἀγάπη καὶ τὸ τοῦτο, &c.] observance and eminent favour.] But in the King's MS. and Rob. Stephen's Edit. the reading is [μεγαλὴ συναγωγὴ, with all pri- vate Men:] in which Copies also we have those words, which we said were wanting in the other MSS. Valif.

(f) The term in the original is [ἐκκλησία] Which word St. Paul uses 2. *Thess.* 2. 1. where our Translators render it, our gather- ing together. ἐκκλησία, does properly signify, to collect Persons disparted in divers places into one place. In this sense *Dionys. Alexan- drin.* uses it B. 4. Chap. 25. of this History; where he speaks of *Quadratus* Bishop of the *Athenians*. Valif.

through too much liberty changed into looseness and sloth; when some began to envy and revile others, and we were in a manner at wars amongst ourselves, [wounding] one another with Words as it were with Arms and Spears; when Prelates dissi'd against Prelates, and the People raised Fa- ctions against the People; and when unspeakable Hypocrisy and Dissimulation had arrived to the height of mischief; then did the Divine Ven- geance, as it takes delight to do, gently begin to visit us (the Multitudes [of the Faithful] as yet meeting in their Assemblies) by degrees and with moderation; the Persecution being first begun with these Brethren who bore Arms. But when we became insensible, and entertain'd not the least thought of repenting and appealing the Duty: But, like some atheistical Persons sup- porting our Affairs to be managed regardlessly and without any inspection, we added Impieties to Impieties: When they, who seem'd our Pastors, rejecting the Sanctions of Religion, were inflam'd with mutual Contentions, studying nothing else but the augmenting of Strifes, Menaces, Emula- tion, Envy, and mutual Fla- tred, and (g) greedily chal- lenging to themselves the preeminence, as if it were a Dominion: Then forthwith

(g) That is, whilst the Bishops were at variance among them- selves concerning preeminence, or about the bounds of their Dioceses. Valif.

(According to the expressions utter'd by *Jeremiah* 1. *Chap.* 1. 2. 2. The Lord covered the Daughter of Zion with a cloud & *Psalms* 78. 2. in his anger, and cast down from heaven into the earth the beauty of Israel, and remembered not his footstool in the day of his anger: The Lord hath drowned all the beauty of Israel, and thrown down all his strong-holds. And, as it is predicted in the *Psalms*, 1. *Th* hath bethal here made void the covenant of his servant, and prophesied he do not a- fidelity in the earth to wit, by the destruction of the Churches. He hath broken down all his boudges; he hath made his strong-holds fear. All the multitudes of the people that kiss by the way spoil him; and further, he is a reproach to his neighbours. For he hath exalted the right hand of his enemies, and hath turned away the edge of his sword, and hath not assisted him in the war. At Rome, But he hath put an end to his purification, and hath bro- ken his throne by casting it to the ground. The days of his life he hath bespotted, and lastly cover'd him with ignominy. See to what we now all, nor with the original Hebrew; the Learned Rea- ders, upon comparing the Texts, will see the difference; we translated our Author's Words as we found them in the Greek Copy.

ALL these [Predictions] were (a) fully com- (a) in the pleated in our Times, when with our own Eyes we saw both the Houles of Prayer thrown down to the Ground, even to their very Founda- tions, and also the Divine and Sacred Scriptures committed to the fire in the midst of the Forum. Is or fully, in the [When we beheld] some Pastors of the Churches basely hiding themselves, in some in one place, some in another; others of them ig- nominiously apprehended and exposted to the scorn of their Enemies. When also, according to another prophetic expression \* contempt was poured upon Princes, and be caused them to wander in the wilderness where there was no way. 107. 40. But 'tis not our [design] to describe those sad Calamities which in conclusion befel them: For seems im- it is unfit for us to record their mutual Disfenti- pertinent, ons and Folly before the Persecution. Wherefore Valif. we will relate no more concerning them, than whereby we may justify the Divine Vengeance. We will not proceed therefore to mention those who were (b) cry'd by the Persecution, nor those who wholly made shipwreck of their Salvation, and were voluntarily precipitated in- to the Gulfs of the deep: but we will in general insert such passages only into this our History, as may in the first place be profitable to our own selves, and in the next to posterity. From hence then we will begin briefly to describe the sacred Combats of those who were Martyrs for the Divine Religion. (c) It was the nineteenth

(b) *Παρεκκλήσεις, τρύπαι, ἐκπεριεσθαι*: For this term is used in- stead of *παρεκκλήσεις*. St. Paul uses the word *1. *Thess.* 4. 15.* where our Translation renders it *tempted*. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Ship- set upon by Pirates at Sea; as the following Words declare: These *Martyrs* were called *Pirates* *ὡς τὰς τρύπαις*. (c) So says

in his *Chronicon*; and so also the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: which when agrees *Marin* (in *Justin*) whole Words are these; *Diocletian* VIII. *et Maximiano* VII. his *Coff.* *persecutio Christianorum*: i. e. When *Diocletian* was the eighth time Consul, and *Maximianus* the seventh, the Persecution of the Christians began. The same may be concluded from the *Act* of *Alvianus Felix* (in *Gest.* upon *Zenophilum Consularem Numidia*). According to *Eusebius*'s account this was the 305 Year from our Blessed Saviour's Nativity; but according to the *Dionysian Aera*, which we now make use of, it was the 323. But *Baronius* (in *anno- not.*) and *Petavus* (in the second part of his *Rationalis Tempora*) affirm that the beginning of this Persecution must be placed on the 302 Year of Christ; when *Constantius* IV. and *Maximianus* IV. *Coff.* Their Opinion is grounded on one only Argument, to wit, the *Act* of the Council of *Cirta* (a City in *Numidia*, afterwards called *Constantine*), which *Council Augustine* (in *Brevicula Collat.*) affirms was convened 21 Year after the Persecution began, and after the Passion of the Martyrs. Now the *Act* of that Council (which *Augustine* relates in the B. 2. against *Crescens*) do shew, that it was convened *Diocletian* VIII. and *Maximianus* VII. *Coff.* But this Argument is easily answered. For there is a mistake in those *Act* of the Council of *Cirta*; the true reading is, P. C. *Diocletian* IX. and *Maximianus* VIII. This appears evidently ex *Brevicula Collat.* *Diei* 3. cap. 17. where we meet with these words; *Nam Gestis Martyrum quibus ostenditur temporis persecutionis. Gesta sunt Diocletiano IX. et Maximiano VIII. pridie Id. Ebruaris: Gesta autem Episcopalia decreti Cistenfis, post consulatum consulatus. 3. Natus Martius, &c.* This passage cannot be supposed to be false. For *Augustine* adds there, that the Officers being commanded by the Judge to see what distance of time there was between the Passion of the Martyrs and the Council of *Cirta*, were deceived, and through their Ignorance told him what was false. For whereas the *Act* of the Martyrs were thus inscribed [*Diocletian* IX. and *Maximianus* VIII. pridie Id. Ebr.] and the *Act* of the Council of *Cirta*, thus [*Gest* *Diocletiano* *Diocletiano* novis, et *Maximiano* *officiis*, 3. *Natus Martius*,] the Officers taking [*Gest* *consulatus*] for [*consulatus*] made answer, That there was only one Month between the *Act*, both of the Martyrs, and of the Council. But there really was 13 Months space between them, as *Augustine* truly affirms. — There is another Argument to evince, that the Council of *Cirta* was not convened in the eighth Consulship of *Diocletian*.

*Dioclesian.* For whereas that Council was assembled to Ordain a Bishop over the Church of *Cirta*, (as *Augustinus* affirms) I desire to know who was Ordained Bishop of that Church by those Bishops convened in that Council? *Silvanus* was not. For he in this very year, was first *deducted* to Paul Bishop of *Cirta*, as 'tis apparent from the *Acts of Minutian* *folio*. Answer perhaps will be made (as *Baronius* does) that Paul was made Bishop of *Cirta*. But this cannot be true, for the Persecution began under Paul, as 'tis evident from the *Acts*, and *Zenophilum Confession* *Namidia*, which are related in *Augustine's* third Book against *Crescens*. See the place; and also *Augustine's* 165 *Epistle*. Thus much I have said (and could have said a great deal more) to evince that the Council of *Cirta* was convened 13 Months after those *Acts* of the Martyrs of *Africa*; and therefore it could not be assembled in the eighth *Confulate* of *Dioclesian*, and the seventh of *Maximian*; in which year the Persecution began. *Vale!*

*Dioclesian*, year of *Dioclesian's* Empire, in the month (*d*) *Dystrus*, (which the *Romans* call *March*.) when (the Festival of the Salutarious Passion (*e*) approaching) the Imperial Edicts were proposed in all places, giving command that the Churches should be totally destroyed, and the Scriptures consumed by fire; and declaring that those who were elevated to any degree of honour should be rendered infamous; and (*f*) those that were private persons, if they persisted in a Resolution of retaining the profession of Christianity, should be deprived of their Liberty: Such was the first Edict against us. But not long after, other Edicts arriv'd; by which command was given, that all the Prelates of the Churches every-where should first be put into Bonds, and afterwards compelled to sacrifice by all ways imaginable.

In this 8th Book of his *Ecclesiastical History* says it began in the Month *Nautibus*, which the *Romans* call *April*. *Vale!*

(*e*) *Theodore* (in Book 5, Chap. 38. of his *Ecclesiastical History*) affirms, that the Edict for the demolishing of the Churches was proposed on the Day of our Lord's Passion (*i. e.* Good-Friday:) The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says it came forth on *Easter-day*; which was on the 24th of *March*: But *Easter-day* could not fall on the 24th of *March* in the 19th year of *Dioclesian*, as *Salager* and *Pereus* have observed. *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, says it came forth in *March*, *diesse pasche*. The Greek Phrase here imports only, that *Easter* was near at hand, when the Edict was proposed: *Εγγυασιον*; *Rufinus* renders it, *dies solemnis pasche imminet*, the solemn day of *Easter* was at hand. In the year of Christ 313 (according to the *Dionysian Era*) *Easter* fell on the 18th day of *April*, amongst the Eastern Churches. *Vale!*

(*f*) *Tis is basilicus* *Rufinus* and *Nicophorus* supposed the Servants of the Christians were hereby meant. But that cannot be the meaning of this place. For then the Imperial Edict would have been imperfed, providing only for the apprehension of those who were honoured with any degree of preferment, and of Servants, and leaving out the Rusticks and ordinary sort of People. Besides, how can Servants be said to be deprived of their liberty? *Christophorus* translates it *privatos, private Persons*. I think he means the *Attors* and *Procurators*, who were Servants to the richer sort of Men. *Zonaras* expounds this place very well, thus, *τις δὲ τρεῖς εἶδη ὄντων, Persons of a private condition*. *Vale!*

### CHAP. III.

Concerning the various sorts of Combats which [the Martyrs] underwent in the time of the Persecution.

Forthwith therefore many Prelates of Churches having endured most severe Torments with great alacrity of Mind, exhibited Spectacles of most illustrious Combats. Many others being prepossessed with a faintness of Mind by reason of their Fear, were immediately discouraged at the first attack made against them. Every one of the residue had their courses in various kinds of Tortures. One was scourged all over his Body with Whips; another was rack'd with Tortures, and had his Flesh scraped off with Tormenting-irons that were intolerable. Under which [Torments] some made a lamentable Conclusion of their lives; but others accomplish'd their Combat after another manner. One being forcibly thrust forward by others, and constrain'd to approach their impure

and most nefarious Sacrifices, was let go as if he had sacrificed, altho' he really he did not. Another (when he had neither approach'd [the Altar,] not touch'd any thing that was execrable, yet because others said he had sacrificed) silently bore that Calumny, and went his way. A third was taken up on their Shoulders half-dead, and cast forth as if he had been really so: A fourth lying upon the ground, was drawn a great way by the Feet, and then accounted amongst them who had done sacrifice. One cried out, and with a loud voice attested, that he denied to sacrifice: Another exclaim'd that he was a Christian, adorning himself with the confession of that salutary Apellation. A third affirm'd that he neither had, nor ever would sacrifice. But these being struck on the Mouth by the Soldiers with their Fists, (a great company of whom were placed there as a Guard) *Glenc'd*; and (*a*) beaten on the Face and Cheeks, were by force thrust out. So highly did these Enemies of Piety every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! But these [Proceedings] against the Holy Martyrs did in no wise prove successful to them: Whole [admirable courage] should we undertake accurately to set forth, what Expressions would be sufficient to compose such a Narrative?

tyrs on the Face and Cheeks. There is frequent mention of this sort of torture in the sufferings of the Martyrs. Our Author had said before, that the Martyrs were beaten with the Fists of the Soldiers. Here therefore he must mean these *Plumbata*; Otherwise, what he says is a *Tautology*. *Vale!*

### CHAP. IV.

Concerning God's Illustrious Martyrs; how they filled the World with their Fame, having been adorned with divers Crowns [of Martyrdom] for Religion.

FOR who should be able to make a Relation of those infinite numbers [of Martyrs,] who demonstrated an admirable capacity of mind for the Worship of the Supreme God; not only from that time the Persecution was raised against all the [Christians,] but long before, when the times were calm and serene? For some time since, when the [Devil,] (*a*) who hath received power (a) He over this World, was first roused as it were out of a profound sleep, and as yet made his attempts against the Churches in a secret and occult manner, after that interval which followed the Persecution under *Decius* and *Valerian*: (For he would be the not set upon us closely and with an open War, but as yet made trial only of those that were engaged in the Milice; for he supposed the rest would be easily vanquish'd, could he first overcome them: ) Then [I say] you might have seen very many of those who were Soldiers, most willingly embracing a private life, rather than they would renounce the Worship of the Creator of all things. For when the [Roman] (*b*) General (who he was it matters not) first set upon persecuting the Christian Soldiers, and began to take a strict view of, and purge those that belonged to the Army; permitting them freely

(*b*) His name was *Veturius*; he was a Christian; he was a Master of the Camp, or Lieutenant-General of the Army: Concerning whom *Eusebius* in his *Chronicon*, at the 17th year of *Dioclesian* says thus, *Veturius Master of the Camp persecutes the Christian Soldiers; the persecution against us being from that time begun by degrees*. *Vale!*

\* *Φυλακιστής*. It imports his doing of the Office of a Judge among his Soldiers, examining the place and order of each of them. The same term occurs Book 10. Chap. 4. where see Note (*a*.)



*Dioclesian.* to choole, whether by obeying they would enjoy that degree of Honour they were arriv'd to, or on the contrary be deprived of it, if they refused to comply with the [Emperor's] commands: Innumerable Soldiers of the Kingdom of Christ, without all delay or hesitancy, preferred their Confession of him, before the apparent Glory and Prosperity they were possess'd of. Some few of which (one or two) procur'd not only the loss of their Preferment, but Death also for their pious and resolute Steadfastness: \* The Framers of the Conspiracy [against our Religion] being at that time moderate, presumed to proceed to shed the Blood but of very few: The multitude of Believers 'tis likely) terrified him, and made him afraid as yet to enter into an open War against them all. But when he prepared himself more manifestly for an Engagement, it is impossible to relate how many and eminent Martyrs of Christ were visible to the Inhabitants of all Cities and Countries.

\* He means the Devil, not the Roman General, as Christoph. supposed. Valef.

## C H A P. V.

Concerning what was done at Nicomedia.

**I** Mmediately therefore, upon the publishing of the Edict at *Nicomedia* against the Churches, (a) one who was no obscure person, but eminently illustrious for secular Honour and Esteem, mov'd with a Divine Zeal, and incited by an ardent Faith, took down [the Edict,] which was fix'd up in the most open and publick place [of the City,] and (b) tore it, as being impious and most detestable: [Which he did] whilst two of the Emperors made their abode in that City; one of which was senior to the rest, and the other held the fourth place in the Empire. But this Person who was the first of the Inhabitants of that City which appear'd such eminent and zealous, having suffer'd such Punishments, as were thought meet to be inflict'd on him for such a bold act, persever'd in an undisturbedness and tranquillity of Mind to his very last gasp.

(a) This person is called John in the *Apocryphal* of *Quadrus*, *Ado*, *Nor*, *ker*, and in the old *Roman Martyrology*, at September 7. Valef.

(b) The Edicts and Rescripts of the Emperors were written in papyrus. Therefore *Nihis*. In his 264 Epistle, says it was barely call'd *Genta*; but after it had been subscribed by the Emperor, it was call'd *Sacra*; which appears also from the *Acts of the Council of Chalcedon*, and from *Justinian's Novels*. Valef.

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning those who were conversant in the Imperial Palace.

**B**UT that time produced these Divine and Glorious Martyrs (which excell'd all that ever were celebrated as admirable and famous for their Courage, both among *Grecians* and *Barbarians*;) *Dorotheus*, and the other Boys that were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors: Who although they were accounted worthy of the highest station of Honour by their Masters, and were no less beloved by them than if they had been their own Sons; yet they suppos'd the Reproaches and Tortures for Religion, and those various sorts of Deaths devised for them, to be really of greater value than the Glory and Pleasure of this life. We will here relate what an exit one of them made, and leave the Readers to conjecture from him what befel the rest. In the fore-mention'd City, one of 'em was publicly brought forth before the fore-said Emperors; and com-

manded to sacrifice, which when he refused to do, 'twas order'd he should be strip'd and hoisted up on high, and that his whole Body should be lacerated with stripes, until he should yield, tho' against his will, to do what he was commanded: But when he continued immovable after his suffering such tortures as these, they mix'd Salt and Vinegar together, and pour'd it (his Bones being now laid bare) upon the purified parts of his Body. When he had undergone these tortures also, then Fire and a Gridiron was brought forth; and the remains of his Body were laid on [and broiled,] like Flesh dress'd to be eaten; not all at one time, but by little and little, that he might not end his life too soon: Neither were those persons who laid him on the fire, permitted to leave him, till after so great [tortures,] he should give his consent to perform what he was commanded. But, having constantly persevered in his Resolution, and gotten the Victory, he expired under his very tortures. Such was the Martyrdom of one of those Boys who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors; being truly worthy of his name: For he was call'd (a) *Peter*.

The [Martyrdom] of the rest, although not at all inferior to this, yet shall be omitted, lest our Discourse should be too tedious. Thus much only we will relate, that *Dorotheus* and *Gorgonius* (together with many others that were Attendants at the Imperial Palace) after various Combats, having finish'd their lives by being strangled, obtain'd the rewards of Divine Victory. At the same time *Anthimus*, the then Bishop of the Church of *Nicomedia*, was beheaded for the Testimony of Christ. With whom was join'd a great multitude of Martyrs. For in those days, by what accident I know not, there happen'd a

(a) Concerning this *Peter*, *Dorotheus*, *Gorgonius*, and the others that were Martyr'd, see the *Acts of the Suffering of Index* and *Domas*, at the 26. of December. Valef.

(b) Fire in the Imperial Palace at *Nicomedia*: Which being laid to our charge as the Authors thereof, by a Report ground on a false suspicion; all sorts of persons that were the Whorlippers of God in that [City] were destroy'd by heaps, some with the Sword, and others by Fire. At which time, report says, both Men and Women, excited by a divine and unspeakable alacrity, leapt into the fiery Pile. The Executioners also having bound another great company in Boats, cast 'em into the Abysses of the Sea. Moreover, the Bodies of those who were of the Bed-chamber to the Emperors, having been interr'd with decent Funeral Obsequies, they who were accounted their Masters, suppos'd it requisite to dig up again, and cast them into the Sea; lest some (as they thought) should look upon them as Gods, and worship them [in After-Ages,] should they be let alone to rest in their Graves. Such were the Exploits performed at *Nicomedia* in the beginning of this Persecution. But not long after, when some attempted to possess themselves of the Empire in the Region call'd (c) *Melitina*; and others in (d) *Syria*: (e) *Sebastus*, Chap. 6.

Note (b.) concerning *Melitina*. There was a City, and a Countee call'd by this name in *Armenia* the *Less*. But I never met with any thing concerning this Tyrant, who seiz'd the Empire in that Region. Valef.

(d) He means *Eugenius*, who for some little time tyranniz'd in *Syria*. *Liberian* (in his *Oration to Theodosius*, pag. 411. and in his *Apology*, pag. 369.) tells the whole Story. Whereto may be annex'd a Passage of the same *Liberian's*, out of his *Oration to Theodosius*, concerning the *Sedition at Antioch*, pag. 399. There was a Tribune of *Seleucia*, by name *Eugenius*, who had the command of 500 Soldiers. These Soldiers were order'd to open the Mouth and Passage of the Haven.

Haven. When they had laboured day and night without any intermission; being much displeased at their task, they force their Commander (Eugenius) to take the Empire upon him; threatening him with death unless he would give his assent. The Tribune being after this manner compelled, took the Purple off the Image of one of the Gods, and was saluted Emperor. He goes forthwith to Antioch, (which then had no Garrison in it) supposing that if he could possess himself of that City, it would much advance his Designs: He makes himself Master of that place about Sun-setting. But his Soldiers, agreeable to their usual Irregularities, destroyed the Country as they marched, and mist themselves with Wine and good Cheer. When being perceived by the Antiochians, they, despising the Poverty and Drunkenness of the Soldiers, killed them all with Stones and Weapons of all sorts, (the very Women giving their assistance) and their Leader also, as he was going towards the Palace: So that about the first Watch none of them were left alive. But the Emperor, who ought to have express'd his thankfulness to the Antiochians, ordered the Princes of the Antiochenian and Seleucian Order should be slain, when as neither of them deserved any punishment. Amongst them the Grandfather of Libanius (a proper cunning old Man) was killed. All this is met with pag. 411 & 363. Moreover, Libanius (in *Ora. ad Theodosium de seditione*) tells us, the name of this Tribune of the Seleucian Soldiers was Eugenius; and the name of the Emperor was Dioclesian, whom he calls, by his true name, *Diocletian*. Thus I have given you the Name and History of the Tyrant; and the time when this Eugenius made his attempts on the Empire, Eusebius here declares, in *what*, when Dioclesian was the eighth, and Maximian the seventh time *Coff. Valef.*

*Dioclesian* an Imperial Edict arrived, [commanding] that all the Governours of Churches every-where should be bound and imprison'd. The sight of what was done after that, no expressions are sufficient to describe: When infinite Multitudes were every-where committed to custody; and the Prisons in all places, which in former times had been provided for Murderers and Robbers of the Dead, were then filled with Bishops, Priests, Deacons, Readers and Exorcists: Infomuch that there was now no place left therein for those who had been condemn'd for their Crimes. Again, when (c) another Edict follow'd the former, wherein it was commanded that those who were imprison'd, if they would offer Sacrifice, should have their liberty to go whither they pleased: But if they refused should be cruciated with a thousand tortures: The multitudes of Martyrs in every Province cannot possibly be reckon'd up, especially those [who suffer'd] in Africa, Mauritania, Thebais, and Egypt. Out of Egypt some went into other Cities, and Provinces, and were there adorn'd with glorious Martyrdoms.

(c) This was the third Edict of the Emperor against the Christians. Before the first it was ordered, that the Churches should be ruin'd and the Scriptures burnt; and those who were honoured with any preferment (if they refused to sacrifice) should be deprived of their Dignity; the meaner sort were to lose their liberty: See Chap. 2. Another Edict soon followed this, that Bishops, Priests and Deacons should be imprison'd, and by all ways compelled to sacrifice. The third Edict comprehended all sorts of Christians, as well those of the Laity, as the Clergy: which Edict was proposed (says Eusebius in the Chap. 3. of his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine) in the second year of the Persecution. But this seems rather to have been the fourth Edict: For the second and third concern'd the Presbyters only; by the second 'twas ordered they should be imprison'd, and by the third it was enjoyned, they should by tortures be compelled to sacrifice. *Valef.*

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning those Egyptians [who suffer'd] in Phoenicia.

SOME of them, we knew, were famous [for their Martyrdoms] in Palestine; and others in Tyre a City of Phoenicia. Whom any one that had seen, could not but have been astonish'd at their innumerable Stripes; at the Courage and Contancy of those truly (a) admirable Cham-

(a) They are the reading of the *Mar.* and *Med. MSS.* accordingly we have rendered it of those truly admirable Champions, &c. Those Champions were termed *paradoxi*, who had gained many Victories. See *Peter Faber* (in *Agonistion*) B. 3. pag. 603. *Valef.*

ons of Piety in suffering them; at their Combat with Wild Beasts, accusom'd to devour the Blood of Mankind, which immediately follow'd their Tortures with Scourges; at their Encounters in that Combat with Leopards, \* huge wild Bears, \* fierce wild Boars, and Bulls, which were incited against them with Fire and red-hot Iron; and lastly, at the admirable patience of those courageous [Martyrs] in enduring [the assaults] of each of those wild Beasts. We ourselves were present at the performance of these things, when we saw the Divine Power of our Saviour Jesus Christ (whom the Martyrs then bore witness of) present, and evidently manifesting itself to the Martyrs: [for] those ravenous Beasts for a long time dared not to touch or approach the Bodies of these [Martyrs] beloved by God. But they turn'd their Fury upon others, to wit,

those that were (b) Infidels, who intigated and provoked 'em: But the sacred Champions only, who stood naked and by the motions of their Hands irritated them against themselves, (for this they were enjoyned to do,) they did not so much as touch. Sometimes indeed they assailed them; but, as it were by some Divine Power, they were stop'd, and retired back again: Which happening for a long time together, gave occasion of no small admiration to the Spectators; so that because the first Beast perform'd not its assault, a second and a third were let loose upon one and the same Martyr: You would have admir'd the intrepid Steadfastness of those sacred persons at the sight of all this, and that firm and immoveable fortitude of Mind, which was in young and tender Bodies: For you might have seen a Youth, who had not yet compleated the twentieth year of his age, standing still without being bound; and (having stretch'd forth his Hands, in form of a Cross) in an undisturb'd and fearless temper of Mind, contending with the greatest earnestness in Prayers to the Divine Majesty, in no wise receding or removing from the place he stood on; when the Bears and the Leopards, breathing forth rage and death, almost touch'd his very Flesh with their Jaws. But their Mouths were (after what manner I know not) bound fast as it were by Divine and unpeakeable Power, and they ran backward again. After such a manner as this, did this person behave himself. Again, you might have seen others (for they were in all five in number) cast to an enraged Bull, who tore some of the Infidels that approach'd him, tossing them into the air with his Horns, and leaving them to be taken up half-dead. But when he should have assail'd the sacred Martyrs only with rage and menaces, he could not approach them; but stamping on the Ground with his Feet, tossing his Horns this way and that way, and breathing forth rage and menaces by reason of his being irritated with red-hot Irons, he was notwithstanding drawn backward by the assistance of Divine Providence. When therefore none of them was at all hurt by him, they let loose other wild Beasts upon them. In fine, after these various and horrid assaults of the wild Beasts;

Dioclesian.

(b) By [Eusebius] the term which here occurs, *Nicophorus* (B. 7. Chap. 7.) thought those were meant, who stood without the Arena of the Amphitheatre, and incited the wild-beasts by their Clamours. But Rufinus supposed that the *Arenarii* were here spoken of, whose business it was to provoke the Beasts: Thus he renders the place, *Verum bestia illa ipsos qui ad instigandum mittuntur, incredibili velocitate discerpunt*; But the Beasts stare in pieces those with an incredible swiftness, who are sent in to provoke them. Christopherson thought that as well the Infidels, as those who stood without the arena, were meant. The same term occurs again in this Chapter; we have rendered it in both places *Infidels*. *Valef.*



*Diocletian*. for himself; both to demonstrate what a person he was, and also to relate the Martyrdoms which in his time happened at *Alexandria*, which he will [declare] more accurately than we can, in these words:

(b) *Hele* (b) **OUT OF PHILEAS'S EPISTLE TO THE THMUITÆ.**

would be printed in Capital Letters. In the King's MS. they are disjoin'd from the Text: In the Med. MS. they are placed in the Margin: But in the lat. and *Sicil.* MSS. they are omitted. *Valef.*

All these Examples, Precepts, and good Documents being deposited for us in the Divine and sacred Scriptures, the blessed Martyrs, who were conversant amongst us, without any delay manifestly fix'd the eye of their Mind upon the Supreme God, and willingly embracing death upon account of Piety, they steadfastly adhered to their calling: For they found that our Lord *Jesus Christ* had been incarnate for us, that he might abolish all manner of Sin, and provide us with assistances for our entrance into life eternal. For \* *he thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took the form of a servant: And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself unto death, even the death of the Cross.*

\* Phil. 2. 7, 8.

(c) *Νεφέλης ὑπερβύς*, i. e. *Marys* full of Christ: So *Ingenius* Bishop of Autrich, was called *νεφέλης*, i. e. full of God. *Valef.*

\* John 4. 18.

Wherefore the Martyrs (who were (c) full of Christ) zealously affecting the best Gifts, endured all manner of sorrow, and all sorts of tortures that could be invented, not only once, but some of them a second time also. And when the Soldiers that were of the Guard endeavoured with much earnestness [to strike a terror] into them, not only by all manner of menaces in words, but by deeds, they were in no wise discouraged in mind, because \* *perfect love casteth out fear*. Whose fortitude and courage under each torture what words would be sufficient to relate? For, free leave being granted to all persons that would be injurious towards them; some beat them with Clubs, others with Rods; others some with Scourges: Again, some scourged 'em with Thongs of Leather; others with Ropes: And the spectacle of these Tortures was variously interchanged, and full of malicious cruelty. For some [of the Martyrs] having their Hands bound behind them, were hung at an

(d) *Παπὶ τὸ ξύλον*. I suppose he means the *Exuleis*; on which Offenders were hung, and had their Sides torn with Iron-nails. *Valef.*

(e) *Ἀμυνθεία* (the term here) seems to signify something more than *Iron-nails*. For *Hesychius* interprets *ἀμυνθείον* by *ξύλον σιγῆς*, a two-edged Sword. Note here the Cruelty of the Judges; who were not contented with Iron-nails only, but used Knives also, or Razors, with which they cut the Sides of the Martyrs. *Valef.*

\* *Ἄνδ' τῆς σῶς*, *εὐαγγελιστῆς*, signifies a *Perch, Gallery, or Walking-place under-prop'd with Pillars*; in such Philosophers taught and disputed: The *Stoicks* had their name from hence; and *τῆς σῶς ἐκιδόσθου*.

this they endur'd not only as long as the Governor talk'd with them, and was at leisure to hear them; but almost a whole day together: For when he went away [to hear] others, he left

(f) Officers, that were empower'd by him, to be watchful over the former [Martyrs,] whether any one of them, being overcome by the sharpness of his tortures, would seem to abandon his resolution. He also commanded they should be (g) strained with Bonds without any commiseration, and afterwards when they were dead, that they should be thrown on the ground, and dragg'd up and down. For they ought not [he said] to take the least care of us; but that all persons should so think of, and behave themselves towards us, as if we were not Men. This (b) second torture (after they had beaten us with stripes) our Adversaries invented. There were some also, who after they had been scourged, lay in the (i) Stocks, both their Feet being stretch'd to the fourth hole; in so much that they were forced to lie in the Stocks with their Bellies upwards, being unable to stand because of their fresh wounds, caused by the stripes, which they had all over their Bodies. Others threw themselves upon the ground, where they lay by reason of the innumerable wounds made by their tortures; yielding a more miserable spectacle to those that look'd on them, than in the very time of their being tortured; and bearing in their Bodies the various and different sorts of tortures invented for them. These things being thus perform'd, some [of the Martyrs] expired under their tortures, having made the *Adversary* ashamed by their persevering constancy. Others, being half dead, were shut up in prison, where having been sorely afflicted with the smart of their wounds, they ended their lives not many days after. The residue having been refreshed with methods of cure, became more stout and confident by time, and their abode in prison. Therefore, when afterwards command was given, that they should choose, whether by touching the detestable Sacrifices they would free themselves from all molestation, and obtain from them an execrable liberty; or whether, refusing to sacrifice, they would receive the sentence of death: Without any delay they cheerfully proceeded forth to death. For they well knew what was before preferred to us by the sacred Scriptures: For \* *he (says the Word of God) that sacrificeth to other Gods, shall be utterly destroyed*. And a gain, *† Thou shalt have no other Gods, but me*. Such were the expressions of [Phileas] the Martyr, (a true Philosopher, and also a sincere lover of God,) which he sent to the Brethren of his Church, before his last sentence of condemnation, being yet in prison: Whereby he inform'd them both in what condition he was; and also exhorted them stilly to retain their piety in Christ after his death, which was now approaching.

or Officers, who were under the *Præfectus Augustalis* concerning whom *Phileas* speaks in this Epistle, and calls him *ἡγεμὼν*, the Governor. The name of the *Præfectus Augustalis* at that time was *Hierocles*, as *Epiph.* says, in *Hæres.* Melitian. *Valef.* (g) The phrase in the Original is *τοὺς ὀστέας σπέρναι*; which he seems a new and uncouth Expression. *Valef.*

dragging of the Bodies up and down is, the first sort of torture was by Stripes and Scourges; the second was, that they were laid on the ground, dragg'd about, and so drawn into prison. *Valef.* (i) See B. 4. Chap. 16. Note (c.)

(k) But what need we spend many words in relating (k) After *Christophorus* has inserted many Chapters out of that Appendix, which *Robert Stephens* has published at the latter end of this Eighth Book. But that Appendix is an entire Book, and separated from this Work, to wit, the *Eusebius's History*; in which *Eusebius* describes the sufferings of the *Palestine* Martyrs, and especially the Passion of his Friend *Pamphilius*.

*Perrinatus*. Some sordid person added this Book to the eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical History, because their Subjects were very like; whose Copies the Transcribers afterwards following, placed it in their Copies. In all the MSS. which I could ever yet see, this Book is extant after the end of B. 8. in such manner as Robert Stephens publish'd it. *Christophorus* therefore did ill, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies, to put this Book in here, as if it had been part of the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical History. *Musculus* was more prudent, who (following *Stephens*'s Edition in his Version) translated the Eighth Book as he found it in the Greek, and wholly omitted this Appendix: Which neither *Rufinus*, nor *Nicéphorus* seem to have found in their Copies. Besides, the Titles of the Chapters of Book 8. (which, as usually, are prefix'd before it) were sufficient to have put *Christophorus* in mind, that this Appendix did in no wise belong to the Eighth Book. *Valef.*

*Dioclesian*. the Conflicts of the Divine Martyrs over the whole World (whose new Combats were succeeded by other Conflicts that were as new;) and especially when as they were assaulted not in an ordinary way, but in an hostile manner?

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning what was done in Phrygia.

**F**OR at that time some arm'd Soldiers invested a whole City of Christians, that was very populous, in (a) *Phrygia*, and, having set it on fire, burnt the Men (together with the Women and Children) whilst they called upon Christ the Supreme God. The reason hereof was this, the whole Body of Inhabitants of that City, the (b) *Curator*, the (c) *Dunmire*, together with all the rest who were of the Magistracy, and all the common People, professing themselves to be Christians, would in no wise obey those that commanded them to sacrifice to Idols. Another person also, by name (d) *Adalaus*, (a man descended from a Noble Family in Italy, that had obtain'd a Roman Dignity, a person that had passed through all degrees of Honour in the Palace of the Emperors, and so far such that he had faithfully discharged the Office of (e) *Receiver-General*, which amongst them is called, The (f) *Master of the Private Revenue*, and that of *Rationalist*: Besides all this, he was famous for his virtuous Performances in Religion, and for his Confessions of the Christ of God,) was adorned with the Crown of Martyrdom, having undergone the Conflict upon account of Religion, whilst he bore the Office of *Rationalist*.

*episcopatus conventiculo concurrebant*; i. e. others were very bold to murder [the Christians] as was one in Phrygia, who burnt all the Inhabitants, together with the place they dwelt in, at one and the same time. *Valef.*

(b) The *Curator* of the City was he who look'd after the Treasure, and what-ever else in general belonged to the Revenue of the City; this is manifest from the *Pandects of the Law*: He is also called *Legista* (from the Greek word *λογιστής*, which is the term here in the Original,) in *Leg. 3. C. de modo nullandi*. &c. Hence [*λογιστήν*] was used to signify the performance of the *Curator's* Office, or *Place*. See *Valefius's* Notes on *Ammon. Marcellinus*, pag. 35.

(c) *Δυνμύρις*, is the term in the Original; which the Latines called *Magistratus*, or *Dunmire*: 'Tis taken in this sense throughout the whole Title *Cap. Theod. de Decurionibus*: Et in *Optatus*, Lib. 1. &c. in which places (and in many others) *Magistratus* and *Dunmire* are promiscuously used. The chief *Magistrate* amongst the *Corinthians*, *Rhodiens*, *Tarsenses*, *Ephesians*, and *Philippians*, was called *επαρχος*; and also amongst the *Athenians* the *επαρχος* got the precedence and chief place, the name of *επαρχος* being suppressed: See *Cicero* in Book 5. *Epist. 11. ad Atticum*. Lastly, in all *Grecian* Cities it was at length customary to call the chief *Magistrates* *Strategi*; as 'tis manifest from the old Coins and Marbles. See *Valefius* his Notes on *Ammon. Marcellinus*, l. 3. pag. 423. & 424.

(d) In the *Adar. Med. Fab. and Savil. MSS.* this person's name is "A-*dalas*": *Adalaus*; So *Rufinus* and *Cedrenus* wrote his name also. This person is mentioned in the *Greek Newscum*, on the third of *October*. There was at the same time another *Adalaus*, who suffered Martyrdom at *Rome*, and is mentioned at the seventh of *February*. *Valef.*

(e) He means the *Procurator*, or *Steward* of the Revenue. *Rufinus* renders this place thus; *rationalis summorum parvum administrans*; which is truly translated. *Valef.*

(f) Concerning these *Magistri rei privatae*, see *Leg. 2. and 4. Cod. Theod. de jure fisci*. These Officers are usually joyned with the *Rationalists* in the *Cod. Theod.* See *Valefius's* Notes on *Ammon. Marcellin.* Book 19. pag. 78.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning many other Men and Women, who suffered Martyrdom in a various and different manner.

**W**HAT need is there now of mentioning the rest by name, or of recounting the multitude of men, or delineating the various sorts of tortures [endured by] the admirable Martyrs of Christ? Part whereof were beheaded, as it happened to those in *Arabia*; and part were [killed] by having their Legs broken, as it befel those in *Cappadocia*. Some, being hung up on high by the Feet with their Heads downwards, (a)

(a) flow Fire having been kindled under them,) were suffocated with the Smoke that ascended from the combustible matter set on fire; so it befel those in *Mesopotamia*: Others had their Noses, the tips of their Ears, and their Hands cut off, and the other Members and Parts of their Bodies were mangled, as it happen'd at *Alexandria*. What need is there of renewing the remembrance of what was done at *Antioch*?

where some were broil'd on (b) Grid-irons set over the Fire, not till they were killed, but that their punishment might be prolonged:

Others were more ready to thrust their Right Hand into the Fire, than to touch the impious sacrifices. Whereof, some avoiding the being put to the rest [whether they would sacrifice,] before they would be apprehended and fall into the hands of those that laid wait for them, threw themselves headlong from the tops of high Houses, having accounted death to be a gain, because of the maliciousness of the Impious. Also, a certain holy Woman (admirable for her virtuous Soul, and [her comely] Body, eminently famous, beyond all at *Antioch*, for Riches, Descent, and Reputation,) had educated two Daughters (Virgins that were eminent for beauty, and in the flower of their Age) in the Precepts of Religion: When many, moved thereto by envy, used all manner of industry in inquiring out the place where they abscended; and it being at length understood they lived in a foreign Country, they were with much diligence summon'd to *Antioch*: After the Woman knew, that she and her Daughters were now encompass'd with the Soldier's Nets, perceiving herself and Daughters reduc'd to an inextricable state of peril, she exhorted the Virgins, expressly declaring to 'em the mischief that would befall them from the Soldiers, and that of all evils, *Ravishment* was the most intolerable, the menaces whereof it was unlawful for them to endure, even to hear: moreover, having said, that to yield up their Souls to the service of Devils, was worse than all sorts of death, and all manner of destruction; there was but one way (she declared) to avoid all these evils, which was to fly to the Lord for refuge. Immediately after these words, having all agreed to embrace the same advice, they adorn'd their Bodies

(a) Such a Fire is that, which is made of Straw and small Sprigs of Trees. It is called a *flow*, or *slow* Fire, to difference it from the *αἶσθητος πυρρῆς*, the unquenchable Fire, which we took notice of before. This Fire was kindled at some distance, that so the Martyrs might be choak'd with the Smoke, rather than burnt. *Valefius* the Martyr seems to have been killed by such a Fire, as his *Act* do attest. *Seneca* (in his third Book *De Ira*) seems to mention this sort of punishment, in these words, *Et circumdati defixis operibus ignes*. *Valef.*

(b) *Rufinus* translates *ἐγκύβητος* which is the term here, *Grid-iron*: So also the *Old Gloss* renders this term. *Valef.*

*Dioclesian.* Bodies with a decent dress: When they had gone (c) half their journey, having intreated their Guard for a short reefs out of the way, and that being granted them, they threw themselves into a River which ran hard by: Thus these persons [drown'd] themselves. At the same City of *Antioch*, another pair of Virgins, in all points divine, and truly sisters, eminent for descent, splendid as to estate, in the flower of their age, beautiful in Body, chaste of Mind, pious in their conversations, admirable for their industry, (as if the earth were unable to bear so great an ornament,) were, by the command of the worshippers of *Dæmon*, cast into the Sea. These things were done amongst those [at *Antioch*.] But 'tis horrid to hear the relation of what others suffer'd in *Pontus*: Some had sharp Reeds thrust up the Fingers of both their Hands from the very tops of their Nails: Others had melted Lead upon their Backs, even whilst the melted metal boiled, [which ran down and] burnt the most (d) necessary parts of their Bodies: Again, others without any commiseration endured obscene tortures (which are unfit to be related) in their Privy-Members, and Bowels, which those \* courageous and just Judges invented with much earnestness and labour, demonstrating thereby the acuteness of their Wit, as if the very power and strength of Wisdom [consisted in such cruel inventions:] and striving continually (as if it had been for rewards in a Combat) to outdo one another in finding out new sorts of Tortures. These calamities therefore were not ended, till such time as [the Judges,] despairing of making any further addition to these miseries, wearied with slaughters, filled and satiated with the effusion of Blood, betook themselves to the thoughts of clemency and humanity, that in future they might seem to invent no further cruelty against us. For it was unfit (they said) to pollute the Cities with the Blood of their Inhabitants, and to defame the Government of benign and gentle

*(d)* To allusion in the original text, which Rufinus translates elegantly, *Uguis ad hoc paludis quibus naturalis egestia procurari solet*. The *Grecians* call [*ἀσκήματα*] that part of the Body, which Modesty forbids to be named. *Valef.*  
\* Ironically spoken.

authority should be extended to all persons, and that [the Christians] should not any longer be punished with death, in regard those of our Religion were exempted from such punishment by the indulgence of the Emperors. At that time therefore (f) command was given to pluck out the Eyes [of the Christians,] and that they should have one of their Legs lamed. For such was their civility towards us, and this seem'd to them the most gentle punishment [that could be inflicted] on us. In so much that, upon account of this lenity used by these impious Wretches [towards us,] it is impossible to give any

further account of the Multitudes (which indeed are altogether innumerable) both of them who had their right Eyes first thrust out with a Sword, and after they had been thus prick'd out, their [Eye-holes] were sear'd with a red-hot Iron; and also of those, who had their Left-legs (as far as the bending of their Knees) made useless by being sear'd with hot Irons: After which they were condemned to the Brazen-Mines which were in the Province, not so much for the service they could do, as upon account of the Affliction and Misery they should [endure there.]. Besides all these, there were many others, who were assauled with several sorts of Combats, which 'tis not possible to give a Catalogue of; for their courageous Exploits do surpass all relation. Therefore, the noble Martyrs of Christ, having obtain'd great renown over the whole world in these [g] Combats, I did both deserv'dly amaze every-where the Spectators of their Courage; must un- and also exhibit in themselves manifest tokens of the truly Divine and (h) Inexplicable Power of our Saviour. Indeed, the mention of every particular person of them by name, would be very tedious, if not a thing impossible.

*(g)* You may see these things just before. *Christophorus* translated these words ill, thus [at this time:] and from them began a new Chapter. *Valef.*

*(h)* The term here is [*ἀσκήματα*, secret.]. It seems to be used for [experts, inexplicable;] in which sense *Eusebius* does frequently use it. But if any one will translate it [secret,] I shall not withhold it. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning those Prelates of the Church who demonstrated the Sincerity of the Religion they asserted by [the Effusion] of their own Blood.

*N*OW, of those Ecclesiastick Prelates, who suffered Martyrdom in the most eminent Cities, the first that must be commemorated in the Monuments of the Pious, may be *Antimachus*, a Witness of Christ's Kingdom, Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who was beheaded in that City. But, of the (a) *Antiochian* Martyrs [we will mention] *Lucianus* a Presbyter of that Church, a person most eminent [for sanctity] throughout his whole life: He at first made a Declaration of the Celestial Kingdom of Christ in words, and by an *Apologetick Oration* at *Nicomedia*, in the presence of the Emperor; and afterwards he [asserted it] in deeds and real performances. But the most eminent Martyrs in *Phœnicia* (which were most acceptable to God and Pastors of Christ's Flock) were *Tyrannius* Bishop of the Church at *Tyre*, and *Zenobius* a Presbyter at *Sidon*; also *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Emisa*. This [Prelate last named] being together with some others, call as food to the Wild-Beasts at the very City of *Emesa*, was received into the number of the Martyrs. Both the other rendred the Doctrine of the Divine Faith famous at *Antioch*, by their most patient suffering [of Tortures] until their Deaths: [*Tyrannius*] the Bishop was drown'd in the Depths of the Sea; and *Zenobius* (a most incomparable Physician) died courageously under the Tortures, when were applied to his sides. Amongst the Martyrs of *Palessine*, *Silvanus* Bishop of the Churches at *Gaza*,

*(e)* The *Med. Max.* and *Fab. MSS.* read [*τὴν ἀσκήσαν*], *Synoplistice*. *Valef.*

*(f)* *Rufinus* says an Edict of the Emperor was set forth, whereby such a sort of punishment was commanded thenceforth to be inflicted on the Christians: But I think this not to be true. For the Magistrates themselves, being overcome by the constancy of the Christians, at length betook themselves to this sort of punishment on their own accord. *Valef.*

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account of this lenity used by these impious Wretches [towards us,] it is impossible to give any

*Dioclesian.*

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*(h)* The term here is [*ἀσκήματα*, secret.]. It seems to be used for [experts, inexplicable;] in which sense *Eusebius* does frequently use it. But if any one will translate it [secret,] I shall not withhold it. *Valef.*

*(a)* In Read of [*τὸν ἀσκήσαν*], the Martyr at *Antioch*] in *Nicomedia* the Reading is [*τὸν ἀσκήσαν*], the Martyr of *Antioch*,] which doubtless is truest. For *Lucianus* suffer'd not at *Antioch*, but at *Nicomedia*, as *Eusebius* attests in this place; to whom agree *Jerome* [in *Catalog.*] *Rufinus*, and *Nicéphorus*. The same is confirmed by *Lucianus* himself in the Epistle he wrote to the *Antiochians*, when he was (together with some other Martyrs) in prison at *Nicomedia*. The last words of this Epistle are extant in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the first year of the Persecution. *Valef.*

*Dioclesian* was, together with nine and thirty others, beheaded at the Mines of Braf, which are in *Phæno*. *Alfo Pelus* and *Nilus*, *Egyptian* Bishops, together with some others, were burnt to death at the same place. Amongst which number we must in no wise omit the mention of *Pamphilus* the Presbyter, the most admirable person in our Age, and the greatest Ornament of the Church at *Cæsarea*: Whose Fortitude and courageous Exploits we (b) will declare at a fit and convenient opportunity. [Moreover] of those who were persecuted by a glorious Martyrdom at *Alexandria*, throughout all *Egypt* and *Thebais*, the first to be mentioned is *Peter*, Bishop of *Alexandria*, a most divine Teacher of the Christian Religion; also, *Faufur*, (c) *Diur*, and *Ammonius* (perfect Martyrs of Christ) who were his Presbyters. Besides, *Pbilas*, *Iseychius*, *Pachumius*, and *Theodoros*, Bishops of Churches in *Egypt*. Moreover, there were many other eminent [Martyrs] who have an honourable mention among the Churches that are in those places and Countries. But our [design] is not to commit to writing the Conflicts of all those who suffered for the Worship of God over the whole World, nor yet to give in an accurate relation of every accident that befel them; but of those rather, who with their own eyes beheld what was done. Moreover, those [Conflicts] ourselves were present at, we will commit to the knowledge of Posterity in (d) another Work: But in this present Book I will annex to what has been declared, a Revocation of what had been practised against us, and the accidents that hapned from the very beginning of the Persecution, which will be most useful to the Readers. Therefore, before the War [was denounced] against us, (during the time that the Emperors were friendly and peaceable towards us,) (e) how great a felicity and plenty of all that is good, the

(b) To wit, in the Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, which is placed after this eighth Book. For in that *Eusebius* large declares the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus*, as may there be seen. Moreover, from this place it appears, that that Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, was written by *Eusebius* after his *Ecclesiastical History*, and after his Books concerning the Life of *Pamphilus* the Martyr. *Christopherson* (who had inserted that whole Appendix before this Chapter) was forced to omit these words of *Eusebius* here, lest *Eusebius* should seem to have forgot himself. I must indeed confess, that in the *Map*, *Med. Fide*, and *Servi*, MSS. the Reading is *Quædam hæc, quæ nos declarant*; but if that Reading be true, *Eusebius* must mean his Books concerning the Life of *Pamphilus* the Martyr; which (as before we observed) he wrote before his *Ecclesiastical History*. Valef.

(c) In the *Map*, and *Med. MSS.* this person is called *Diur*; in *Robert Stephens* he is named *Dilius*. Valef.

(d) He means doubtless his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. For no other Book but that can be found, wherein *Eusebius* relates the Conflicts of the Martyrs which he himself had seen. The Opinion of *Christopherson* is from this passage further disproved, who supposed the Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine was part of this eighth Book: Upon which account, after these words [in another Work] he omitted some words, and inserted others, against the authority of all Copies. *Tarnæus* was sensible hereof, and therefore at the Margin of his Copy, he put this Greek Scholion at these words, [*Εὐσεβίου τοῦ κατὰ τὸν Πέτρον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας*]. I. e. Note, that you will meet with this writing immediately after his eighth Book. Valef.

(e) How great the felicity of the Roman Empire was in the Reign of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*, *Maximian* attests in his *Genetivium*, about the latter end. Neither did the Romans ever succeed more prosperously in their Wars against the Barbarians, than at that time. The Barbarians were in every Engagement slain, and the Limits of the Roman Empire enlarged. If we read the Histories of those Times, we shall find that the Affairs of the Empire were never in a better posture: when four Princes, to wit, two *Augusti*, and as many *Cæsars*, did each of them severally repel the Barbarians. But although *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* obtain'd so many Victories over the Enemies of the Roman Empire; yet they Triumph'd but once, a little before they reign'd the Empire, as *Eutropius* and *Zonaras* do attest. The words of *Eutropius* are these; *Uterque sua die privato habitu imperii insignis mutavit; Nicomedia Dioclesianus, Herulicus Adulianus, post triumphum inluyum, quem Romæ ex numeris gentibus egerant, pompa secularium ibisset, &c. Hieronymus* (in his *Chronicon*) has placed this Triumph of *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* on the eighteenth Year of *Dioclesian*. At which place *Statiger* (in his *Animadversiones*) remarks, that *Hieronymus* has committed an *Anachronism*. For he says, this Triumph was performed on the twentieth Year of *Dioclesian*, some Months before he put off his Purple. But *Statiger* himself is mistaken rather than *Hieronymus*. For it *Dioclesian* triumph'd in the twentieth Year of his Empire, that is, some

few Months before he resign'd it, it must be said he triumph'd about January, in the year of Christ 304. and put off his Purple on the Kalends of April of the same year; which time of his resignation *Latius* declares (in *Epist.*) Whence it follows, that he triumph'd in Winter-time, and in the depth of Winter travell'd from Rome to *Nicomedia*; neither of which is probable. For neither did the Roman Emperors usually triumph in Winter; nor was *Dioclesian* (by reason of his Age and Infirmitie of Body) able to endure the trouble of so tedious a Journey. Besides, in the nineteenth year of his Empire, in March and April, *Dioclesian* was at *Nicomedia*; at which time that Persecution against the Christians began, as our *Eusebius* attests in Chap. 5. Book 8. He was at *Nicomedia* also, when the Palace there was burn'd; as *Constantine* witnesseth in his *Oration ad sanctorum catum*, Chap. 25. which Fire happen'd some Months after the Persecution was began. Let us therefore suppose, that that happen'd in May, is it credible that *Dioclesian* could go from *Nicomedia* to Rome, triumph there, return from thence to *Nicomedia*, & put off his Purple there, and retire into *Dalmatia* to lead the rest of his life in retirement there: Is it (I say) credible he could do all this within ten Months? Besides, the Disease, by which *Dioclesian* was for some time put out of his Wits, seiz'd him first at *Nicomedia*, a little after he rais'd the Persecution, as *Constantine* relates. Wherefore, 'tis very improbable, that *Dioclesian*, troubled with such a Dilemment, underwent such a long Journey. Further, the Author of the *Pangrick* (spoken to *Maximian* and *Constantine*, does expressly affirm, that *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd at Rome some years before the twentieth of *Dioclesian*'s Empire; see his words. *Statiger* therefore is much mistaken, in saying *Dioclesian* and *Maximian* triumph'd in the twentieth year of *Dioclesian*'s Empire; *Hieronymus*, more truly, placed it on the eighteenth of *Dioclesian*. In which year *Latius* (in *Epist.*) observes, that the Emperors gave command by their Edict that Corn should be sold cheap; which seems to have been order'd by them after the Triumph, to please the People of Rome. But *Cærenus* places this Triumph on the seventeenth year of *Dioclesian*. Valef.

Roman Empire was dignified with, what words *Dioclesian*, can be sufficient to declare? At which time those, in whose hands the Supream Power was, having compleated the tenth and twentieth year of their Empire, led their lives in a firm and continued Peace, [spending the time] with Festivities, publick Shows, most splendid Banquets, and Delights. When their Empire was after this sort enlarged without any manner of impediment, and daily augmented with an increase of greatness, on a sudden they revoked the peace with us, and rais'd a pernicious War [against us.] The (f) second year of (f) *Euseb.* this War was not compleated, when a new and unexpected accident subverted the State of Affairs almost throughout the whole [Roman] Empire. For (g) he that had the precedency amongst the fore-said Emperors, (having been visited by an unfortunate Disease, which drove him into a disorder'd and mad temper of mind,) betook himself to a private and Country life, together with that Empire, [Emperor] who was the next in dignity to him. These affairs were no sooner transacted after this manner, but the whole Roman Empire was (b) divided into two parts, which, as it has been re- per'd about the

beginning of the second year of the Persecution, on the Kalends of April, in the year of Christ 304. the Persecution having begun in the month of March of the foregoing year. Whereas therefore *Eusebius* says [The second year of this War was not compleated,] his meaning must be this [It was the second year current of the Persecution.] In this sense that other place of *Eusebius* (which occurs in Chap. 3. of his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, about the end of the Chapter) is to be taken. Valef.

(g) *Christopherson* translates these words [*τοῦ ἀποστασίου τῆς ἐκείνου*] thus, *primo nostrorum armunarum auctor*, the first Author of our sorrows; which Version is not good: But he seems to have follow'd *Nicæporus* herein; who (in B. 7. Chap. 16.) writes out this Passage of *Eusebius*; and in stead of his words here set down, uses these [*τοῦ ἀποστασίου τῆς ἐκείνου*]. Valef.

(h) For *Constantinus* and *Galerius* parted the Empire between themselves: Which was the first division of the Empire, as *Eusebius* here asserts. For although there had been more than one *Augustus* at the same time, yet they govern'd the Roman Empire together, without making any division of it; thus it was in the Reign of *Marcius* and *Verus*. Neither was there any division made of the Empire in the Reign of *Diocletianus* and *Hieroclius*; when those two *Augusti* parted neither the Provinces, nor the Legions. See *Eutropius*, B. 10. *Orosius* B. 7. Concerning this Division of the Empire (which Rome was much displeased at) *Porphyrius* (in his *Pangrick* to *Constantine*, written by him in the 15th year of *Constantine*'s Reign,) speaks these words.

Imperii pars fissa poli, divisæ gemebat

Scripta, et Ausonii marebat perdita juva.

Valef.

corded,







ἡρώδης δὲ ἰαβάρης ἐν ἀσδοῖς, πόθεν κατέστη τὸν δολοφόνον ἀνδρῶν· ἀλλὰ τὸς ἑαυτοῦ ὁμοῦς τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἑσπέρης ἡρώδης ἡρώδης, ἀλλὰ πάλιν ἀσδοῖς πόθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώδης ἡρώδης, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἡρώδης ἡρώδης. I. c. How does this man who were the authors of their own deaths? And alms the judgment of the Church is, not to record them amongst the number of the Martyrs, who have been their own Executioners. For 'tis [an argument] of fear, rather than courage, by death to prevent the dread of punishment. [But the Church looks upon those as Martyrs,] who [suppose nothing to be dreadful upon account of the confession of Christ,] but with alacrity suffer all [tortures,] that a tyrannical and devilish fury can produce [against them.] The Author of this Scholion has made a true remark, to wit, that the Church approves not of Self-murder; when Men out of a fear of death, or through desperation, lay violent hands on themselves. But as often as they are driven to do that by the inflict of the Divine Spirit, which rarely happens; then the Church approves and admires that act: But proposes it not for imitation. See what St. Augustine thought concerning this matter, in his 1st Book, *De civitate Dei*, chap. 26. *Valf.*

*Galerius* upon, the left indeed her Corps to those that came to conduct her [ to the Tyrant; ] but by this Act of hers [ which refunds more than any voice ] she has manifested to all Men that now are, and shall be in future Ages, that the Courage of the *Christians* is the only thing that is inexpugnable, and which cannot be extirpated by death. Such indeed and so great was the fertility of wickedness produced at one and the same time; the Authors of which were two Tyrants, who had divided the East and West between themselves. And now, what Man is he, that, making his Researches into the cause of these so great [ *Calamities*, ] will be dubious in affirming the *Perfection* [ raised against us ] to have been [ the Original of all these Miseries ]? Especially, [ when he considers ] that these mighty Disturbances [ in the Empire ] were not terminated, before the *Christians* had the free and open profession of their Religion restored to them.

C H A P. XV.

Concerning what happen'd to the Gentiles.

*I* Ndeed, throughout the whole (a) ten year's space of the *Perfection*, there was no interruption of mutual Conspiracies and intestine Wars amongst them: The Sea was unpassable to those that made Voyages over it. Neither could any persons arrive at any Haven whatsoever, but they must endure all sorts of Scourges, be tormented, have their Sides torn with Nails, and be interrogated, by their undergoing all sorts of tortures, whether they came from the Enemy's Country: It And at last they underwent the punishment of Crucifixion, or were burnt to death. Furthermore, they provided Shields, Breast-plates, Darts, Spears, and other such-like military Instruments: Also, Gallies, and Weapons for a Sea-fight were everywhere prepared. Neither did any person expect any thing else but an Incurfion of the Enemy. After all these [ *Calamities* ] follow'd a Famine and a Pestilence; of which we will give a relation at an opportune place and time.

*Maximian* Emperor of the East, to procure Liberty for the *Christians*; as our *Eusebius* relates in B. g. Therefore the *Perfection* lasted ten years, as 'tis here affirmed. And so the years are noted in the MS. Copies of *Eusebius's* Chronicon; as *Ponticus* has observed. *Epiphanius* therefore is mistaken; who (in his Book *De Ponder. & Mensur.*) says this *Perfection* lasted twelve years: See the following Chapter, where our Author relates, that the *Perfection* ceased on the tenth year. *Valf.*

C H A P. XVI.

Concerning the Change of Affairs to a better posture.

*(b)* *At* (a) *Such* were the Preparations during the whole time of the *Perfection*; which by the Grace of God wholly ceased in the tenth year; begin-

ning to be somewhat remis, after the eighth year. For, after the Divine and Celestial Grace demonstrated [ itself ] in a benign and propitious inspection over us, then the Governours in our times, even those very Princes who had formerly waged War against those of our Religion; having most miraculously alter'd their minds, founded a retreat; and extinguish'd the most ardent Flame of the *Perfection* by Rescripts favourable towards us, and by most mild Edicts. But, neither was any human cause, nor (which some one might conjecture) was the Clemency or Humanity of the Emperors, the occasion hereof; no, 'twas far from that. For, from the beginning of the *Perfection* unto that very time, they daily invented more and more grievous Cruelties against us, renewing the tortures [ us'd ] towards us by divers Machines [ made use of ] successively, and in a various manner. But the apparent inspection of the Divine Providence itself, which was now reconciled to its people, pursued the Author of these Miseries, and was angry at the (b) Ring-leader of the Wickedness [ committed ] during the whole *Persecution*. For altho' these things ought to have come to pass, agreeable to the Judgment of the Divine [ Will, ] yet \* *Wo* (says the Scripture) to that Man by whom the offence cometh. Therefore, a punishment sent from God seiz'd him; which having made its beginning at his very Flesh, proceeded even to his Soul. For on a sudden an Impostume arose upon him (c) about the midst of the Privy Parts of his Body; after that, a (d) *Fistula* in ano; both these Diseases spread incurably, and did eat into his inmost Bowels. From them bred an unspeakable multitude of Worms, and a most noisome Stench proceeded therefrom; [ for, ] before this Disease, the whole Mass of Flesh upon his Body was (by reason of the abundance of Food he devour'd) grown to an immense fatness: Which being then purrified, became an intolerable and most horrid Spectacle to those that approach'd him. Wherefore some of his Physicians, being altogether unable to endure the exceeding noisomeness of the Stink [ that came from him, ] were killed: Others of them, when they could administer no Remedy, (the whole Fabric of his Body being swell'd, and past all hopes of a Recovery,) were cruelly slain.

*centor* ac signifer nostre persecutionis extiterat, Gr. i. e. But he, who was the next in honour to him, afterwards succeed'd him in the first and chiefest place; who also was the incendiary and first Beginner of our *Persecution*. Gr. *Cædrenus* attacks the same. *Valf.* \* *Matth.* 18. 7.

(c) *Ἰστέ* καὶ πόθεν τῶν ἀσδοῖς. He means his *Genitals*; which *Victor* (in his *Epitome*) does confirm: *Galerius Maximianus* (says he) *conspicuis Genitalibus defecit.*

(d) The phrase in the Greek is, *ἡλκεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ σπέρματι*; which, being literally rendred, imports thus much; an Ulcer in the Fundament full of holes like a Sponge.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the Retraction of the Emperors.

*M*OREOVER, whilst he was struggling with these many and great Miseries, he began to be sensible of the villainous Acts he had perform'd towards the *Worshippers* of God: \* Having there-  
fore seriously recollected himself, first he made his Confession to the Supreme God. Then, having cal-

This expression *Malculus* renders thus, ad femetipsum reversus, using come to himself: *Christophorus* thus, mentem suam recognovit, & tanquam rediens ad se, recollecting therefore his mind, and returning as it were to himself: *Valerius* thus, Tota mentis acie in femetipsum conver- sit, the whole sharpness of his mind being turned upon himself.

Galerius

led together the (a) Chief Officers of his Palace, he order'd them without any delay to inhibit the Persecution of the Christians, and by his Decree and Imperial Edict commanded that their Churches should with all expedition be built, wherein they might perform their usual Solemnities, and make Supplications [to God] for the \*Emperor. Therefore, what he had given order for in words, being immediately follow'd by an actual performance, the Imperial Edicts were set forth in every City, containing a Revocation of the [Persecution] against us, according to this Form following.

those who served in any public Office. Eusebius usually means, by this phrase, the Grandees of the Palace, whom *Amm. Marcellinus* does commonly term *antichambers*, & *Imperatoris proximos*, the Chief Court-officers, and those nearest to the Emperor. Valef.

\* In the original 'tis *ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ*, for the Imperial Palace: But *Nicéphorus* reads *βασιλικῶν*, for the Emperor. Valef.

EMPEROR CÆSAR GALERIUS VALERIUS MAXIMIANUS, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, GERMANICUS MAXIMUS, ÆGYPTIACUS MAXIMUS, THEBAICUS MAXIMUS, SARMATICUS MAXIMUS the Fifth time; (b) PERSICUS MAXIMUS, CARPICUS MAXIMUS the Second time, ARMENICUS MAXIMUS the Sixth time, MEDICUS MAXIMUS, ADIABENICUS MAXIMUS, (c) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE XX, (d) EMPEROR XIX. CONSUL VIII, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR ELAVIUS VALERIUS CONSTANTINUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, (e) TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE V. EMPEROR V. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, f. PROCONSUL. And, EMPEROR CÆSAR VALERIUS LICINIANUS, PIUS, FELIX, INVICTUS, AUGUSTUS, PONTIFEX MAXIMUS, TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE IV. EMPEROR III. CONSUL, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY, PROCONSUL: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.

For that's the Reading in the most ancient Copy of *Rufinus*. *Christophorus* translated this term ill, thus, *Dilectus*. He knew not what was the import of the word *Imperator*. *Imperator* signifies one thing in the Titles of the Emperors, when 'tis put in the first place like a *Pronomen*; but it imports another thing, when 'tis subjoin'd to the rest of the Titles. For the word [Emperor] put in the second place, denotes the Victory of the Emperors, and shews how often they were titled Emperors by the Army, after they had obtained a Victory; so *Dis infensus* is. Valef.

(c) In all Copies, there is an omission of the number of times that *Constantine* had born the Office of *Tribune of the People*, while this Edict came forth. I have added the Figure [V] which denotes the fifth time of his bearing the *Tribuneship*: Which addition is grounded upon a most certain conjecture. Valef.

(f) After this word [Proconsul] (in the *Max. Med. Vat.* and *Savil MSS.* and in *Nicéphorus*) there are the following words; [And, Emperor Cæsar *Valerius Licinianus*, *Pius*, *Felix*, *Invictus*, *Augustus*, *Pontifex Maximus*, *Tribune of the People* IV. Emperor III. Consul, Father of his Country, *Proconsul*: To the Subjects of their own Provinces, Greeting.] Which Passage, although it occurs not in *Rufinus*, yet is of good authority, And first, as to *Licinius's* *Tribuneship* Power, the same must be thought of that which was of *Galerius's*, to wit, that it is to be begun from the time of his being made Cæsar. Now, *Licinius* was made Cæsar in the Year of Christ 308, on the third of the Ides of November, as it appears in the *Fasti of Ilarius*. Therefore the 4th year of *Licinius's* *Tribuneship* Power began in the Year of Christ 311, on the third of the Ides of November. But this disagrees with what we noted before, when we treated concerning the *Tribuneship* Power of *Galerius*. Wherefore one of these places must necessarily be false. For if it were then the fourth Year of *Licinius's* *Tribuneship* Power, it was the twenty-first of *Galerius's*. On the contrary, if this were the twentieth year of *Galerius's* being *Tribune of the People*, it was but the third year of *Licinius's* bearing that Dignity. As to the Consulate of *Licinius*, there is mention thereof in the *Fasti of Prosper*, *Cassiodorus*, and *Victorius*; where he is placed Consul with *Maximianus Augustus* Cæsar VIII. In my Notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, I had remarked, that *Licinius* was made *Augustus* by *Galerius*, a little before *Galerius's* death; which I collected from hence, because in this Edict we now speak of, *Galerius* had made no mention of *Licinius's* being his Colleague: But since in our MSS. and in *Nicéphorus*, *Licinius* is titled *Augustus* in this Edict of *Galerius*, that Conjecture of ours is wholly destroy'd. Valef.

Amongst other things which we have constituted *Galerius*, for the Profit and Utility of the Republick, it was our desire in the first place, that all things should be redress'd according to the Ancient *Laws*, and Publick Ordinances of the Romans. And we earnestly endeavour'd to effect this, that the Christians, who had relinquish'd the Rites and Usages of their Parents, should be reduced to a good Mind and Intention. For, so great an (g) Arrogancy and Unadvisedness has (by a Considerateness as it were) possess'd and invaded them, that they would not follow those Sanctions of their Ancestors, which even their Parents 'tis likely had before Ratified: But according to their own Arbitrement, and at each Person had a desire, so they would make *Laws*, and observe them, and assume various Multitudes of different Factions and Dissenting about their Opinions. Therefore, when we had published such an Edict, as should [oblige] them to return to the Rites and Ordinances of their Ancestors; many of them having been expell'd to imminent Dangers, and many having been terrified [with the Menaces of Punishment] underwent various sorts of Death. But, when many persified in this Madness, and we perceived they did neither exhibit a due Worship to the Immortal God's, nor yet to the God of the Christians; having a respect to our Humanity, and that continued usage by which we have been accustomed to bestow Pardon on all sorts of Men: We have thought good that our Indulgence should most readily be extended in this matter also; that the Christians should again be [coerced], and that they may [have licence] to rebuild the Houses wherein they used to assemble themselves, that

(b) We find that the Persians were but once conquered by *Galerius*. (d) EMPEROR XIX. CONSUL VIII, which was in the Year of Christ 297, as 'tis said firm'd in *Faust* *Ilarius*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. The same is confirm'd by *Licinius*, in his Oration intitled *Βασιλική*, where he relates that the Persians,

after that great Defeat they received from the Romans under the conduct of *Galerius*, spent forty years in Preparations to make amends for that Overthrow; and that, a little before the death of *Constantine* the Great, they entred upon a War with the Romans. Indeed from that Year of Christ we mentioned [i. e. Anno 297], to the Year wherein *Constantine* died, there are forty years. Therefore, *Eusebius's* *Chronicle* must be corrected, in which this Persian Victory is placed on the seventh Year of *Diocletian's* whereas it should be placed on his thirteenth Year; as it is in the Edition of *Ambrosius Ponticus*. Seeing therefore we can find no other Victory that *Maximianus* obtained over the Persians, this place ought to be pointed (as it is in *Nicéphorus*) and as we have done in our Translation) after this manner: *ἐπελάμβαντο τὴν ὁρμήν* *Sarmaticus Maximus* the fifth time; *Persicus Maximus*. In *Rufinus's* old Copy, there is at this place no distinction by Points; but 'tis thus, *Sarmaticus quinquies Persicus bi Carpicus Sexies Armenicus Afrum C. Adiabenerum Vltor*.

(c) *Rufinus* renders this Passage thus, *Tribunus potestatis civitatis*, having been *Tribune of the People* twenty times. This is the Reading in the MSS. From this place we may perceive, that *Galerius* was made Cæsar, and Colleague in the *Tribuneship* Power (or, *Tribune of the People*) at the same time; since in this Edict he accounts the years of his *Tribuneship* Power from that time when he was proclaimed Cæsar. Now, he was made Cæsar in the Year of Christ 291, on the Calends of March. Moreover, he put forth this Edict in favour of the Christians, in the Year of Christ 311, in his eighth Consulate, as the Inscription of the Edict declares: Whence it follows, that this Edict was written before the Calends of March. For from that time *Galerius* began his *Tribuneship* Power. Valef.

(d) *Αὐτοκράτωρ ἑρκατοσάκτων*; i. e. Emperor the nineteenth time.

(g) In the *Fak. Savil. Max. and Med. MSS.* the Reading is [*ἐπαρξία καλοῦμεν, ὡς ἀντὶ καλοῦμεν*], So great an arrogancy and unadvisedness have they possess'd and invaded them. Valef.

*Παροξενία* (which *Valesius* here renders *arrogantia*, arrogancy) is by *Democritus* (in his *Troica*) defined to be speaking ill, and not enduring to hear any Booby else. *Dr. Hammond* has given a large Account of the Signification of this Word, in his Note on *Rom. i. Ver. 29*.

*Galerius*. that so [in future they may be forced] to do nothing contrary to their Discipline. In a particular Rescript we will signify to ou. Judges what it shall becom them to observe. Wherefore, upon account of this our Indulgence they are obliged to supplicate their God for our safety, that of the Republick, and their own; that so both the Publick State of Affairs may in all

respects be continued in an entire and safe posture, and they themselves live undisturbed in their own Habitations. These words (which we have, according to our ability, translated out of the Roman into the Greek Language,) are thus: Now therefore it is an opportune time to take a prospect of what follow'd hereupon.

The END of the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastical History.

In some COPIES this occurs as a SUPPLEMENT to the EIGHTH BOOK.

UT the \* Author of this Edict, after this Confession, was forthwith released from his Pains, and ended his Life. Report says, that this Man was the first beginner of that Calamitous Persecution: For, long before the rest of the Emperors, were instigated [to it,] he endeavour'd by force to withdraw the Christians that bore Arms [from their Religion,] especially those that were his Domesticks; some of whom he removed from their Military Dignities, most dishonourably abused others; and moreover, punish'd other some with death: And at length he moved his Colleagues in the Empire to a General Persecution against the Christians. The manner how these Emperors ended their Lives, we judge unfit to be buried in silence: Of

(a) Those four were *Dioclesianus*, *Maximianus*, *Constantius*, and *Galerius*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (c).

(b) That is, *Dioclesianus* and *Maximianus*. See Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (a).

pleated after the beginning of the Persecution, as we have (c) before manifested. And, having spent the remaining part of their time in a private and retired condition, they concluded their Lives after this manner: The (d) one, who in respect of his Age and Honour took place of all the rest, was consumed by a lasting and most

painful Distemper of Body: The (e) other, who was the next to him in Honour, put an end to his Life by Hanging of himself; undergoing this [Punishment] which was agreeable to a certain Diabolical Prediction concerning him, upon account of those many Villanies he had most audaciously perpetrated. Of the re-

maining two, the (f) last, (who, as we (g) have (f) *Gale* said, was the Author of the whole Persecution, (g) *See* underwent those [Miseries,] which we (b) have related before. But he who in Dignity preceded this Man, [I mean] that most favourable and merciful Emperor *Constantius*, who during the whole time of his Government behaved himself in such sort as besitted an Emperor; who both in other matters represented himself to be most courteous and beneficent, and also was unconcerned in the Persecution raised against us; who preserved the Worshipers of God living under his Government from all manner of Injuries and Molestations, who neither demolished the Edifices of the Churches, nor attempted any other new Design against us: This Emperor (i) These [Constantius I say] obtain'd a (i) fortunate following words are truly thrice happy Conclusion of his Life: Being taken out the only person that ended his Life peaceably of Chap. 13. B. 8. and gloriously during his swaying the Imperial Sceptre, and left his own Son (in all respects a most sober and pious Prince,) his Successor in the Empire. (k) He, being from the very beginning forthwith proclaimed Supreme Emperor and *Augustus* by the Soldiers, declared himself to be an Emulator of his Fathers reverend regard towards our Religion. Such was the Conclusion of their Lives, which happened to the forementioned four Emperors, at different times. (l) Moreover, of them \* he only (whom (m) we mentioned a little before) (m) made the foresaid Confession, and (together with (n) those who were afterwards taken in to be his Colleagues with him in the Empire) made it publicly known to all Men by an Edict proposed in writing.

(i) These following words are taken out of Chap. 13. B. 8.

(k) *Constantine the Great*.

(l) *Εὐλαβὴς*.

So *Rob.*

*Stephens* 2.

*Valesius*, 4.

*Εὐλαβὴς*.

\* *Galerius*.

17. B. 8.

(n) Who were *Constantinus*, and *Licinius* or *Licinius*.

See Chap. 17. Book 8.

Dioctian.

## EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS BOOK

Dioctian.

Concerning the

## MARTYRS of PALESTINE.

(a) Before I had looked into any of the MSS. I thought these words were added by Rob. Stephens, who in some Copies had found these two Supplements of the 8th Book. But when I had perceived that the same words occurred in all the MSS. I afterwards compelled by all ways imaginable to believe that all those MSS. were transcribed from one and the same Copy. Moreover, this Second Supplement is nothing else but Eusebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine; which appears from the words at the end of this Supplement. For in the *Mar.* and *Alex.* MSS. these words occur there; *ἡ ἑξῆς τῆς Παναγίας ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων παλαιστίνης βιβλίον* i. e. the End of Eusebius Pamphilus's [Book] concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. Valef.

**I**T was the Nineteenth Year of Dioctian's Empire, the Month *Xanthicus*, which the Romans call *April*; Flavianus being Governor of the Province of *Palestine*; in which Year, to wit, when the Feast of the Salutary Passion was at hand, the Edicts on a sudden were everywhere set forth, commanding the Churches to be pulled down to the Ground, and the Scriptures to be consumed with Fire; and ordering, that such as were promoted to Honours should be Degraded; and that the ordinary sort of the 8th People, if they persisted in a Resolution of retaining the Profession of Christianity, should be deprived of their Liberty. Such was the Vehemency of the first Edict against us. But not long after, other Rescripts were brought, wherein order was given, that all Prelates of the Churches every-where, should first be put into Bonds; and afterwards compelled by all ways imaginable to offer Sacrifice.

that all those MSS. were transcribed from one and the same Copy. Moreover, this Second Supplement is nothing else but Eusebius's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine; which appears from the words at the end of this Supplement. For in the *Mar.* and *Alex.* MSS. these words occur there; *ἡ ἑξῆς τῆς Παναγίας ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν μαρτύρων παλαιστίνης βιβλίον* i. e. the End of Eusebius Pamphilus's [Book] concerning the Martyrs of Palestine. Valef.

## C H A P. I.

Concerning Procopius, Alphaeus, and Zaccheus, Martyrs.

(a) The same Relation is in a Confinement in Prison, was (c) immediately upon his very first arrival brought before the President's Seat of Judicature. And being commanded to offer Sacrifice to those [by the Gentiles,] of Palestine, (b) before he had experienced the Passions of Procopius the first of the Martyrs that appeared in Palestine was Procopius, &c. From whence 'tis evident, that those Acts were translated out of the Greek Copy of Eusebius into Latin. To make this more manifestly apparent, it will in no wise be unutil, to insert here the entire Acts. For many things now our knowledge are contained in them, which neither Baronius nor Nölsken happened to have a sight of. We have transcribed them from a most ancient MS. belonging to the *Ninth-century* Monastery, which is now in the Hands of that Learned Person *Claudian Joly*, Canon of the Church at Paris. Their Contents are these:

The Passion of S. Procopius the Martyr, who suffered under Fabianus the President, on the fourth of the Nones of August.

The first of the Martyrs that appeared in Palestine was Procopius: A Person [full] of Celestial Grace, who before his Martyrdom ordered his Life, so that from his very Childhood he applied his Mind to Chastity, and a virtuous Conversation. He so consecrated his Body, that 'twas, judg'd to be al-

most dead. But he comforted his Mind with such Divine Words, that he infused Strength and Courage into his Body, by this Rejection of his Mind. Bread and Water was his Food and Drink: He fed only on these; which he would forsake for, two, or three, sometimes for seven days together, and then return to that his Food again. Also, a Meditation on Divine Expressions had bound up his Mind so fast, that he continued indefatigable in it Night and Day. He made himself in high Example of Courtesy and Meekness, in Divine Matters; He had also attained to competency in external Accomplishments. His original Extract he had at Elia [i. e. Jerusalem]; But by Courtesy and Habitation he was a Scythopolitan. He served in three Offices in that Church; one was that of a Reader, another consisted in his Interpretation of the Syrian Tongue; and the third was an Impression of Hands, to cast out Devils. And when he (together with his Companion) was sent from Scythopolis to Caesarea, he was led from the very Gates to the President; and before he had experienced the Miseries of Imprisonment and Bonds, he was upon his very first arrival commanded by Flavianus the President, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. But with a loud voice he answered that there was not a Multiplicity of Gods, but One Maker and Framer of all things. The President, smitten with that Expression of his, and being wounded in his own Conscience, assented to what he said. And, bestowing himself to other Arguments, [persuaded him] to Sacrifice at least but to the Emperors. But the Holy Martyr of God, desisting what he said, repeated that Passage of Homer:—It is not good [to have] many Lords, but there be one Lord, one King. Which words being heard, it being supposed that he spoke something that was of ill consequence to the Emperors, by the President's command he was led to Execution; and being Beheaded, had an entrance into a Celestial Life, or found a compendium may into Heaven, on the seventh day of Dehus, that is, the Month July, which amongst the Romans is called the Nones of July, in the first Year of the Persecution against us. This was the first Martyrdom that was consummated in Caesarea, our Lord Jesus Christ Reigning, to whom be Honour and Glory for ever and ever, Amen. These Acts are also extant in two MSS. belonging to the Library of St. Germans. Valef.

(b) The foregoing Acts of the Passion of St. Procopius renders this Passage almost word for word, thus; *Primumque carceris vel vinculorum experire angustias, before he had experienced the miseries of Imprisonment and Bonds*: By which words the Cruelty of the Judge is signified. For the Roman Presidents were wont first to imprison those Offenders that were apprehended and brought before them, and to interrogate them afterwards at their leisure. Valef.

(c) The foregoing Acts word this Passage thus; *In ipso ingressu suo in iudice Flaviano ante sacrificium impellitur*; i. e. He was upon his very first arrival, commanded by Flavianus the President, to offer Sacrifice to the Gods. Many things are here omitted in the Greek Text of Eusebius, which must be made perfect by those Acts in Latin (the Translation whereof we have before inserted.) For when Eusebius had here said expressly, that Procopius upon his first arrival was brought before the Judge, he adds nothing concerning the place from whence he came, where he was apprehended, or to what place he was brought: Nothing of which ought to have been omitted. Besides, Eusebius does accurately relate the Decent and Country of other Martyrs mentioned in this Book; and if any of them had attained any degree of Ecclesiastick Honour, he does usually take notice of that also. But of this Person (who was the Chief, and Leader of all the Palestine Martyrs) we see no such Remarks made. This, 'tis probable, was not the fault of Eusebius, but of his Expressors. For, in the Latin Acts, which, as we before evidenced, were translated out of Eusebius, all these Circumstances are manifestly declared. See the Translation of the Latin Acts, in Note (a.) in this Chapter. Valef.

stified Gods, he said that he knew but one only God, to whom Sacrifice was to be offered, according to that manner which he himself had appointed. But when he was bidden to Sacrifice to the four Emperors, having uttered a Sentence which was in no wise pleasing to them (that which he said, was these words of the Poet [to Homer]; It is not good [to have] many Lords, but there be one Lord, one King) he was

*Diocletian*, was forthwith beheaded, (d) on the eighth day of the month (e) *Deifus*, that is ( f as the Romans stile (d) The) before the seventh of the Ides of *June*, on

Latin Copies do vary a little here: In *Claudius Joly's* Copy (the Translation of which you have in Note (a.) in this Chapter,) the words are, *Deifus Septima Julii mensis, que nonas Julias dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. on the seventh day of *Deifus*, [that is the ] month *July*, among the Romans is called the *Nones of July*: In the two MSS. Copies belonging to the Library of *St. Germanus*, the Reading is thus, *Dies erat Septima Julii mensis, que 7. Idus Julii dicitur apud Latinos*; i. e. It was the seventh day of the Month *July*, which amongst the Romans is called the seventh of the Ides of *July*: In the Greek Text of our *Eusebius* here; the words are these, *αὐτὸς ἡμέρῃ 8ης τοῦ μηνὸς Δεφίου, τὸν ὅστις ἐστὶν ἡ 7ῆς ἰδέων τοῦ μηνὸς Ἰουλίου*; (as the Romans stile it) before the seventh of the Ides of *June*. By their words in the Latin Copies of the MSS. in *St. Germanus's* Library, the Title before *Claudius Joly's* Copy of these *Acts* is to be amended, where 'tis said *Procopius* suffer'd on the seventh of the *Nones of August*. Notwithstanding, in all the Martyrologies, the Martyrdom of *Procopius* is fit on the eighth of the Ides of *July*. The Greeks also celebrate the Memory of the Great Martyr *Procopius* on the same day; it may be seen in their *Martyrium*. But that *Procopius* is a different person from ours, although he was born at *Jerusalem*, and suffer'd at the same time almost; and in the same City, as our *Procopius* did. For our *Procopius* was a Reader, and an Exorcist, as *Eusebius* attests: But the other was a Captain of *Egypt*. The first *Procopius* was a Christian from his Childhood; the second was at first a Whiplapper of *Demons*. Our *Procopius* was beheaded, having suffered no Tortures, and so crowned with *Martyrdom* by a most unaccountable and cruel manner of death. The other *Procopius* suffer'd a tedious and most cruel *Martyrdom*, having undergone most horrid tortures under two Presidents of *Palestine*, *Jussus* and *Flavianus*. Upon which account he is reckon'd by the Greeks amongst the *Μεγαλομάρτυρες*. Great-Martyrs: See Book 6. Chap. 32. Note (b.) Lastly, our *Procopius* was taken at *Sycharopolis*, brought to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and there beheaded. The other was apprehended in *Egypt*, and Martyr'd in *Cæsarea*, a City of *Phœnicia* (which was also call'd *Tamara*) if we may believe *Simon Metaphrastes*. Valf.

(f) It is, I perceive, taken for granted amongst all Men, that the Months of the *Syro-Macedonian* years were wholly the same with the *Julian* Months, from that time when *Julius Cæsar* publish'd his Year. For *Salazar* and our *Petravius* do in many places affirm this; and the only difference (as they say) was, that the *Syro-Macedonian* began their Year from *Oscher*. But there are many things which make me dissent from their Opinion. For first, *Bede*, (in his *Ephemeris*, and in his Book *De ratione Temporum*) says, that the Months of the Greeks he got from *Apollonius*, which answers to *Dionysius*. But *Apollonius*, in his *Life of Euphrasius*, Bishop of *Gaza*, attests, that those of *Gaza* began their Year from the Month *Dius*. For these are his words at pag. 1390. *Primo mensis qui ab eis vocatur Dios, deinde etiam secundus, qui dicitur Apellus*, i. e. In the first month which they call *Dius*, then also in the second which is termed *Apellus*. The Emperor *Julianus* (in *Antiochia*) confirms this, where he expressly says, that *Lous* was the tenth month amongst the *Syrians*. Now, if they began their Year from *Oscher*, then *Lous* (which answers to *August*) would be the eleventh month, but the eleventh month. The same is manifest by *Julianus* (in *Antiochia*, pag. 70.) in these words, *ὁ μηνὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις ἐστὶν ὁ καλεῖται ἐν τοῖς ὁμοῖς ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις*; ὁ μηνὸς αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις ἐστὶν ὁ καλεῖται ἐν τοῖς ὁμοῖς ἑξήκοντα ἡμέραις; i. e. The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philias* again. Then came the Calends of *January*. (For, in my Notes on Book 23. of *Ammonius Marcellinus*, pag. 255, I have shewn that the *μηνὸς αὐτὸν* signifies the same with the Calends of *January*, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of the God *Genius* (as Concerning the Temple of this God *Genius* at *Antioch*, see *Eusebius's* Hist. Book 1. Chap. 16.) There passing by the ominous day, he renewed his vows in the Temple of *Jupiter Philias* according to the custom of his *Antiochians*. Seeing therefore *Julianus* attests, that the New-Moon of the *Syrians* Year did a little precede the Calends of *January*; it is manifest that the beginning of the *Roman* and *Syrian* Year was not the same. But, it may be plainly collected from the same place of *Julianus*, that *Dius* was the first Month of the Year amongst the *Antiochians*: For *Julianus* says, that on the Calends of the first Month of the *Syrians*, he went to the Temple of *Jupiter*, to sacrifice, because their first Month was fac'd to *Jupiter*, and received its name from him. For it was call'd *Διὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς*, from *Jupiter*: And the first Month was rightly call'd after his name, who was thought to be the principal cause, and origin of all things. Now if *Oscher* were the first Month of the *Syrian* Year, that passage in *Julianus* would have been impertinent. For, when the *Antiochians* would deride *Julian*, for his assiduity in worshipping the Gods, they produce the example thereof; [The Calends of the *Syrians* were come, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of *Jupiter Philias* again: Then came the Calends of *January*, and *Cæsar* goes to the Temple of the God *Genius*.] There must therefore necessarily be some little space of time between the Calends of the *Syrians*, and the *Romans*, that so *Julian* might deservedly be derided by the *Antiochians* for his too frequent offering of Sacrifice. It is therefore necessary, that either *Apellus* must have been the first Month amongst the *Syrians*, (which is *Bede's* Opinion), or else *Dius*. Thus far concerning the beginning

of the *Syro-Macedonian* Year; which we have demonstrated to be different from the beginning of the *Julian* Year. We will now enquire into the *Syro-Macedonian* Months, and see whether they began and ended at the same time that the *Roman* Months did. Indeed, this place in *Eusebius* does plainly shew, that the beginning of the Months amongst the *Syrians* and *Romans* was not the same. For it makes the eighth Day of the Month *Deifus* to be the same with the seventh of the Month *June*. Therefore the *Syrian* Month *Deifus* began one Day before the *Roman* Month *June*. Moreover, *Marius* (in the *Life of Porphyrius*) affirms, that the Months of the Inhabitants of *Gaza* preceded the *Roman* Months five Days. His words are these, *Pluit autem Dominus, &c. Our Lord sent a continued Rain from the eighth day of the Month Audynus to the tenth. Now Audynus amongst the Romans is January. For their Months precede the Roman Months five Days. But on the eighth day we celebrated the Feast of the Epiphany, professing God. From which words 'tis apparent, that the beginning of the Months amongst those of *Gaza* was almost the same with the beginning of them amongst the *Egyptians*. Further, *Epiphanius* (in his Book *De Ponderib.* Chap. 20.) makes the sixteenth day of May the same with the twenty-third of the *Grecian* Month *Artemisius*. The Form for the Months amongst the *Tyrrians* was different from this; they made use of the *Macedonian* Account of the Months. For, in the *Acts at Tyre* (which are related in the Ninth *Act* of the Council of *Calcedon*) the tenth Day of the Month *Perisius* is confounded with the twenty-fifth of *February*: And in the fifth *Act* Council. *Constatinus*, sub. *Mene*, the twenty-eighth Day of the *Tyrian* Month *Lous* is said to have been the sixteenth Day of the *Roman* Month *September*. From all this it may be concluded, that the Account of the whole Year, and of the Months, was not of one and the same form amongst the *Syrians*. For those of *Gaza* computed them after one way, those of *Tyre* after another, and those of *Cæsarea* used them a third manner. But, I am fully persuaded, that the *Cæsareans* used Months, wholly computed after the *Julian* Form. For, in all places of this Book of *Eusebius's* concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, wherever mention is made of the *Macedonian* Months amongst the *Cæsareans*, (the mention whereof does frequently occur in it;) the Days of those Months do always agree with the Days of the *Roman* Months; excepting this only place in this first Chapter. Therefore, I think, that the Reading in the Text of *Eusebius* here should be thus, *8ης ἡμέρας Ἰδίων, on the seventh Day of the Month Deifus*. Valf.*

(f) the fourth Day of the Week. This was the *Diocletian*, first *Martyrdom* that was consummated at *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*: But after him, very many Pre-*Diocletian* of Churches in that Province, having at the same time cheerfully undergone most grievous tortures, exhibited to the Spectators a relation of it, on the illustrious Combats. But others, dispirited by the fear of their fear, were immediately discouraged at the very first attack made against them. Every one of the rest underwent various and inter-changeable sorts of tortures: One was scourged with innumerable stripes, another was rack'd with the Pleth of his Sides scarp'd off with Iron Nail-staves, and was loaded with an insupportable burthen of

ent Christians having received a full Account of the seven Days of the Week from the *Jews*, named them as they did. Therefore they called them the first of the Sabbath, the second of the Sabbath, &c. *Tertullian* in his Book *De juminis*. Sometimes they called them *feria*: *Feria* is the same with *Sabbath*. Therefore, as the *Jews* termed the Week-days the first, the second, the third of the Sabbath; and so on to the seventh-day, which they called the Sabbath; so the ancient Christians termed them the first, second, and third *Feria*, &c. making an alternation only in this, that they did not keep the Sabbath-day holy, as did the *Jews*; but observ'd their Sabbath on the first day of the Sabbath, which they also call'd *Sabbat*, or the Lord's-Day. So *Isidore* in his Book, *De Naturæ Rerum*, Chap. 3. *Bede* (in his Book *De Ratione Temporum*) says the Week-days were call'd *Feria*, because the Clergy-men, by the Decree of Pope *Sylvester*, were order'd to keep every day holy. But this Opinion cannot be true; for the Days of the Week were call'd *Feria* long before Pope *Sylvester's* time, as *Tertullian* informs us. Moreover, not only the Christians, but the Gentiles also received the Computation of the Week from the *Jews*, as *Isidore* informs us, in the Close of his last Book against *Arianism*. But the *Gentiles* call'd the first Week by the names of the seven Planets; which names continue still in use amongst most Nations, being as it were certain Reliques of the ancient Error of the Gentile: See *Tertullian* in his Book *Ad Nationes*. Valf. The Ecclesiastical Year of old began at Easter, the first Week whereof was all Holyday, the Days being distinguish'd by *prima*, *secunda*, *tertia*, &c. added unto *Feria*. From thence the Days of any other Week began to be call'd *Feria prima*, *secunda*, &c. See Mr. *Jo. Gregory of Oxford*, in his *Tract De ævi & Spæchis*, Chap. 5. The Original of the Names, which we in England give to the Days of the Week, may be seen in *Vergerius Antiquitates*, pag. 68, &c. Edit. Antwerp, 1604.

\* Πρώτη αὐτῶν, were termed *primus Martirium*, the first *Martyrdom*: So the *Latin Acts* render it; whence it appears, the Translator thereof did read *μαρτυρίον*. Valf.

*Dioclesian*, Bonds, by reason of which some happen'd to have [the Sinews] of their Hands weakened and made feeble. Nevertheless they all endured whatever befel them agreeable to the secret Judgment of God. For one being taken by the Hand by some others, who led him to the Altar, and thrust the impure and detestable Sacrifice into his Right Hand, was dismiss'd, as if he had Sacrificed. Another, who had not in any wise touch'd [the Sacrifice,] yet when others affirmed that he had sacrific'd, went silently away. A third, taken up half-dead, was cast forth as if he had been so really; and being loosed from his Bonds, was computed amongst their number who had offer'd Sacrifice. A fourth, crying out, and making protestation that he would not perform what he was enjoy'd by them to do, was stricken on the Mouth, and being silenc'd by a great company of persons purposely appointed upon that account, was forcibly thrust out, altho' he had not sacrific'd. \* So highly did they every way esteem their being thought to have perfected what they desired! Of all these therefore, who were so numerous, only *Alphesus* and *(g) Zacheus* obtain'd the Crown of Holy Martyrdom: Who, after they were scourged, and had their Flesh scraped off with Torturing-Irons, when they had endured most grievous Bonds and cruciating Pains therein, after various other tortures they were put into the Stocks, where for four and twenty hours space their feet were distended to the fourth hole, and having confess'd that there was but one only God, and one King Jesus Christ, as if they had utter'd something that was blasphemous and impious, they underwent the same sort of punishment with the first Martyr [*Procopius*,] and were beheaded on the seventeenth day of the Month *Dius*, which day amongst the *Romans* is before the fiftieth of the *Calends* of *December*.

*(g) He was a Deacon of the Church of Gadara* Concerning whom we have this passage in the *Martyrology* at the 18th of November: The commemoration of the Holy Martyr *Michaeus*, *Deacon* of *Gadara*, and *Alphesus*. The blessed *Zacheus* was led before the Tribunal, having an heavy Iron-Chain about his Neck. *Vale!*

## C. H. A. P. II.

## Concerning Romanus the Martyr.

*(a) The Greeks, in their Account, make mention of two Romanus's both Martyrs: the one, they say, was condemned by Alcibiades the Prefect at Antioch, in the Reign of Galerius: The other was a Deacon of Gadara (concerning whom Eusebius here speaks) who, as they affirm, suffered under Dioclesian. But, in as much as they confess, that both of them suffered on one and the same day, for they affirm that both of them had their Tongues cut out, that they both spoke after they were cut out, and that both of them were afterwards strangled in prison, 'tis plain, that the Greeks mistake in their making of them two distinct Martyrs. I wonder that this Opinion of theirs should please *Romanus* in his *Notes on the Martyrology*. If there were two Martyrs called by the same name, to wit, *Romanus*, and if they both suffered Martyrdom on the same day at *Antioch*, why does *Eusebius* mention but one here? It will perhaps be answered, that *Eusebius* was resolv'd to speak of the Martyrs of *Palestine* only in this Book, and therefore that he only mentioned *Romanus* the Deacon, because he was a *Palestinian*. But *Eusebius* has made mention of this Martyr in another place, to wit, in his *second Book concerning the Resurrection and Ascension of Christ*, where he acknowledges but one *Romanus* who was Martyr'd at *Antioch*. *Vale!**

*(b) Amongst the Primitive Christians, especially in the smaller Towns, because the Clergy were few in number, one and the same Clergy-man performed two or three Offices. Hence 'tis, that in the *Acts* of *Procopius* the Martyr, (which are related before) *Procopius* is said to have born three Offices at the same time in the Church of *Synopolis*, to wit, the Office of a Reader, of an Interpreter, and of an Exorcist. After the same manner therefore *Romanus* was both a Deacon, and also an Exorcist in the Church of *Gadara*. See *Petrus Author Question. Vero. 3. Novi Testamenti*, Chap. 101. *Vale!**

*(c) Exorcist in the Church of Caesarea: Coming to Antioch at that very time when the Churches were demolish'd; and having seen many (d) Men, Women, and Children flocking in Crowds to the Temples of the Idols, and offering Sacrifice, he judg'd the sight thereof to be a thing intolerable, and being incited by a Zeal for the Divine Worship, he drew near; and crying out with a loud voice, [began] to rebuke them. Being forthwith apprehended upon account of this his boldness, he demonstrated himself (if ever any other person did) to be a most courageous Witness of the Truth. For, when the Judge had condemn'd him to be burnt to death, having gladly received his sentence of Condemnation with a cheerful Countenance and a Mind most courageously dispos'd, he was led to execution. Then being bound to the Stake, and the combustible matter being laid together, whilst the Officers, that were about to kindle the Fire, waited for the Determination of the (e) Emperor who was then present, he cried out, where am I this, he was by command brought before the Emperor, in order to his being punished with a new sort of Punishment, [to wit,] the cutting out of his Tongue. Having most courageously endured this punishment, he gave a real Demonstration to all Men, that the Divine Power is always present with those who undergo any sort that they of Torture whatsoever for Religion, which does mitigate their Pains, and corroborate them with an alacrity of Mind. This courageous person therefore being sensible of the newness of his punishment, was in no wise terrified, but willingly put forth his Tongue, and with a most cheerful alacrity produced it to those who cut it out. After which punishment he was put into Bonds, and being for a long time afflicted in prison, in conclusion (when the (f) twentieth year*

*(d) Many of those persons had renounced Christ, as Eusebius declares in his second Sermon concerning the Resurrection; where he speaks of the Tortures inflicted on Romanus, which he mentions not here. Vale!*

*(e) I suppose he means Galerius Caesar; For Dioclesian made his abode then at Nicomedia. The Caesars, like Apparitors and Officers, went all over the Bounds of their own District. Indeed, in that Year when the Persecution began, Dioclesian lived (together with Galerius) at Nicomedia, in April, as Eusebius attests in his eighth Book. Also, a little after the Persecution began, when the Imperial Palace at Nicomedia was burnt by Lightning, Dioclesian was at that City, as Constantius informs us in his Oratio Ad Ceterum Sanctorum. Wherefore he could not be at Antioch, when Romanus was condemned to be burnt; which happened about the beginning of the Persecution. For Romanus was strangled at the 14th of the Calends of December, after he had lain in prison five Months, as Eusebius here attests. Vale!*

*(f) This place is in an especial manner to be taken notice of, because it most evidently declares the Year wherein Dioclesian's Persecution began. For Eusebius says, that in the first year of the Persecution the Emperor's Vicennalia (i. e. the Festivals for his having arrived to the twentieth year of his Reign) were kept; which can only fall on that year, wherein Dioclesian was the eighth time Consul, and Maximian the tenth. For, in this year (which was the year of Christ 303.) Dioclesian's twentieth year was begun at the fiftieth of the Calends of October; that being the first of Dioclesian's Reign, Carinus II. and Numerianus Coll in the year of Christ 284; as 'tis set forth in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But, there arises no small difficulty from what Eusebius here says, to wit, that Romanus suffered Martyrdom on the seventeenth day of November, when Dioclesian's Vicennalia were kept. Whence it seems to follow, that the first day of Dioclesian's Reign must have been in the month of November, and not in September, as the *Alexandrian Chronicle* attests. Wherefore, 'tis necessary, that either in our Eusebius, or else in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, the name of the month should be mistaken. Unless we say, that Dioclesian's Vicennalia were kept at Antioch not on the same day which was the first of his Empire, but a little later. Eusebius indeed says (in his *Chronicon*) that Constantine's Vicennalia were kept at Nicomedia, and in the following year celebrated at Rome.*

*Disquisition.* of the Emperor's Reign was come, wherein, (g) according to the usual indulgence, liberty was publicly proclaim'd to all persons in all places that were in bonds, he only, lying in the Stocks, and having both his Feet defended to the distance of five holes, was strangled, and (according to his desire) was adorn'd with [the Crown of] Martyrdom. This person being a *Palestinian*, altho' he suffered [Martyrdom] without the limits of his own Country, yet deserves to be reckon'd amongst the Martyrs of *Palestine*. These things were after this manner performed in the first year of the Persecution, when it rag'd against the Prelates only of the Church.

*Crimes* must be discharged from their imprisonment; the Emperor's Edict being set forth for that purpose, which they called an *Indulgentia*. See the *Con. Theodof. tit. de indulgentia criminum*. Valef.

## C H A P. III.

Concerning Timotheus, Agapius, Thecla, and Eight other Martyrs.

AFTERWARDS, in the second Year, when the rage of the Persecution against us was become more violent and sharp, *Urbanus* being at that time Governour of the Province, the Imperial Edicts having been then first brought, wherein it was by a general command order'd, that all persons in all places and Cities whatsoever should publicly offer Sacrifice and Incense to the Idols; *Timotheus* underwent innumerable tortures at *Gaza*, a City of *Palestine*: After all which he was consumed by a remiss and slow Fire, and having exhibited a most genuine proof of his sincere Piety towards God, by a patient suffrance under all his torments, he obtain'd the Crown belonging to the sacred and victorious Champions of Religion. *Agapius* also, and that *Thecla* (a) who lived in our times, having (together with the fore-said *Timotheus*) given a demonstration of their most undaunted Courage and Steadfastness of Mind, were condemn'd to be devour'd by Wild-Beasts. Who is he that would not have wonder'd at the sight of what follow'd hereupon, or that would not have been astonish'd at the hearing a relation thereof? For when the Heathens celebrated their publick Festivals, and [exhibited] their usual Shows; there was a great report, that (b) together with those others whom they had a mighty esteem for, the [Christians] also, lately condemn'd, were to be expos'd to a Combat with the Wild-Beasts [in the Amphitheatre]. This report therefore being increased and spread

(a) These words [of] *Thecla*, who lived in our times, are not without reason, added by *Eusebius*. For by them it was his intent to manifest, that this *Thecla* should be distinguished.

gilted from the other *Thecla*, who was Companion to St. Paul the Apostle. In the *Martyrdom*, at the 19th of August, this *Thecla* is called, a *Berytina*, *Berytus*; the meaning whereof I know not. For this *Thecla* here spoken of was a *Palestinian*, not born at *Berytus* a City of *Tyberia*. Yet, it may be, this *Thecla* was a *Theriacan*; for neither were all those, whose Martyrdoms *Eusebius* here relates, *Palestinians*; nor does he in this Book, treat of the Martyrs in the masculine gender, who suffered Martyrdom in *Palestine*. Valef.

(b) The reading here is, *ἐν τῇ ἀλυσὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀγῶνισαν*; our Rendition whereof is, together with those others whom they had a great esteem for. *Chrysostom* read *ἐν ἀλλοῖς*, but took it in the neuter gender; for thus he has rendered it; *inter aliaque magnopere ipsi in opatione erant ad contemplandum, amongst other things, which they had a great esteem for the spectators of*. I suppose it to be spoken in the masculine gender; and that he means those more eminent *Berytians*, who amongst the Grecians were termed *ἀγῶνας*, i.e. the stoutest and strongest sort of Men, who set themselves out to combat with the Wild-Beasts before the People in the Amphitheatre. Such a one was he, whom the People in the Amphitheatre at *Constantinople* call for, in these Words, *Ὁ τῶν ἀγῶνων ἀγῶνας ἀγῶνας*; which Words *Cassiodorus* [interprets]. *Lib. 2.* this renders, *exultet bestia arteque parabolis compansatur*. Valef.

every-where, six Youths, whereof one was born *Disquisition.* in *Pontus*, by name *Timolus*, another born at *Tripolis* a City of *Phœnicia*, whose name was *Dionysius*, the third was Sub-Deacon of the *Disquisition.* Church, his name *Romulus*; besides the two Egyptians, (c) *Panfilus* and *Alexander*; and another *Alexander* (c) In the *ander*, Name like to the former, born at *Gaza*: *Maz.* and *Mod.* MSS. [these six young Men, I say,] having first bound their Hands together, that they might thereby manifest their great readiness and alacrity to [undergo] Martyrdom, ran in great haste to *Urbanus*, as he was going to the Amphitheatre, and confess'd themselves to be Christians: And, by their being prepared to [endure] all sorts of tortures, they demonstrated, that they who make their boast in the Worship of the supreme God, can in no wise be terrified at the furious assaults of the Wild-Beasts. The President himself, and those who are called *Publici*, stood round him, having been forthwith struck with no small amazement, [these Confessors] were [order'd to be] shut up in prison. Nor many days after two others being added to their number, (one whereof, by name *Agapius*, having before them undergone horrid and various sorts of tortures, had formerly been [signalized] for several Confessions: The other mingled boldly necessities to them, his name *Dionysius*) all these, being now made up eight in number, were beheld on one and the same day at *Cæsarea*, [to wit,] on the twenty fourth Day of the Month *Dysmus*, which precedes the ninth of the *Calends* of April. At the same time happen'd a change of the Emperors, he that had the precedency of all the rest and the next to him in place, [having left off their Imperial attire] put themselves into a private habit: And the Affairs of the Empire began to be in an ill posture. The *Roman* Empire being soon after divided, there brake out an implacable War between [the *Romans*] themselves: Neither could the Divisions, and (which were the Consequences thereof) the tumults be made up and appeas'd, before the *Christians* throughout the whole *Roman* Empire had a Peace raised and firm'd to them. For, as soon as this Peace (like Light after a cloudy and most darksome Night,) drest forth its Rays upon all Men, the publick Affairs of the *Roman* Empire were again restor'd to their pristine Sabidity, Amity, and Peaceableness; all persons recovering that mutual Friendliness which had been deriv'd from them from their Ancestors. But we will give an exact account of these matters at a more opportune place and time. Now we are to prosecute the subsequent Series of our Narration.

## C H A P. IV.

Concerning Apphianus the Martyr.

*Maximinus Caesar*, (a) from the very time of *Maximian's* his coming to the Empire, (as if he would demonstrate to all Men the tokens of his innate hatred against God, and of his own impiety,) (a) *Christophorus* has rendered attempted a more violent Persecution against those of our Religion, than the preceding Emperors

he translates it, *Maximinus Caesar*, who by his own power and strength had possess'd himself of the Empire: As if *ὑποκρίναι*, which is the Greek term here, signified, by his own power and strength. Indeed, *Maximinus* proclaimed himself *Augustus*, as our *Eusebius* relates in Chap. 12. Book 8. But he was made *Cæsar* by *Galerius Maximianus*. Moreover, *Eusebius* speaks here of *Maximinus*, whilst he was only *Cæsar*, and of the time when he had that title first conferred on him, to wit, in the second year current of the persecution, immediately after the resignation of *Diocletianus*, and *Eleutherius*. The import therefore of *Eusebius's* words



words is this, that *Maximinus*, as soon as he was made *Cæsar*, shewed a proof of his impiety, by a most cruel Persecution of the Christians. Wherefore [αὐτῶν] must be rendered [from the very time.] Now, *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar* in the year of Christ 304, on the *Calends* of *April*, as *Idatius* (in *fastis*) declares: Which agrees very well with the account here given by our *Eusebius*. For he relates that *Maximinus* (after the Renovation of *Dioclesian*) was created *Cæsar* in the second year of the Persecution; immediately after which promotion (that he might shew his Power) he renewed the Persecution against the Christians. But this must not be understood of that very year, where-in *Maximinus* was made *Cæsar*: For during that year (Affairs being then in Confusion, and *Galarius* scarce well settled in the Empire) *Maximinus* was quiet. Therefore *Eusebius* mentions no Martyrdoms in *Palestine* during that year. But in the year following, which was the third of the Persecution, *Maximinus* set forth his Edicts against the Christians, and renewed the Persecution, as *Eusebius* expressly relates in this Chapter. *Val.*

[had done.] When therefore no small Iniquitude was imputed on all persons, and they were dispersed some in one place some in another, every one making it his chief business to avoid the danger, and all the Provinces were involved in a most terrible commotion, where expressions can be sufficient for us deservedly to set forth the divine love, and the bold and free confession of God, made by that blessed and truly innocent Lamb, *Apphianus* the Martyr, who exhibited an admirable example of Piety towards the only God, in the sight of all the Inhabitants of *Cæsarea*, (b) before the Gates of that City, when he had not fully completed the twentieth year of his age? Indeed, whilst he resided at *Berytus*, where he had formerly spent much time upon account of [furnishing himself with] (c) secular Literature, (d) he had his descent from very rich Parents: It is wonderful to relate how, during his continuance in that City, he subdued youthful Lusts: And having in no wise been debauch'd in his Morals, either by the vigour and youthfulness of his Body, or the society of his young Companions, he became a lover of temperance; leading an orderly, chaste, and religious life, according to the (e) Precepts of Christianity, and framing his Convert [agreeable thereto.] If it be [supposed] convenient that we should mention his Country, and commend it, because it produced so courageous a Champion of Piety; we will most readily do it. If any one therefore knows (e) *Palestina*, a City of no mean note in *Lybia*; therewith this young man was born. After his return from his studies at *Berytus*, (his Father being promoted to the chiefest place of Honour in his own Country, he was unable to endure the converse of his Father, and thence that were his Relations, be-

cause they refused to live according to the Sanctions of Religion: But having been inspired as it were by a Divine Spirit, and (by reason of his innate desire after Philosophy, or rather after the divine and true Wisdom) making small account of the reputed Glory of this Life, and contemplating the Delights of the Body, he secretly withdrew himself from his Relations: And being not at all sollicitous about a daily provision for his subsistence, because of his hope and faith in God, he was led by the Hand [as it were] to the City of *Cæsarea*, by the Divine Spirit, where the Crown of Martyrdom for Religion awaited him. Being

(f) conversant there with us, having in a short time made a great proficiency by reading the sacred Scriptures, and furnish'd himself with courage of Mind by congruous exercises of a strict and severest abstinence; at length he made such a glorious conclusion of his life, as was ever law could not but be astonish'd thereat; and he that shall hear the bare relation of it, cannot but deservedly admire his confidence, his fearlessness, his continued earnestness and constancy of Mind, and above all the boldness of his attempt, which g) contains most evident signs of a zeal for Religion, and of a Spirit more than human. For when *Maximinus* renew'd the Intolerencies practis'd towards us, in the third year of our Persecution [under *Dioclesian*], and when the Tyrant's Edicts were first sent abroad over all the Provinces, [ordering] the Governors to make it their chief care and business, that all the Inhabitants in every City should publicly offer sacrifice; and when the Criers had

made proclamation over all the City *Cæsarea*, that the Men, together with the Women and Children, should by the Governor's order go to the Temples of the Idols; and moreover when the *Tribunes* of the Soldiers had summon'd every particular person by name out of a written Roll; (all the [Christians] every-where being put into confusion by this unspeakable storm of Afflictions) this foresaid person, (having communicated to no body what he was about to do, it being unknown to us who lived in the same House with him, and even to the whole military Guard that stood round the Governor,) fearlessly approach'd *Urbanus*, as he was offering Sacrifice; and having with an intrepid Mind catch'd hold on his right Hand, stop'd him immediately from sacrificing. Then, with a divine gravity and confidence of Mind he prudently advis'd and exhorted him to desist from that erroneous way [of worship.] For 'tis absurd [said he] to relinquish [the Worship] of the one and only true God, and offer sacrifice to Idols and Demons. This the young Man attempted, induced thereto ('tis very probable) by a Divine power, which openly proclaimed

(f) *Symeon Metaphrastes*, who professes he transcribed the Martyrdom of *Apphianus* (or, as he calls him, *Amphianus*) out of *Eusebius*, has altered this passage, thus, *And having been conversant with us in divine Studies, and instructed in the sacred Scriptures by the great Martyr Pamphilus, he obtained no mean habit of virtue; by which he opened a passage for himself, whereby he procured the Crown of Martyrdom.* But *Eusebius* attests here, that *Apphianus* was not instructed in the sacred Scriptures by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, but by himself: Which, as I judge, is the truest account. For our *Eusebius* was a Person much learn'd than *Pamphilus*. But the *Menaia* of the Greeks, and the *Menology* set forth by *Cassius*, agree with *Symeon Metaphrastes*: Excepting only in this, which *Metaphrastes* relates, that *Apphianus* (after he was returned from his studies at *Berytus*), when he came to *Cæsarea*, was there instructed by *Pamphilus*. But in the *Menaia*, and in the *Menology*, *Apphianus* (with his Brother *Isidorus*) is said to have been instructed by *Pamphilus* at *Berytus*; no mention being made of *Eusebius*. So careful were the latter Greeks, that the best of Martyrs should not be said to have been instructed by *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who, as they persecuted themselves, was an Heretic. *Val.*

(g) The reading I judge, should be [ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς παλαιᾶς, ἥτις καὶ τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκείνον ἐκείνην ἔπεισε, ἀποφύγειν τὴν λατρίαν.] *Val.*

(a) *Idatius* in his *Fastis*, calls it *Idatius*, the knowledge whereof was not till the year 1600, when the *Menology*. At *Berytus* he was a scholar of the Law, a many have taken notice from *Origen* that he was a scholar of *Origen* and others. Hence 'tis, that *Eusebius* has the term *conversant*, that is, *secular*, or *mundane* literature. *Gregorius Nyssenus* (in *de vita*, *Nicolaï ad filium*) calls *Berytus* *de vita* *Origenis*, and so *Origen* was a scholar of *Origen* at *Berytus*. In the *Alexandria* of the Greeks, at the second year of the *Persecution*, with his Brother *Isidorus*, is mentioned to have been made in the Christian Religion by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, at *Berytus*. *Val.*

(b) *Ramus* in his *Fastis*, calls it *Idatius*; which we have rendered, according to the *Menology* of *Constantine*; *Idatius* seems to be put for *Idatius*, *Idatius*, *Idatius*, *Idatius*: Which way of expression is frequently used by *Eusebius*. *Val.*

(c) In the *Menology*, it is called *Apphianus*; in the *Men. MS. Apphianus*, in the *Men. MS. Apphianus*; but in the Margin notice is given that it should be *Idatius*, which is *Idatius*. I never met with any thing concerning *Apphianus*, a City of *Lybia*, where, a City of *Lybia* is mentioned by *Prodicus* and *Stephanus*. And, in the *Constantinopolitan Council*, among the Bishops of the Province of *Lybia*, who subscribed to that Synod, the last that is recounted is *Theophilus*, *Araxenus*; Also in the Synod of *Chalcidon* there is mention of *Leontius* Bishop of the *Araxi*. In the *Menaia* of the Greeks, *Amphianus* is said to have been born in *Lybia*. *Val.*



*Maxim.* most courageously endured various sorts of tortures, he was thrown into the Sea, and ended his life after the same manner that his Brother did. These things happened thus to *Adelfus*, altho' (as I said before) some small time after.

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning the Martyr Agapius.

**M**OREOVER, in the fourth year of the Persecution against us, on the twentieth day of the month *Dius*, (which is before the twelfth of the Calends of December,) being Friday, such [a Martyrdom] was performed in the same City of *Cæsarea*, as worthily deserves to be recorded in writing, *Maximimus* the Tyrant being himself present, and exhibiting publick Shows to the People because of his Birth-day. Whereas it was an ancient custom, that (if at any time) in the presence of the Emperors, splendid Shows and such as were more pleasing to the Mind should be exhibited to the Spectators, (new and strange Spectacles, such as were different from the usual Sights [being at such a time procured, which consisted] partly of Beasts brought out of *India*, *Æthiopia*, or some other place; and partly of Men, who, having before accustomed themselves

(a) He means the *Pantomimi*, *Mimicks* that used antic, filthy, and obscene gestures; the *Pegmasarii*, those that managed the Machines and Images in their Plays; the *Conigieri*, Pole-carriers; and *Funambuli*, Rope-dancers; and such other Artists, which were made use of by those that were at the charge to exhibit shows to the People. See *Claudianus* in his Book, *De Consulatu Theodori*. Valef.

those Sights. What tyr of our Religion but for the only true

(b) At first I thought the reading here should be *τοῦτον* *ἔτος*, in the second year: For to *Eusebius* had said above in Chap. 3. But the vulgar reading [to wit, *ἡ τρίτης*, the second of that name] is best, for he is called *Agapius* the Second, to distinguish him from the former *Agapius*, who had suffered two years before; concerning whom *Eusebius* speaks in the said third Chapter. Valef.

(c) This place is corrupted, and imperfect. *Christophorus* reads, [*Ἀγαπίου δευτέρου, brought out of Prison*], which reading is not amiss. But I think there is a whole line omitted here; which I thus make up, *Ἀγαπίου δευτέρου, ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει καὶ τῷ ἴδιῳ χρόνῳ* [Brought out of Prison] [wherein he had been confined now three years.] *Agapius* was cast into Prison at the beginning of the second year of the Persecution. Therefore, this was the third year of his confinement. Valef.

(d) Concerning the custom of lending the Criminals about the Stadium, see Book 5. Chap. 1. Note (r.)

foretold his Disciples) might be accomplished in him, that they should be brought before Kings for their testimony of him. He is therefore brought

into the midst of the Stadium, together with a certain Criminal, who was said to be guilty of murdering his Master. After this, he who had killed his Master, being exposed to the Wild-Beasts, obtain'd mercy and compassion [from the Emperor,] almost after the same manner that *Barabbas* did in our Saviour's time. At this, the whole *Ambitheatre* resounded with shouts and acclamations of joy, because the Emperor had out of his compassion saved a bloody Murderer, and vouchsafed him Honour and Liberty. But this Champion of Religion is first called for by the Tyrant; after which, having, with the promise of Liberty, desired him to renounce the profession [of Christianity,] he professed with a loud voice, That (not for any crime, but) upon account of the Worship of the Framer of all things, with alacrity and pleasure, he would courageously undergo what [Punishments] soever should be inflicted on him. And, having said thus, he annexed Deeds to his Words, ran to meet a Bear which was let loose against him, and most willingly offer'd himself to be devoured by that Beast. After the Beast had torn him, having some Breath left in him, he was carried back to Prison; where, after he had lived one day, on that following, Stones were hang'd at his Feet, and he was drown'd in the midst of the Sea. Such was the Martyrdom of *Agapius*.

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Virgin Theodosia, and concerning Domininus, and Auxentius, Martyrs.

**M**OREOVER, the fifth year of the Persecution being now current on the second day of the month *Xanthicus*, which is before the fourth of the Nones of April, (a) on the very Lord's-day, the day of our Saviour's Resurrection, and also at *Cæsarea*, (a) In the *Theodosia* a Virgin born at Tyre, one that was a Believer and a most modest Maid, not eighteen years old complete, approach'd some Prisoners, *Theodosia*, (who were Confessors of the Kingdom of Christ, the said and sat before the (b) *Prætorium*,) both to salute them amicably, and also (as 'tis probable) to request them that they would be mindful of her when they came to the Lord. Having done this, as if he had committed some nefarious and impious fact, the Soldiers lay hold of her, and carry her before the President. He, in regard he was a furious person, and one of a most cruel temper of Mind, [ordered] that she should be cruciated with sharp and most horrid tortures, and that her Sides and Breasts [should be furrow'd] to her very Bones; [after this] Breath being still left in her, having with a pleasant and cheerful countenance undergone all these tortures, by the President's command she was drown'd in the Sea. After he had done with her, he went upon [the Examination of] the other Confessors, all whom he condemn'd to the Brazen Mines at *Phoenix* in *Palestine*. Furthermore, on the fifth day of the month *Dius*, that is (according to the Roman account) on the Nones of November, in the same City, to wit, *Cæsarea*, the said President condemn'd *Silvanus* (who then was a Presbyter and a Confessor, but some small time after

suffered not on Easter-day, but only, on a Sunday. Valef.

(b) *αὐτὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ* is so the Greek words it. *Christophorus* renders it, *Ante tribunal constitutus, state before the tribunal*; Which Version I do not approve of. I have rendered it, *before the Prætorium*; i. e. before the palace of the President. For those Prisoners stood before his Palace, waiting, until the President (because when they were to be brought) came forth to the Tribunal. This rendition is confirmed by the following Words. Valef.

was honour'd with a Bishoprick, and happen'd to finish his life by a Bishoprick, and some others that were his Companions (after they had given demonstration of a most resolute courage and constancy in behalf of Religion) to labour in the same Mines of Brags; having first given order, that the *Flexures* of their Feet <sup>†</sup> should be fear'd with a red-hot Iron, and so rendred infirm and useless. At the same time that this sentence was pronounced against 'em, he condemn'd *Domminus* (a Man very famous for innumerable other Confessions, who for his singular freedom [in speaking] was much taken notice of by all persons throughout *Palestine*) to be burnt alive. After he [had been thus punished,] the same Judge, (a crafty Inventor of mischief, and one that studied new Devices and Designs [to extirpate] the Doctrine of Christ,) found out such sorts of punishments for the Worshipers of God, as were never heard of before. He condemn'd three [and compelled them] to (c) fight with one another in such a fort as the Champions usually did: *Auxentius*, a venerable and holy old Man, was by him condemn'd to be devoured by the Wild-Beasts. Again, he [gave order] that some, who were arrived to the

(c) See the following Chapter; from whence we are informed, that those who were condemn'd to such Combats, were delivered to the *Procurators of Caesar*, who caus'd them to practise and exercise daily, that so at last they might be fit to engage in a Combat. *Falsif.*

complete age and stature of Men, should be cut and made Eunuchs, and then condemn'd them to the same Mines. He shut up others in prison, after they had undergone the sharpest Tortures. Amongst which number was *Pamphilus*, my dearest Companion, a person that was the most eminent of all the Martyrs in our age for his singular *Virtue and Piety*: *Urbanus* first made tryal of his skill in Rhetorick and Philosophick Literature, after that he compell'd him to offer sacrifice; which when the Martyr refused to do, and [*Urbanus*] perceived that he despised his menaces, he was exceedingly exasperated, and gave order that he should be tormented with the acutest sorts of torture. Moreover, this most enraged \* Man, (being in a manner satiated with the flesh of the Martyrs sides, which he [had caus'd to be torn off] with torturing-irons, whereof he made a continued and reiterated use, pertinaciously desiring thereby to get the Victory [over the Martyr] having after all these tortures, procur'd nothing but shame and ignominy for himself,) at length order'd him to be cast into prison amongst the other Confessors therein confined. But, what sort of punishment this person (who after so fierce a manner insulted over the Martyrs of Christ,) was to expect, would be inflicted on him at the Divine Tribunal, for his cruelty towards the *Saints*, is easily known from those beginnings [thereof which he underwent] in this life. Immediately after those audacious Cruelties which he had practis'd towards *Pamphilus*, the Divine Vengeance forthwith seiz'd him, whilst he was as yet possess'd of the Government. Which on a sudden, in one night's space, strip'd him (who but the day before sat as Judge upon a lofty Tribunal, was attended with a military Guard, govern'd the whole Province of *Palestine*; who also was Companion to the Tyrant himself, for he was his chief Favourite, and did usually eat at the same Table with him) of all these great places and preferments, and reduc'd him to a disconsolate and helpless condition; clouded him with ignominy and shame in the sight of those very persons, who had formerly admired him as their Governour; propos'd

him to the whole Nation, over which he had been Ruler, as a miserable and dispirited Wretch, pouring forth effeminate Intreaties and Supplications; and lastly, constituted *Maximinus* himself (of whose favour he had in former times bragg'd and boasted, having been dearly beloved by him by reason of the Cruelties he practis'd towards us *Christians*) his inexorable and most severe Judge in the very City of *Cæsarea*. For, after many reproaches, which he suffer'd upon account of those crimes, of which he was convict, the Emperor himself pronounc'd sentence of death against him. But thus much we have said by the by. There may happen a seasonable opportunity, wherein we shall be more at leisure to relate the *Exits* and calamitous Deaths, by which those impious Wretches (especially *Maximinus* and those about him who were his advisers,) that were the greatest Sticklers in the Persecution against us, finish'd their lives.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning other Confessors, and concerning the Martyrdom of Valencina and Paul.

WHEN the Storm [of Persecution] had now without any intermission rag'd against us until the sixth year, [there was] a very great number that were Confessors of the Divine Religion,

who (a) heretofore had liv'd in *Thebais*, at *Porphyrites*, a place that had its appellation from the name of the Marble dug out there: Of which [company] an hundred Men, (wanting three,) together with their Wives and very small Children, were sent to the President of *Palestine*. Concerning all which persons, after they

(a) *αὐτοὶ γὰρ*, heretofore, must be referred to the Verb *ἔζηον*; not to the term [*καθημερίαν*], had its Appellation; as *Christophorus* thought; who renders this place thus; in loco Porphyrite appellato, qui jam antea ex venâ lapidis qua ibi nascitur, nomen duxerat; i. e. in a place called Porphyrites, which had before, gotten its name from a vein of stone, which is there dug out. *Valisf.*

had made their confession of God [the Framer] of all things, and of Christ, *Firmilianus* the President (who was sent thither as Successor to *Urbanus*,) gave order, agreeable to the Emperors command, that they should have those very Sinews of their left Legs, by which they bent their Knees, fear'd in two with red-hot Irons; and that their right Eyes, together with the Membranes and Balls thereof should be first cut out with Swords, and after that [their Eye-holes] scared even to the very bottom with red-hot Irons: After which, he order'd they should be sent to work in the Mines that were in the Province, that they might be worn out there with labours and miseries. Nor did we behold these persons only undergoing such punishments, but those *Palestinians* also; (who, as we manifested a little before, were condemn'd to practise the Champions exercises, in order to their being made fit to engage in the *Gladiators* Combats;) because they would not endure, either to receive those Provisions which were allow'd them out of the Imperial Treasury, or to practise such exercises as were necessary to render them accomplish'd Combatants. For which reason they were brought not only before the (b) *Procurators*, but *Maximinus* him- (b) He

self: And, having given a demonstration of their means, as I judge, the *Procurators* of the company of the *Gladiators*, and of the *Morning Exercises*, of whom there is frequent mention in the old Inscriptions. For the *Gladiators*, that were maintained by stipends paid out of the Imperial Exchequer, were committed to their care, and they gave them their allowances out of the Treasury. *Valisf.*

Maximianus

invincible constancy in the confession [of Christ], and of their courageousness in enduring Famine and Scourges, they suffer'd the same punishments with the foremention'd persons: some other Confessors in the City of *Caesarea* being added to their number. Soon after these, others were taken at the City *Gaza*, (c) who were

(c) *Christophorus* supposed these persons to be Priests and Deacons, who had convened the People to hear the sacred Scriptures read: Which at that time they were compelled to do in private Houses. For, their Churches and Churches being then demolished, the Christians had only Private-houses to assemble themselves in. *Valef.*

of which number, as to her Sex a Woman, but a person of a masculine and courageous temper of Mind, unable to endure the menaces of Ravishment; having utter'd some expressions against the Tyrant, (because he committed the Government [of Provinces] to such cruel Judges,) was first scourged: Then, being hung up a great height on [an Engine of] Wood, she was tortured in the sides of her Body. But when the Officers, appointed for that purpose, did, by the Judges order, apply their tortures to her with a most continued and exquisite vehemency, another Woman, who (like the former) had taken upon her the vow of Virginity, (as to the composition of her Body she was indeed no very taking object, and her aspect was despicable, but she was endow'd with a courageous temper of Mind, and was corroborated with a valour above her Sex, and far excell'd those Championesses amongst the *Grecians*, so much famed for their freedom in speaking;) being unable to endure the sight of those merciless, cruel, and inhuman practices, cried out with a loud voice to the Judge, out of the midst of the crowd, *How long will you thus unmercifully torture my Sister?* The Judge, highly exasperated by that expression, forthwith gave command the Woman should be laid hold on.

\* That is, having acknowledged herself to be a Christian. She was then hal'd forth before him; and \* having assumed to herself our Saviour's venerable appellation, first she was solicited by kind words to offer sacrifice: Which when she refused to do, they drew her by force before the Altar: But she, behaving herself like herself, retain'd her former alacrity of Mind, with an intrepid and undaunted Foot trampled upon the Altar, and overturn'd that, together with (d) what lay upon it. Upon which account the Judge, enraged like a Savage Beast, first gave order, that she should suffer more and greater tortures in her sides, than any one had before undergone: [For] he seem'd in a manner desirous to gorge himself with her raw flesh. But when his rage was satiated, he order'd they should both (namely this last with her whom he called Sister) be fastned together, and condemn'd them to be burn'd to death; the (e) former of these persons, 'tis said, was born in the Country of the *Gazites*: You must understand that the other, well known to most Men by the name of *Valentina*, had her original extract at *Caesarea*. But supply this with what expressions can I deservedly set forth

(d) This Virgin's name is wanting: But we will supply this with what expressions can I deservedly set forth

detect, from the *Grecian Menology*; where this passage occurs, at the 15th of *July*: *On the same day, the holy Martyrs, Valentina and Thea, which were Egyptians, being brought to the City Dio Caesarea before Firmilianus the Judge, made confession of Christ's Name, who is our God; after which, their left feet being burnt, and their right eyes pulled out, they were killed with a sword, and their bodies burnt.* But this account disagrees with our *Eusebius's* relation here. For he says, the one was born at *Gaza*, the other at *Caesarea*: And he makes no mention of the burning of their feet, or of the pulling out their Eyes. *Valef.*

that Martyrdom (which follow'd immediately hereupon,) wherewith the thrice-blessed *Paul* was adorn'd? This person, having had sentence of death pronounced against him at that very interim these Virgins were condemn'd, when he was to be put to death, entreated the Executioner (who stood ready to cut off his Head) to allow him a short space of time. Having obtain'd his request, with a clear and audible voice he first pray'd for all those who were Professors of the Christian Religion, beseeching God, that he would be reconciled to them, and quickly bestow on them liberty and security: Then he supplicated for the *Jews* access to God by [the Faith of] Christ: After this, he proceeded in an orderly method, putting up the same petitions even for the *Samaritans*; and besought God for the *Heathens*, that they, now entangled in error and an ignorance of God, might arrive to an acknowledgment of him, and undertake the [profession of] the true Religion; neither did he [in his petitions] omit to mention the promiscuous crowd that surrounded him. After all these (O the great and ineffable patience and mildness of his Mind!) He besought the Supreme God for the very Judge by whom he had been condemn'd to die, for the Emperors, and also for the Executioner (who stood ready to strike off his Head,) both in the hearing of him himself, and of all those also that were present, beseeching [God] that the sin they committed [by taking away his life] might not be imputed to them. Having with a loud voice made these petitions, and melted almost all that were present into compassion and tears, because he was unjustly put to death; (f) nevertheless he made himself ready, and, yielding his naked Neck to be cut asunder by the Sword, he was crown'd with Divine Martyrdom, on the twenty fifth day of the Month *Panemus*, that is, before the eighth of the Calends of *August*. Such was the Exit of these [Martyrs]. Not long after, an hundred and thirty Champions, of the same Country, (g) having by *Maximinus's* order undergone the same calamitous [tortures] in their Eyes and Feet, with those formerly mention'd who suffered in *Egypt*, were condemn'd and sent away, part of them to the forementioned Mines in *Pales-tine*, and part to those in the Province of *Cilicia*.

judgment, is not to be despised. Mention is made of this *Paul's* Martyrdom, in the *Menology*, at the 15th of *July*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

That the Perfection was afresh renewed: And concerning Antoninus, Zebina, Germanus, and other Martyrs.

NOW, after such valiant Exploits as these, perform'd by Christ's Noble Martyrs; when the Flame of Perfection was somewhat abated, and as it were, extinguish'd by their sacred Blood; when those in *Therbas* (condemn'd for [their Confession of] Christ to labour in the Mines there,) were permitted to enjoy rest and liberty; and when we hoped to see some few calm and serene days; then did \* He (who had gotten the power of persecuting) re-assume his Rage against the Christians, upon what account, or by what impulse, I know not. For, on a sudden, *Maximinus's* Edicts against us were sent to all places throughout every Province:

Maximianus

(f) In the *Acts & Scrit MSS.* in stead of *quod ad- huc inuoluntate* he made himself ready, to make himself ready in the reading of the usual manner was, which reading, in my

Devil

Province: And the Presidents and (a) *Præfets* of the *Prætorium* by Injunctions, Letters, and publick Orders excited the *Civitates* in every City, the *Magistrates* and (b) *Tabularii* to put in execution the Imperial Edict, (c) which contained an Order, That the decay'd Idol-Temple should with all diligence be repaired; that all persons, Men, Women, Servants, and young Children should be compell'd to do Sacrifice, and by all means imaginable forced to eat part of the Flesh which had been offer'd; that the Provisions expos'd to sale in the Markets should be defiled with such things as had been sacrific'd; and that some should be order'd to sit and watch before the [publick] Baths, so the end they might pollute such as came to cleanse themselves therein, with the execrable Sacrifices. Whilst these things were after this manner put in execution, the Anxieties of the Christians, as it was likely, were renew'd and increased: Yea, the *Gentiles* that were Unbelievers [look'd upon] what was done to be intolerable, and condemn'd these Barbarities, as absurd and too outrageous: For, even to them such Actions seem'd abominable and odious. When [therefore] such a fierce Storm [of Persecution] was impendent on all persons every-where, the Divine Power of our Saviour did again infuse fo great a courage and confidence into his Champions, that, when nobody induc'd or urg'd them to it, they contemn'd these high Menaces of their Adversaries. Wherefore, three Believers with a joynt consent rush in upon the President then offering Sacrifice to Idols, and call out to him to desist from his error: For there is [said they] no other God, but he that is the Framers and Maker of all things. Being hereupon ask'd who they were, they boldly profess'd themselves to be Christians: At which *Firmitianus* was highly exasperated, and pass'd sentence of death upon them, (d) without inflicting on them any previous tortures. One of these was a Presbyter, by name (e) *Antoninus*; the name of the second was *Zebina*, by Country an *Eleutheropolitan*; the

third was call'd *Germanus*. On the thirteenth day of the Month *Dins*, that is on the *Idea* of November, all this was done to these persons. On the same day they had a Fellow-traveller added to their number, a Woman of *Scythopolis*, by name (f) *Ennathas*, who was adorn'd with the (g) Badge of Virginity. She had not indeed done what the former [three] did, but was carried by force and

fer before the Judge. Therefore, after she had been scourged and most grossly abused; [all which injurious ulages were audaciously perpetrated, without any order from the superior Magistracy, by one of the *Tribunes* in the neighbourhood, call'd *Masey*, a Man worse than his name, one indeed that was stout and of an undaunted courage, but as to his Morals, in all respects very impious, of a cruel disposition, and odious to all his Acquaintance. This Fellow stripp'd the Blest Virgin stark naked, (in such a manner that she was cover'd only from her Loins down to her Feet, but the rest of her Body was bare;) led her round the City *Cæsarea*, and look'd upon it as a piece of Gallantry to dragg her through all the Market-places in the City, and scourge her; after [say] she had endur'd so many stripes, having given a demonstration of her most undaunted courage and constancy of Mind before the Presidents Tribunal, the Judge commanded she should be burnt alive. This Man improv'd his Inhumanity and Rage, shown towards God's Worshipers, to the height, and transgress'd even the Laws of nature; for he was not ashamed of denying burial to the dead Bodies of those sacred persons. Upon which account he gave order, that the dead bodies [which were expos'd in the open Air, to be devoured by Wild-Beasts,] should be carefully guarded Night and Day: And you might have seen for many days together no small number of Men, busily obeying this beastly and barbarous order: Some of whom (as if this had been a matter of high concern and moment) watch'd on a Tower, that the Dead might not be stoln away. Also, the Wild-Beasts, Dogs, and Fowls that prey'd on flesh, scatter'd here and there pieces of Men's Bodies: And the whole City was strew'd all over with Men's Bowels and Bones. So that, nothing did ever seem more cruel and horrid, even to those who before had been our Enemies; all persons bewailing not so much their calamitous condition towards whom these things were done, as the abuse that was put upon themselves, and on Mankind in general. For, even to the very Gares [of the City] such a Spectacle was propos'd to publick view, as surpass'd all the bounds of expression, and exceeded any the most tragical relation; [to wit] the flesh of Men's Bodies, which were devour'd not in one place, but lay scatter'd everywhere. Yea, some affirm'd they saw Limbs of Men, whole Bodies, and pieces of Bowels even within the City. After these [horrid Butcheries] had been practis'd for many days together, there happen'd this Miracle. The Weather was fair, the Air clear, and the whole Face of Heaven most serene and bright; when, on a sudden, from all the Columns which under-prop'd the publick Galleries throughout the City, there fell many drops, in the form of Tears: And the Market-place and Streets, (no moisture having fallen from the Air,) were wet and besprinkled with Water which came from an unknown place. In so much that a report was immediately spread

\* The President.

See Book 5. Chap. 1. & 9. where *Eusebius* speaks of *Sabinus* *Præfets* of the *Prætorium* to *Maximinus*.  
(a) See Book, Chap. 11. Note (b).  
(b) These Officers had in their custody the publick Tables, or Rolls of the Cities, and look'd after the accounts of the Tribute. They were first call'd *Nummerarii*: Afterwards *Valens* made a Law, that they should be call'd *Tabularii*. See *Valestin's* Notes on *Amm. Marcell.* Book 28. pag. 243.

(c) In stead of [ἡμετέριον καὶ αὐτῶν], as it is in *Robert Stephens's* Copy; in the *Mar.* *Med.* *Luc.* and *Servil* MSS. the reading is [ἡμετέριον καὶ αὐτῶν], which contained an Order that, &c.] which is the better reading: For *Eusebius* here relates the Contents of *Maximinus's* Edict. *Valef.*  
(d) *Eusebius* notes this, as a thing new, and unusual; not that he design'd to praise *Firmitianus* the President's Clemency, because he did not torture the Martyrs; but he would hereby shew the Precipitancy and Rage of the Man; in regard he commanded, the Martyrs (who had provoked and confus'd him) should be immediately led away to execution, he put to death, without suffering any tortures before their execution; as the common usage was. For the *Roman* Judges did usually torture the Christian Martyrs before they dispatch'd them, to the end those valiant Champions might not finish their lives by too easie a death. Nor was this usually done to the Martyrs only; but generally as often as any heinous Offenders were brought to examination, they were first tortured. And although the guilty Person confess'd the fact, yet did not the Judge presently order him to be releas'd from his tortures; but continued to inquire out the Consequences: For example, how often he had done the fact, with what weapons, and in what places: Then he questioned him about his Companions and Accomplices. See *Terullian*, in his Book *Ad Nationes*, and in his *Apologetic*, Chap. 2. *Valef.*

(e) In the Greek Menology, this Man is call'd *Antonius*, where (besides *Zebina* and *Germanus*) there is a fourth Companion of theirs named, to wit, *Nicophorus*. For the 12th day of November this passage occurs: The birth-day of the holy Martyrs *Antonius* and his fellows, who were [put to death] in the times of *Maximinus*. *Antonius* was an old Man; *Nicophorus*, *Zebina*, and *Germanus* were in the flower of their age. They were taken at *Cæsarea*, and after they had boldly confess'd *Christ*, were slain. Here you see, the *Author* of the Menology has render'd *πρεσβύτερος* an old Man, not a Presbyter. *Valef.*

Maximus.

amongst all people, that the Earth, unable to bear the horrid Impieties then committed, did shed Tears in an inexplicable manner; and that the Stones and senseless matter wept at what was done, to reprove the barbarous and unmerciful Dispositions of Men. This thing will, I doubt not, be look'd upon as fabulous and a ridiculous story by succeeding Generations: But they did not account it such, who had the certainty thereof confirmed to them by the authority of those times in which it happened.

## CHAPTER X.

Concerning Peter the Asceta, Asclepius the Marcionite, and other Martyrs.

ON the fourteenth Day of the following Month, called *Appellens*, which is before the nineteenth of the *Calends* of *January*, some other *Egyptians*, (going to minister to the Confessors in *Cilicia*) were apprehended by those persons, that were set at the Gates [of the City] to examine such as passed by: Part of whom received the same sentence with those they were going to minister to, having their Eyes and Feet rendred useless. But three of them were put into bonds at the City *Ascalon*, where after they had given an admirable demonstration of their Courage, they finish'd their lives by a different sort of Martyrdom. One of them, by name *Ares*, was burnt to death: The other two, whose names were (*a*) *Probus* and *Eliaz*, were beheaded. On the eleventh day of the month *Andynans*, which is before the third of the *Ides* of *January*, (*b*) *Peter the Asceia*, called also *Asclamus*, (who came from *Anreas* a Village that lies near to *Eleutheropolis*), being refined by Fire like the purest Gold, exhibited an illustrious proof of his Faith in God's Christ, at the City *Cæsarea*. For when the Judge and those about him intreated him earnestly to be compassionate towards himself, and take pity upon his own youthfulness and vigour; he contemned [their Exhortations,] and preferred his confidence in the suprem God before all things, yea, even Life itself. Together with this person [suffered] one *Asclepius*, (reported to have been a Bishop of the Sect of the *Marcionites*, out of a zeal to Piety, (as he thought,) but such an one as was not according to knowledge,) and finished his life in the same fiery Pillar. These things were performed after this manner.

## CHAPTER XI.

Concerning Pamphilus, and twelve other Martyrs.

(a) Symeon the Metaphrastes has transcri-

THE time now calls upon me to record that great and famous Spectacle, which they [exhibited] who were perfected by Martyrdom

together with *Pamphilus*, [a person] whose name and memory I have a great honour and high esteem for. They were in all twelve, being vouchsafed a (*b*) Prophetic, or rather Apocalyptic Grace, and equal to 'em in number; *Pamphilus* was their Principal, the only person amongst them that was adorn'd with the honour of a Presbytership in the Church at *Cæsarea*: (*c*) A man eminent for all manner of Virtue, even throughout his whole life; [whether we consider] his renunciation and contempt of the World, or the liberal contributions [he made] of his Goods to those that were necessitous; or his disregard of worldly preferments and expectations; or, lastly, his Philosophick, severe, and *Asceitick* course of life. But, he was most especially eminent, even beyond all men in our times, for his earnest and unwearied studies in the sacred Scriptures, for his indefatigable assiduity about those things he proposed to himself to do, and for the good offices he did to his Relations and all other persons that made their addresses to him. This person's other virtues and egregious performances, which require a larger relation, we have already comprized in *three Books*, being a peculiar Work which we wrote concerning his life. If therefore any are desirous of knowing these things

(d) In the more fully, we remit them thither; at present (*d*) let us prosecute our subsequent Narration concerning the Martyrs. The second person, after *Pamphilus*, that entered the combat, was *Valens*, a Deacon of *Alia*, honourable for his holy gray Hairs, and as to his aspect a venerable old Man; better skill'd in the sacred Scriptures than *Moses*, any of the rest. For he had imprinted them in his memory so perfectly, (*f*) that no difference could be discerned between his reading out of a Book, and repeating by heart, whole pages of any part of sacred Writ. The third person, famous amongst them, was *Paul*, born at the City *Jamnia*, a man very fervent and zealous in acting, and filled with a warmth and ardour of Spirit. Before his Martyrdom he had been engaged in the Combat of Confession, having endured the searing [of his flesh] with red-hot Irons. After these persons had spent two years time in prison, when the arrival of some other *Egyptians* Brethren was by him

Books Concerning Pamphilus's Life, and after his Ecclesiastick Hist. Valerius supposes it may be thus amended: *ὅς μὴ ἐνδὲς πρὸς τὸν ἑσπερινόν τιν' ταχέως, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἑσπερινόν τιν' ταχέως, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἑσπερινόν τιν' ταχέως* [which reading we have followed in our Version; and it agrees with Symeon Metaphrastes's interpretation, as 'tis evident from *Græcizant Herueticus*'s Translation in *Lipomanus*'s Edition at the month of February:] see Note (a) in this Chapter. But *Herueticus* has rendered *ἀσπασμοὶ* *religiosi*, to get by heart; whereas that term signifies, to recite by heart, as we observed before. Valer.

(f) 'Tis easily discernable, that the Greek Text is here corrupted; I suppose it may be thus amended: *ὅς μὴ ἐνδὲς πρὸς τὸν ἑσπερινόν τιν' ταχέως, τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἑσπερινόν τιν' ταχέως* [which reading we have followed in our Version; and it agrees with Symeon Metaphrastes's interpretation, as 'tis evident from *Græcizant Herueticus*'s Translation in *Lipomanus*'s Edition at the month of February:] see Note (a) in this Chapter. But *Herueticus* has rendered *ἀσπασμοὶ* *religiosi*, to get by heart; whereas that term signifies, to recite by heart, as we observed before. Valer.

bed this whole Relation of the Martyrdom of *Pamphilus* and his Companions, out of our *Eusebius*, adding some things, and altering others, as he usually does. But he seems to have been furnished with more perfect Copies of *Eusebius*, than those we now have, which will manifestly appear to the Reader; who may agree with *Metaphrastes*'s account hereof in that Latin Version of him, which *Lipomanus* and *Surius* put forth: Tome the third, at the fifth of June; pag. 139. Edit. Venet. Anno 1531. Valer.

(b) He means the *Minor Prophets*, who were twelve in number: This passage is more clearly express'd in *Metaphrastes*, thus: *h* it is worth our while to admire the number of the *Ides*, which represent a certain Prophetic and Apocalyptic Grace. For, it happened that they were in all twelve; of the same number with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, as we are informed. Valer.

(c) This passage also is more perfect in *Metaphrastes*, after this manner: *He* was *Pamphilus*, a Man truly pious, loving and friendly to the truth of his name; [the import of *Pamphilus*, is friend to all men:] the ornament of the Church at *Cæsarea*, &c. See *Lipomanus* and *Surius*'s Version of *Metaphrastes* at the fore-cited place. Valer.

(a) In the Greek this name is *Probus*; But, I suppose, it should be *Probus*. For I never met with such a proper name as *Probus*. This mistake arose from hence; in ancient MSS. *Probus* is written like *Ascl*. In the Fok and Sav. MSS. 'tis *Probus*. Valer.

(b) Mention is made of this Person in the Greek *Mena*, at the 14th of October; although *Eusebius* says he suffered on the 3d of the *Ides* of *January*. In the *Mena* he is called *Asclamus*: But, in the *Mena*logy *Asclamus* is, by a mistake, put for *Asclamus*, or *Asclamus*: The import of the passage there is this: On the same day is the Commemoration of the holy Martyr *Petrus* *Anselmus* of *Eleutheropolis*, who being in the flower of his age, and of a vigorous mind, behaved himself most admirably in the conflicts he underwent for Religion; and, having despised earthly things, was by fire offered up as a victim well-pleasing to God, in the fifth year of *Dioctianus*'s and *Maximian*'s Empire. In which passage, this is observable, that the sixth year of *Dioctianus*'s Empire is put for the sixth year of the Persecution. Valer.

Maximian.

Maximian.

the occasion of their Martyrdom, who also suffer'd with them. These Egyptians had accompanied the Confessors sent into Cilicia, to the Mines there. As they were returning to their own Country, at the entrance of the *Gate of Caesarea* they were examin'd (in the same manner with those before-mention'd) by the *Guard* (men of a barbarous disposition) who they were, and whence they came; and, having concealed nothing of the truth, as if they had been *Malefactor* taken in the very act, they were put into bonds. They were five in number; and when they were brought before the *Tyrant*, and had spoken boldly and freely in his presence, they were forthwith committed to prison. The next day (which was the 19th of the month *Peritius*, according to the *Roman* account before the 14th of the *Calends of March*.) order was given, that they, together with *Pamphilus* and his foremention'd *Companions*, should be brought before the Judge. In the first place, he made tryal of the Egyptians invincible

wholly disregarding those that on all sides were tormenting of him: But, as if he had had neither Flesh nor Body, seem'd to be altogether insensible of his tortures. But the Judge, doubtful and perplexed in his Mind, was in a great rage, supposing that the *Christians* were about erecting a City that would be an Enemy, and in an hostile manner oppose the *Romans*. Upon which account he was very diligent in his enquiries about it, and in searching out that Country in the East spoken of [by the *Martyr*.] But when he perceived that the young man (after he had tortur'd him with innumerable stripes, and inflicted on him tortures of all sorts,) was immutable and firmly persisted in what he had said before, he pass'd sentence of death upon him. Thus were the tragick [Cruelties,] us'd towards this Martyr, concluded: And when he had practis'd the like Preface of Tortures upon the rest, he destroy'd them by the same sort of death. Being then wearied out, and perceiving that he did in vain inflict tortures upon these

(a) *Egyptians* (the term here us'd) seems to be taken passively, for *εγυπτιασθαι*. For *Eusebius's* meaning is, that *Firmitianus's* Judge was well versed in passing legal sentences, and in extracting examinations by tortures. But because the same term is taken in an active sense hereafter in this chapter, it ought also to be taken so here. By the term [*ἄσπετος*] *Eusebius* means, the scourger and torturer, *Valer*.

(b) These selves by names different from those given them by their Parents, which were perhaps the names of Idols; therefore you might have heard them name themselves *Elias, Jeremiah, Isaiah, Samuel, or Daniel*, representing not only by their actions, but by their proper names also, the true and genuine *Israel* of God, which [consists] of those that are (i) inwardly *Jews*. After, [I say,] *Firmitianus* had heard the *Martyr* give himself such a name, being wholly unacquainted with the powerful import thereof, in the second place he enquir'd, what Countryman he was: The *Martyr* express'd himself in this his second reply agreeable to his former answer, and said, *Jerusalem* was his Country; meaning that *Jerusalem*, of which *Paul* speaks—\*But *Jerusalem* which is above, is free, which is the mother of us all: And [in another place,] *Ye are come to mount Zion, and unto the City of the living God,*

(c) *Eusebius* alludes to that passage in *St. Paul*, (*Rom. 2. 28, 29*.) where the Apostle makes two sorts of *Jews*: Some that were *Jews* in outwardly; others that were such by inwardly: The former, as he affirms, are not truly *Jews*, because they observed the bodily Ceremonies only of the Law: The latter are really *Jews*; whose Circumcision is that of the Heart in the Spirit, and not in the Letter. See *Origen*, Chap. i. Philocal. *Valer*.

† *Galat. 4. 26.* † *Heb. 12. 22.*

the heavenly *Jerusalem*: The *Martyr* meant this [*Jerusalem*.] But the Judge, having his mind depressed with low and terrene thoughts, was extraordinarily inquisitive what City this was, and in what Country it lay. Then he applied tortures, that he might [force him thereby to] confess the truth. But he, having both his hands wrested behind his back, and his Feet broken with certain new Engines [of torture,] stiffly affirm'd, that he spoke true. Again, being after this often asked, what City that he spoke of was, and where it lay, he replied, that that was their Country only, who were God's *Worshippers*: For none but they should enter it; and it was situate Eastward, and towards the rising Sun. After this manner did the *Martyr* *Philosophize* again, agreeable to his own sentiments,

(k) when his desires were fatiared, he pass'd to *Pamphilus* and his *Companions*. And [although] he had by experience found, that in defence of their Faith they had before demonstrated an acerbity of mind not to be vanquish'd by tortures; [yet] he again asked them, whether they would now be obedient to the Imperial commands; and when he could get nothing out of any one of them, besides that last confession which is made in Martyrdom, he condemn'd them to undergo the same punishment with the foremention'd *Martyrs*. These things being finished, a Youth, (i) one that belong'd to *Pamphilus's* Family, (in regard he had been educated under the genuine discipline and converse of so eminent a person;) as soon as he understood that sentence [was pronounc'd] against his Master, called aloud out of the midst of the crowd, and requested that their dead-bodies might be interr'd. But [the Judge, (who deserves not to be called a Man) but a wild Beast, or any Creature else [that can be thought] more fierce than a wild Beast] shew'd no compassion towards his youthful years; and, having found, upon his bare asking the young man that he confess'd himself a *Christian*; I well'd with rage as if he had been wounded by some Dart, order'd the Torturers to make use of their utmost force against him. But after he saw, that he refused to be obedient to his commands in offering sacrifice, he order'd that his flesh (as if it had not been the body of a Man, but either Stones, or Wood, or some such senseless thing) should without any intermission be torn even to his very bones and inmost recesses of his Bowels. Which being performed for a long time together, the Judge perceived his attempts were vain; [for although] his Body was mangled all over with the tortures, [yet] he

(k) *Eusebius* seems to mean *Firmitianus's* desire of knowing from the *Egyptian Martyr*, where that *Jerusalem* was, which they called their Country. Whence we may make this remark by the by, that 'tis sufficiently evident, (as we observed before, Book 4. Chap. 6. Note (c)) there was no City upon Earth at that time call'd *Jerusalem*. Otherwise *Firmitianus's* President of *Palestine*, would never have been so earnest in his enquiries of the *Martyrs*, where *Jerusalem* was situated. But, the Greek word [*ἱερουσαλήμ*] cannot, I think, be taken in that sense I have mentioned. Indeed, this place is obscure, and (if I mistake not) faulty. Therefore *Symeon Metaphrastes*, when he transcribed this passage from *Eusebius*, on set purpose omitted these words. *Valer*.

(l) As this *Symeon Metaphrastes* adds some words, which deserve to be set down here. *Nondum autem didum, &c.* [The Judge] had scarce made an end of speaking, when a young Man, belonging to *Pamphilus's* family, called out at some distance; and, coming out of the midst of the crowd into the presence of those who sat round in the place of Judicature, requested that their Bodies might be interr'd. This was the Blessed *Prophylas*, one of *Pamphilus's* own brethren, and full eighteen years old. [See *Voeltz's* preface in the Art of Writing;] but one that conceded these praises by his wonderful behaviours, in regard he had been educated under so eminent a person. *Valer*.



Maxim- he continued silent, and was as insensible of pain, as if he had in a manner been lifeless. [Never- theless] the Judge, still persevering in his mer- ciless and inhuman cruelty, immediately condem- ned him to be burnt in the same habit he was in by (m) a slow fire. And thus this person (al- tho' he was the last that entered the combat, yet (prevented his Master after the flesh, in that he obtain'd his depar- ture out of this life before him; those, who were bu- died about [vanquishing] the former Martyrs, hitherto making some delays. You might therefore have seen Porphyrius [for that was his name,] in quality like a valorous Champion who had been Conqueror in all manner of exercises belong- ing to the sacred Games, proceeding forth to his death after he had suffer'd to great tortures, with a Body covered all over with Dust, but with a cheerful Countenance, and a Mind full of joy and confidence: He was most truly filled with the

tor of those that were (p) *Asceta* in their Studies and Exercises of Piety; and, like a Father, and a Patron, demonstrat'd himself to be an Over- seer as it were, and an helper of desolate Orphans and Widows that were destitute of assistance, and of those that were reduced to poverty and sickness. Where- fore, by God (who is more delighted with such [per- formances] as these, than with the smoke and blood of Sacrifices) he was deserv- edly accounted worthy of that admirable and high call- ing, [to wit,] *Martyrdom*. This was the tenth Cham- pion, who, after the others before-mention'd, ended his life on the very same day; whereon (as it is probable) the great Gate of Heaven was open'd by the Martyr- dom of Pamphilus, (suitable to the worth of that person) which gave both him, and his Companions, an easy entrance into the Celestial Kingdom. Also, *Theo- dulus* (a venerable and pious old man, belonging to the President's own Family, for whom *Firmilianus* had a greater esteem than for all his other

Domesticks; partly upon account of his age, having seen his Children to the third Genera- tion; and partly in respect of the singular affec- tion and conscientious fidelity, which he had con- tinually retain'd towards him;) having follow'd *Selenus's* steps, and performed the same things that he did, was brought before his Master, a- gainst whom he was more exasperated than a- gainst any of the former [Martyrs;] and being forthwith put upon a Cross, he underwent the same sort of Martyrdom our Saviour suffered. Moreover, one being yet wanting, who might render the number of the foreaid Martyrs com- pletely twelve, *Julianus* intervenc'd to make up their number. At that very interim he was com- ing from a remote Country, and had not enter'd the City; but, being informed [of the slaugh- ter] of the Martyrs, ran immediately [in the same habit he had on] out of the road, to see that spectacle. When he saw the dead Bodies of those holy persons lying upon the ground, being fil- led with an extraordinary joy, he embraced e- very one of them, and kissed them all. Whilst he was doing this, the [Soldiers] that were the Instruments to commit those Murders, appre- hend him, and bring him to *Firmilianus*. He, doing herein what was agreeable to his [usual cruelty,] order'd that this person also should be consumed by a slow fire. This was *Julianus* also accounted worthy [to receive] the Crown of Martyrdom, leaping for joy, and being ex- ceeding glad; and with a loud voice giving great thanks to the Lord, who had vouchsafed him so great an honour. This *Julianus* was by Country a *Cappadocian*; as to his Morals, he was eminently pious and circumspect, and famous for his most genuine and sincere Faith: He was very active and diligent in all things, being inspired by the Holy Ghost. Such was the File [of Martyrs,] who were vouchsafed to arrive at Martyrdom in company with Pamphilus. The holy, and truly sacred Bo- dies of these persons were, by the impious Presi- dent's order, watch'd for the space of four days, and as many nights, and expos'd to be devour'd

by

\* See B. 6. Chap. 19. Note (p.) (n) This Garment is in the Greek term'd *ἡλικία* (see its de- scription in A. G. c. 12.) him, with his Mouth he attract'd the flame on e- very side of him: And after this one expression, which he utter'd when the flame began to touch him, [to wit,] *Invoking Jesus the Son of God to be his helper*, he most courageously continued silent even to the very last gasp. Such was Porphyrius's com- bat: Whole Contamination *Selenus* a Confessor that had formerly been a Soldier, having related to Pamphilus; as being the conveyer of such a message, he was immediately vouchsafed to be joy'd in the same lot with the Martyrs: For he had no sooner related Porphyrius's death, and salu- ted one of the Martyrs with a kiss, but some of the Soldiers seize him, and carry him before the President. Who, as if he resolv'd to hasten *Selenus*, that he might be Porphyrius's Companion in his journey to Heaven, forthwith order'd he should undergo a capital punishment. This [*Selenus*] was born in *Cappadocia*, but had attained no mean degree of honour amongst the choicest young men that belong'd to the *Roman Milice*.

For he far excell'd his Fel- low-soldiers in the (o) fitness of his age for military ser- vices, in strength and sta- ture of body, and in valour: In so much that his aspect was much discouf'd of a- mongst all men, and the shape of his whole body greatly admired, upon account both of his stature and comeliness. About the beginning of the Persecution, he was eminently famous for his enduring stripes in the combat of Confession: But after he had left off his mili- tary course of life, he became a zealous Emula-

(m) In stead of [ὑποπόδιον τῆς πυρρᾶς] a fire at a distance] *Christophorus* seems to have read [ὑποπόδιον τῆς πυρρᾶς] a flow, or remiss fire: See his Translation. *Heretics* also has rendered it thus, *Pronomiat sententiam ut tradatur omni & leviori igni, he pronounc'd sentence upon him, that he should be set into, and consumed by] a soft and gentle fire. The flame is confirmed by Eusebius's following Words: For he says, that Porphyrius was fill'd to a Stake, and that the Pile, which lay round him, but at some distance, was kindled; that to the Martyr might be consumed by a slack fire. We read of the same sort of punishment in the passion of *Timonius*, and of other Martyrs. Eusebius uses [ὑποπόδιον τῆς πυρρᾶς] in the same sense hereafter, where he mentions *Julianus*. Further, we must take notice that both Porphyrius and *Julianus* were *Catechu- mens*; as *Metaphrastes* informs us. Valef.*

(o) *ἡλικία* is the term in the original; it peculiarly imports that Age, which is fit for warfare; which *Livy* titles *militarem aetatem*, the military Age; beginning from the seventeenth year of a Man's age, *scilicet Plutarch* (in *Graccho*.)

Maxim- But the *asceta* did converse publicly in the Cities. Whosoever therefore lived a more strict and severe course of life according to the Precepts of the Gospel, and leit all they had, upon God's ac- count, were term'd *Asceta*, & thus one *Peter* is call'd *Asceta*, and a Virgin is term'd *Ascetica*, being in this Book of Eusebius; Shoul- any one term these *Monks*, doubt- less he would be much mistaken. St. *Jerom* says expressly, that there was no *Monk* in Palestine before *Isidorian*. But *Peter*, the *Asceta*, lived in Palestine long before *Isidorian's* time. Valef.

by Beasts that prey on Flesh. But when (as it miraculously happen'd) no Wild-Beast, or Fowl, or Dog approach'd them [during that time,] at last [Divine Providence for ordering the matter,] they were taken away whole and untorn; and, having been allow'd such Funeral Rites as befit them, received the usual Interment. Whilst the discourse concerning the [President's] furious rage against these persons was yet ripe all Mens mouths, *Adrianus* and *Eubulus* (arriving, from that Country call'd *Manganau*, at *Caesarea*, to give a visit to the rest of the Confessors,) were examin'd also at the Gate of the City, for what reason they came thither. And, having confest the truth, they were brought before *Firmilianus*: He (as he had usually done before) was in no wise dilatory in his Proceedings towards them also; but after he had furrow'd their Sides with many tortures, condemn'd them to be devour'd by Wild-Beasts. Therefore, after two days space, on the fifth of the month *Dyffrus*, (that is, before the third of the *Nones* of *March*, the day whereon the nativity of the *q. public* *Genius* (as the Heathens account it) is celebrated at *Caesarea*, *Adrianus* was cast to a Lyon; and, after which a Sword was thrust through his Body, and so he ended his life. On the next day after save one, that is, on the very *Nones* of *March*, which is the seventh of the month *Dyffrus*, *Eubulus* (after the Judge had entreated him with much earnestness, that by offering sacrifice he would procure for himself that which they account Religion,) preferring a glorious Death for his Liberty before this transitory Life, (when he had been exposted to the wild-Beasts, and been made a Sacrifice after the same manner with the former Martyr,) was the last that cloed up the Combats of the Martyrs at *Caesarea*. Moreover, it will be worthy our recording here, how Divine Providence soon after punished these iniquitous Presidents, together with the Tyrants themselves. For *Firmilianus*, who had been so reproachfully outrageous against Christ's Martyrs, having with some others been adjudg'd to undergo a capital punishment, was beheaded. And these were the Martyrdoms, accomplish'd at *Caesarea*, during the whole time of the Persecution.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning the Prelates of the Churches.*

**B**UT, what happen'd to be done in relation to the Prelates of Churches (a) during this interval of time, and afterwards; how, instead of being continued Pastors of Christ's Rational Flock, which they had not rightly and duly governed. Divine Justice, judging them as it were

they were to be understood concerning the time of the Perfection; I am not of his mind. For *Eusebius* speaks concerning what happened, when the time of the Perfection was in some measure abated. Therefore [ἐν τῷ χρόνῳ] signifies *postea*, afterwards; according to *Eusebius's* usual way of expressing himself, both in other places, and also hereafter in this Chapter. The following Words [ἐξ ἧς ἔτι πάλιν χρόνος] denote the whole interval of time from the beginning of the Perfection to its seventh year, as *Eusebius* informs us in the following Chapter. *Vale!*

fit for such Offices, condemn'd them to be employ'd in looking after (*b*) Camels, a brutish sort of Creatures, whose Bodies are naturally crooked and misshapen; and how it adjudged them to be Keepers of the Emperor's Horses; also, what and how great Injuries, Dishonours, and Tortures they suffered from such, as during those times were the Emperor's *Procurators*, and Governours *of* Provinces, upon account of the sacred Vessels and Treasures belonging to the Church; moreover, the ambitious desires of many, the inconsistent and illegal Ordinations, and the schisms amongst the (*c*) Confessors themselves; besides, what those modern raisers of Disturbances with much earnestness attempted against the remains of the Church, introducing innovations successively one after another, being without intermission Authors of Evils even in the midst of the Calamities caused by the Persecution, and heaping Mischief upon Mischief: All this [I say] I think fit to omit, a relation hereof being in my judgment inconvenient, and which (as I said in the (*d*) beginning of this Book) I do altogether dislike, and am relolved to avoid. Supposing it therefore to be most accommodate for an illustrious concerning the admirable Martyrs, to speak, write, and insill into the Ears of Believers what ever is of importance to, and commendable in, our Religion, and those passages which are virtuous and praise-worthy; I thought good to adorn the close of this Book with [a Relation of] that Peace, which afterwards appeared to us from Heaven.

Altho' in that place of the *Pentateuch*, the Emperor's Cuneis are not spoken of, but their Cuneis is meant, belonging to every City. They were used to fetch Wood and other burthenes, as appears from the 13th. Lev. in the 14th Title. But *Eufebius* does here speak of the Emperor's Horles, and Camels, to the feeding whereof some Bishops were condemned. Now, there is a great difference between their two Offices. For the former was a civil Office, to which the *Decurions* of the *white Order* were promoted, as 'tis said in the fore-quoted Law. But the latter was a penal servitude, to which Criminals were condemned, as may be collected from *Eufebius's* words here. Moreover, these *Camelarii* (keepers of Camels) were under his care and custody, as appears from the *Novels*, (i. e. *Constitutio* of *Constantine* in the 12th Title of the 1st. *Code*, *de Aquat.* (i. e. *de Alacris*, *Libell.* 22. pag. 277.) under whom were the *Magistri* of the *Flocks*, and of the *Stables*, as appears from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. See the *Advs* of *Arnobius* the Pope. *Calci-*

(c) He means the Schism between *Meletrius Lycopollitanus* and *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria*; concerning which see *Athanasius* and *Epiphanius*. He means also *Donatus's* Schism in *Africa*, against *Cecilianus* the Bishop. *Vale!*

(d) The place *Eusebius* here speaks of is not to be found in this Book. Whence 'tis apparent, that this Book, *concerning the Martyrs of Palestine*, is imperfect. Any body may perceive that the beginning of it is wanting. But this defect may be made up from Chap. 2. Book 8. of the *Eusebius's History*, where *Eusebius* says that, which he mentions here, as spoken of before by himself. *Falef.*

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning Silvanus, John, and Thirty nine other  
Martyrs.

THE seventh Year of the Persecution against us was now complicated; and our Affairs, (having by little and little obtain'd some thing of a tendency towards a quiet posture by an abatement of their Heats who had been our malicious Detractors,) proceeded on to the eighth year, when no small number of Confessors were gathered together about the Brals Mines in *Palefine*, and enjoy'd their liberty to such a degree, that they erected Buildings to make Churches of: . But the Governour of the Province (a cruel and wicked person, as he manifested himself to be, upon account of what he did against the Martyrs) making a journey thither, and being inform'd of their

(b) It was a sort of punishment amongst the Romans, that free-men, (i.e. those that were free of Rome) should be condemned to look after the Emperor's Horſes and Camels, and to ſuch like offices. This employment was called *Camelaſia*, and it is reckoned amongst the perſonal Offices, in the *Pandects* (*Tit. de Muner. l.*

Maximi-  
nus.

their way of living in that place, acquainted the Emperor therewith, writing what he judged suitable to calumniate them. Afterwards, the Governour of the Mines came thither, and (as if he had had an Imperial Order so to do,) having separated that Company of Confessors, allotted Cyprus to be the place of habitation for some of them, and *Libanus* for others. He dispersed others of them in several places throughout *Palestine*, and gave order they should all be wearied out with various sorts of laborious Employments. Then he pick'd out four, which seem'd to be the most eminent persons amongst them, and sent them to the Commander in Chief of the Military Forces in those parts. Two of these were Egyptian Bishops, by name *Pelent* and *Nilus*; the third was a

(a) His name was *Heli*; who together with *Patermuthius*, was burnt to death; as 'tis recorded in the Greek *Actes*, at the 17th of September. *Plotius* mentions *Patermuthius*, in his *Biblioth.* Chap. 113; where he speaks of the *Books* written by *Pamphilus* the Martyr, during his Imprisonment, in defence of *Origen*. Valef.

(a) Presbyter; and the fourth was *Patermuthius*, a person signally renown'd amongst all men upon account of his sedulity in doing all men good offices. This Commander, having ask'd these men to renounce their Religion, and not ob-

taining his request, order'd they should be burnt to death. Again, there were others at the same place, (who were allotted a particular Country to inhabit in by themselves,) to wit, such of the Confessors, as either by reason of their age, or the mangling of their Members, or because of other bodily Infirmiti-*es*, were freed from doing service in those laborious employments. The prin-

(b) By these Words *Eusebius* seems to declare, that this *Silvanus* was not Bishop of *Gaza*: For *Eusebius* only says that *Silvanus* was born at *Gaza*, and made Bishop over those Christians that wrought in the Mines in *Palestine*. The *Grecks* (in their *Actes*, at the 14th of October) seem to have taken these Words of *Eusebius* in this sense. For they say that *Silvanus* was Presbyter of the Church at *Cyrene*: And after he had suffered most acie tortures at *Cyrene*, was comm'd to the *Libani*, where the Office of a Bishop was conferred on him by the Christians. So the *Armenians*. But *Eusebius* (in Book 6, Chap. 12.) does evidently call him Bishop of *Gaza*. Valef.

cipal among these was *Silvanus*, (b) a Bishop born at *Gaza*, a person that demonstrated himself to be a truly religious and most genuine Example of the Christian Profession. This man after he had been signally eminent in all sorts of conflicts [undergone upon account] of *Caesariensis*, from the very first day (as I may say) of the Persecution, and during the whole time it lasted, was reserved for this opportunity, that he might in the last place seal up as it were all the Combats [of the Martyr] in *Palestine*. Many Egyptians were with him; amongst whom there was one \* *John*, who for strength of Memory far surpass'd all Men of our age. This Man had been deprived of his Eye-sight before. Nevertheless, in the conflicts of Confession (wherein he got great renown) when one of his Feet (after the same manner that others were served) was rendered useless by being sear'd with red-hot Irons; his Eyes also (alho he could not then see) were burnt out with searing-irons: To such an height of cruelty and inhumanity had the merciless and incompassionate Executions then arriv'd in their carriage [towards the Christians!]. 'Tis needlett to extol this Man for his Morals, and the Philosophick Life he led, especially since he was not so admirable upon that account, as for his strength of Memory; [for] he had whole Books of the sacred Scriptures written (not on *Tables of Stone*, as the Divine Apostle says, nor on Parchments, or Paper, which are devoured by Moths and time, but) on the fleshy *Tables* of his Heart, that is,

on his bright Soul, [which were legible] to the most clear Eye of his Mind. In so much that, whenever he pleas'd, he could produce out of his Mouth, as it were out of a Treasury of Learnings, sometimes the Books of the Law and those of the Prophets, another while the Historical parts of Scripture, and again at other times the Evangelick and Apostolick Writings. I was, I confess, amazed, when I first saw this Man standing in the midst of a numerous Ecclesiastick Congregation, and repeating some parts of the Divine Scripture. For as long as I could only hear his voice, I supposed him to have read what was usually rehear'd in such Assemblies. But when I approach'd very near, and saw plainly what was done, to wit, all the rest [in the Assembly] standing round, and having their Eye-sight clear and perfect, and him making use of the Eyes of his Understanding only, in reality delivering Oracles like some Prophet, and far surpassing those that were found and healthy in body; I could not forbear praising and glorifying of God. And I thought that I really beheld a firm and most evident instance to persuade me to believe, that he is to be accounted truly a Man, (not who appears so to be by the external shape of his Body, but) who is such in respect of his Mind and Understanding. For altho' this person had a mangled and deformed Body, yet he demonstrat'd the strength of his internal Faculties to be great and most powerful. Moreover, God himself vouchsafed to allot these forementioned persons (who, living in a place apart by themselves, spent their time according to the usual manner in Prayers, Fasting, and in the performance of other severe exercises of Religion,) a blessed and salutary death; reaching out to them his propitious Right Hand. \* But that malicious Enemy \* The Devil of all Goodness, unable to endure them any longer, in regard they were carefully arm'd against him with their continual Prayers to God, resolv'd to have them killed and removed from off the Earth, as being troublesome to him. Which God permitted him to attempt and perform; both that he should not be hindred from doing mischief, agreeable to his own mind and purpose; and that they might at length receive the Rewards of their various Combats. Thus therefore nine and thirty persons were beheaded on one and the same day, by an Order from the most impious *Maximin*. These were the Martyrdoms perpetrated in *Palestine* during the space of ten years, and such was the Persecution in our days; which having been began from those times wherein the Churches were demolish'd, was much increased in the times succeeding by the Governour's Infolencies. Amidst which, their various and different Combats who were Religious Champions, made an innumerable company of Martyrs throughout every Province; to wit, in *Libya*, and throughout all *Egypt*, *Syria*, and all those Provinces, which reach from the East round to the Country of *Illyricum*. For those Regions situate beyond these now mentioned, that is, all *Italy*, *Sicily*, *France*, and those which lie towards the Sun-setting, *Spain*, *Mauritania*, and *Africa*, having not endured the rage of the Persecution full out the space of the two first years, were vouchsafed a sudden visitation from God, and [obtain'd] peace: Divine Providence taking compassion on the Simplicity and Faith of those Men. Further, an accident (a parallel to which the Records from the very first beginning of the Roman Empire cannot shew) happened now first

Maximi-  
nus.

\* This *John* is mentioned in the *Armenians* at the twentieth of September. Valef.

in these our days, contrary to all expectation. For, during the Persecution in our times, the Empire was divided into two parts. Those Brethren which were Inhabitants of the one part, that just now mentioned, enjoy'd peace: But such as dwelt in the other part of the Empire, endured innumerable Conflicts [renew'd against them] successively. But when Divine Grace gave some Indications of its candour and compassionate Visitation of us, then those very Governours of ours (who before had been

raiders of the Wars waged against us in our days,) having most miraculously altered their minds, founded a Retreat; extinguishing the flame of Persecution kindled against us, by Rescripts published in favour to us, and by mild Edicts. (c) 'Tis requisite, that we record their Retraction.

Book is wanting; to wit, the Retraction, of the Emperor, or Galerius Maximianus's Edict, ordering a stop to be put to the Persecution. But this defect may be easily made up from the last Chapter of the Eighth Book of the Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

The End of Eusebius Pamphilus's Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine.

T H E

## N I N T H B O O K

# Of the Ecclesiastical History

O F

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

### C H A P. I.

Concerning the counterfeited Cessation [of the Persecution.]

**T**HIS Revocation contained in the Imperial Edict (a) mentioned before, was published in all parts of Asia, and throughout the adjacent Provinces. After which Publications thus made, Maximin the Eastern Tyrant, a person as impious as ever breathed, and a most deadly Enemy to the Worship of the supreme God; being in no wise pleased with these Rescripts, instead of the foremention'd Edict, issues out a verbal Order only to those Governours within his Jurisdiction, that they should stop the Persecution against us. For, in regard he durst not in any wise oppose the Decree of his Superiors, \* having concealed the foremention'd Edict, and taken such care, as that it should not be publicly propos'd in the Provinces under his Jurisdiction; he gives order by word of mouth only to those Governours under him, that they should put a stop to the Persecution against us; of which Order they inform

one another by Letters. For Sabinus, who was then honoured with the Prefecture of the Pretorium (the chiefest Office (c) among them) in a Latin Epistle to the Governours of the Provinces declared the (d) Emperor's Pleasure; <sup>(e)</sup> In stead of [with them]

them] the reading in Nicophorus is [with him,] with him, shewing that Sabinus was Prefect of the Pretorium to Maximin. But our Copies do all agree in the former reading, that is [with them,] in the plural number; which is the truest. For, although Sabinus bore the Prefecture of the Pretorium (which we may call the Office of Lord Chief Justice, or of Lieutenant General under the Emperor, to govern Provinces in Civil Causes; See Pancirol. in Notitiam Imper. Orient. cap. 5.) under Maximinus Caesar in the East; yet because he was made Prefect by Galerius, therefore he is styled the Prefect of the Emperors, meaning Galerius and Maximinus. For the Caesars had not the power of creating Prefects; but they were made by the Augusti, as may be shewn from many places in Amm. Marcellinus. Hence 'tis, that Sabinus in his Edict (which Eusebius does here insert) always speaks of the Emperors in the plural number, to let the Governours of particular Provinces understand, that that was the Command of the Emperors, to wit, Galerius, Constantine, Licinius, and Maximinus. Also, by these words [may] <sup>(f)</sup> <sup>(g)</sup> <sup>(h)</sup> <sup>(i)</sup> <sup>(j)</sup> <sup>(k)</sup> <sup>(l)</sup> <sup>(m)</sup> <sup>(n)</sup> <sup>(o)</sup> <sup>(p)</sup> <sup>(q)</sup> <sup>(r)</sup> <sup>(s)</sup> <sup>(t)</sup> <sup>(u)</sup> <sup>(v)</sup> <sup>(w)</sup> <sup>(x)</sup> <sup>(y)</sup> <sup>(z)</sup> <sup>(aa)</sup> <sup>(ab)</sup> <sup>(ac)</sup> <sup>(ad)</sup> <sup>(ae)</sup> <sup>(af)</sup> <sup>(ag)</sup> <sup>(ah)</sup> <sup>(ai)</sup> <sup>(aj)</sup> <sup>(ak)</sup> <sup>(al)</sup> <sup>(am)</sup> <sup>(an)</sup> <sup>(ao)</sup> <sup>(ap)</sup> <sup>(aq)</sup> <sup>(ar)</sup> <sup>(as)</sup> <sup>(at)</sup> <sup>(au)</sup> <sup>(av)</sup> <sup>(aw)</sup> <sup>(ax)</sup> <sup>(ay)</sup> <sup>(az)</sup> <sup>(ba)</sup> <sup>(bb)</sup> <sup>(bc)</sup> <sup>(bd)</sup> <sup>(be)</sup> <sup>(bf)</sup> <sup>(bg)</sup> <sup>(bh)</sup> <sup>(bi)</sup> <sup>(bj)</sup> <sup>(bk)</sup> <sup>(bl)</sup> <sup>(bm)</sup> <sup>(bn)</sup> <sup>(bo)</sup> <sup>(bp)</sup> <sup>(bq)</sup> <sup>(br)</sup> <sup>(bs)</sup> <sup>(bt)</sup> <sup>(bu)</sup> <sup>(bv)</sup> <sup>(bw)</sup> <sup>(bx)</sup> <sup>(by)</sup> <sup>(bz)</sup> <sup>(ca)</sup> <sup>(cb)</sup> <sup>(cc)</sup> <sup>(cd)</sup> <sup>(ce)</sup> <sup>(cf)</sup> <sup>(cg)</sup> <sup>(ch)</sup> <sup>(ci)</sup> <sup>(cj)</sup> <sup>(ck)</sup> <sup>(cl)</sup> <sup>(cm)</sup> <sup>(cn)</sup> <sup>(co)</sup> <sup>(cp)</sup> <sup>(cq)</sup> <sup>(cr)</sup> <sup>(cs)</sup> <sup>(ct)</sup> <sup>(cu)</sup> <sup>(cv)</sup> <sup>(cw)</sup> <sup>(cx)</sup> <sup>(cy)</sup> <sup>(cz)</sup> <sup>(da)</sup> <sup>(db)</sup> <sup>(dc)</sup> <sup>(dd)</sup> <sup>(de)</sup> <sup>(df)</sup> <sup>(dg)</sup> <sup>(dh)</sup> <sup>(di)</sup> <sup>(dj)</sup> <sup>(dk)</sup> <sup>(dl)</sup> <sup>(dm)</sup> <sup>(dn)</sup> <sup>(do)</sup> <sup>(dp)</sup> <sup>(dq)</sup> <sup>(dr)</sup> <sup>(ds)</sup> <sup>(dt)</sup> <sup>(du)</sup> <sup>(dv)</sup> <sup>(dw)</sup> <sup>(dx)</sup> <sup>(dy)</sup> 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(in this Epistle of his to the Presidents of the Provinces) makes very little mention of this Constitution, because he would not displeasure *Maximin*. Further, by the word [Emperor] *Christophorus* thought *Maximin* was meant. But I like *Rufinus*'s Version better, who supposed *Galerius* to be understood thereby; and besides, *Eusebius* usually calls *Maximin* by the name of *Tyrant*, not *Cesar*. Valef.

*Maximin* the Contents of which Letter we have thus translated:

The Majesty of our most sacred Lords the Emperors, by their earnest and most devout Care, have long since determined to render the Minds of all Men conformable to the true and holy Rule of Living; that by this means they who seem to have embraced Usages different from those of the Romans, might be induced to exhibit due Worship to the Immortal Gods. But the obstinate and most untractable Perverseness of some Mens Minds was arrived at such an height, that neither could the Justice of the [Imperial] Decree prevail with them to recede from their own Resolutions, nor the imminent Punishment annexed strike any terror into them. Since therefore it might have happened, that upon this account many would have precipitated themselves into danger; the Sacred Majesty of our Lords the most Pious and Eminent, (according to their innate Clemency) judging it disagreeable to their own most sacred Intent, that upon this occasion Men should be surrounded with such great danger; enjoyed

\* I suppose, these are the terms of honour, which their great Officers had given to them in all Address; and which they themselves also made use of, when they mentioned themselves in any Letters they wrote to others: The Words in the Greek are *καταστάσεις*, which *Vulgius* renders *devotion* and *obsequium*, by him translated *Reverence*.

\* Devotion to write to your Prudence: That if evidence be brought against any Christian for his following that way of Worship observed amongst those of his own Religion, you should secure him and set him free from all danger and vexation, and that you should condemn none to be punished upon account of this pretence. For since it has been manifestly evidenced, that during so long a tract of time they could by no means be persuaded to desert from their perverse Stubbornness; your Prudence therefore is enjoined to write to the Curators, to the Magistrates, and to the Presidents of the Villages [belonging to] every City, that they may understand, that for the future they are not to take any further care concerning (c) this affair.

(c) I doubt not but in stead of [τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου] this decree, it ought to be [τοῦ ἀρχιεπισκόπου] *for the Christians*. With ancient *Nicopolitan* comes book 7, Chap. 24, who has expressed this place thus, that they should not trouble themselves any further about the Christians. Valef.

Hereupon, all the Governours of Provinces, supposing that the Letter written to them [by *Sabinus*] contained [Maximin's] true and genuine meaning, did by their Letters communicate the Emperor's

pleasure to the Curators, Magistrates, and Presidents of the Villages. Nor did they urge these things to them by Letters only, but much more by such deeds, as that the Prince's Command might thereby be put in execution; bringing forth, and setting at liberty those Prisoners which they had in hold for Confession of the Faith of God; and also releasing them who had been adjudged to the punishment of working in the Mines. For they supposed that this would in reality be well-pleasing to the \* Emperor, but herein they were mistaken. These things being thus finished, on a sudden (like some bright-shining Light which darts forth its Rays after a thick darksome Night,) you might have seen Churches gathered together throughout every

City; full Assemblies; and the usual (f) solemnity of solemn services. *Dionysius Alexander*, used this term in the same sense, as we noted before. There

was a twofold *Synaxis*; one of the Prayers; the other of the Sacrament. *Athanasius* mentions the former, in his *Apology to Constantius*. Valef.

lemn Services performed at these Meetings. All the Infidels were not a little astonished at these things, wondering at so great and unexpected an alteration of Affairs; and crying out, that the God of the Christians was the Great and only True God. Also, those of our Religion, who had faithfully and manfully strove in the Combat of Persecution, obtained great confidence and freedom amongst all Men. But as many as through weakness of Faith had made shipwreck of their Souls, with much earnestness ran to seek for a remedy; begging and praying for an assisting Right Hand from them that were strong, and supplicating God to be merciful to them. Moreover, soon after this, the Noble Champions of Religion, released from their servitude in labouring in the Mines, return'd to their own Countries; and being glad and jocund, travelling through the Cities, were filled with an inexpressible Joy, and a Confidence unutterable. Thus did numerous Companies of persons that were Christians perform their Journeys, lauding God with Hymns and Psalms in the midst of the High-ways and Market-places. And you might now have seen those, (who but lately had been in Bonds, groaning under most severe Punishments, and driven from their own Countries) with joyful and pleasant Countenances possessing their own Habitations again: In so much that they, who formerly [threatened to] murder and destroy us, when they saw this Miracle which did so far surpass all Mens expectation, rejoyc'd with us at what had happened.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Change of Affairs which did afterwards ensue.

BUT the Tyrant (who, as we said before, Ruled in the Eastern parts) no longer able to endure these things, (he being a professed Enemy to Goodness, and one who laid wait to ensnare all good Men) suffered not this state of Affairs to continue (a) the space of six months complete. But, inventing all the ways imaginable to subvert the Peace, first he attempted (upon some pretence or other) to hinder us from assembling in the \* *Cemeteries*. Afterwards (b) he sends an Embassy to himself against us, having solicited the *Antiochians*, by the means of some impious persons, that they should petition to obtain this from him (under the notion of the greatest favour,) to wit, that he would empower them to suffer no Christians to dwell amongst them: He also excited the Inhabitants of other Cities to do the like. The Chief of all these was one *Theoctetus*, an *Antiochian*; a turbulent Person, an Impostor, and a wicked Man, (whose Nature was not answerable to his † Name;) he was at that time (c) *Curator of Antioch*.

See the Appendix to the eighth Book of this History. When *Maximinus Caesar* heard of his death, he renewed the Persecution against the Christians, and proclaimed himself *Augustus*; whereas he was only *Cesar* before, and was compelled to obey the Commands of *Galer. Augustus*. Valef.

\* See Book 7. Chap. 11. Note (f.)

(b) What is meant by this elegant passage [αὐτῶν τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἁγίον ἀντιστάσεων] neither *Christophorus* nor *Musculus* understood: the meaning of it is this: *Maximin* sent underhand how cunning Men to solicit the *Antiochians*, to send Embassadors to his Court, to request of him, that they might have liberty to drive out all Christians from amongst them. Hence *Maximin*, who did underhand procure this Embassy, may well be said to have sent this Embassy to himself, and he himself to have been the Embassador; this transposition of Words is frequent and familiar in *Eusebius*. Valef.

† The Import of *Theoctetus* in the Greek, is, a Son of God.

(c) See Book 8. Chap. 11. Note (b.)

## C H A P. III.

Concerning an Image newly made at Antioch.

WHEN this [Theotecnus] therefore had several ways made his attacks against us, and had taken all imaginable care to hunt those of our Religion out of their Coverts, (as if they had been Thieves and Malefactors,) and had invented all the ways and methods of calumniating and accusing us, and had been the occasion of putting many Men to death: At last he creates an Image of (a) *Jupiter Philus*, and (b) consecrates it with Magick Charms. And, having invented and instituted, in honour of it, impure Ceremonies, execrable Initiations, and most detestable Expiations; he gave the Emperor himself a demonstration of the impotence of his Oracles, by which he effected what he had undertaken. Moreover, this Man, to please the Emperor by his Flattery, stirreth up the *Demon* against the *Christians*; feigning that God commanded, that the *Christians* (as being his Enemies) should be banished the City, and all the Countries adjoining to the City.

(a) This Temple of *Jupiter Philus* at Antioch is mentioned by *Julianus Africanus*, and by *Lactantius* (it is false not in Antioch). Valef.  
(b) The Ceremonies of the Gentiles, used in the erection and consecration of Images to their Gods, were various. For *Jupiter Cæsius* was consecrated with one sort of Rites, *Hercules* with another, and *Philus* with a third. *Jupiter Cæsius*, whose Image they kept in their Store-houses, was consecrated with a little Tub. *Amideus* (in *Ægyptus*), that is, in *P. B. De Ritibus Særis*, apud *Athenas*, B. 11: Cap. 6.) relates the Ceremonies of Consecration. *Jupiter Hercules* was consecrated with *Pots*: See *Aristophanes in Danaidibus*. After the same manner were the Images consecrated, which they erected to *Mercury*, and other Gods. And this they termed, *Σχεμα ἰδενον*, to Consecrate with *Pots*: to these *Pots* they layed all sorts of pulc, of which they offered sacrifice to those Gods they consecrated. In memory of the food eaten in all times, and of the fragility of the Ancients. But when they desired to be at greater cost in treating their God, then they killed a sacrifice at the erection of his Image; which they termed *ἱερὸν ἰδενον*, to Consecrate with a slain Sacrifice. See *Aristophanes* (in *Irene*) and his *Scholasti*, pag. 693. See *Suidas* also, in the word *σάκρον*. Besides these Ceremonies, they used sometimes *Magical Consecrations*: So *Theotecnus* did here, in the Dedication of an Image to *Jupiter Philus*. Valef.

## C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Decrees [of the Cities] against the Christians.

WHEN *Theotecnus*, (the first person that acted against us) had had this desired success, all the other Magistrates, inhabiting the Cities under *Maximin's* Jurisdiction, hastened to establish the same Decree; also, the Governours of Provinces, perceiving that this was acceptable to the Emperor, prompted those that lived within their District, to do the same thing: Moreover, when the Tyrant had by his Rescript most willingly assented to their Ordinances, the Flame of Persecution was again kindled afresh against us. At length, Priests of the Images were constituted in every City; and moreover, such Men as had been most eminent in State Employments, and had acquitted themselves honourably in the publick Offices they had born, were by (a) *Maximin* himself created Chief Priests. These Men

(a) By this Decree, *Provincia-um*. Concerning whom see Book 8. Chap. 14. Note (b). A *Sacerdos Provincia* was created by the Votes of the *Decuriones*, i. e. the *Senators*, or *Aldermen* of the City. Now those Men especially were advanced to this Dignity, who had with honour acquitted themselves in the discharge of all Offices belonging to the Court; as we may see in *Cyd. Theol. Tit. De Decurionibus*. *Eusebius* here takes notice of it as a thing new and unusual, that *Maximinus* himself should elect the *Sacerdotes Provincia*. Valef.

were very diligent and earnest about the Worship of their Gods. For, (that I may speak briefly) the great Superstition of this Emperor had such an influence as well upon the Governours, as the Private Persons within the Limits of his Government, that it induced them all to act any thing against us in compliance to him: And they thought, that to murder us, and to invent some new mischievous Stratagems against us, was the most grateful Acknowledgment they could pay for the Favours they expected to receive from him.

## C H A P. V.

Concerning the forged Acts.

HAVING therefore forged some (a) Acts of *Pilate* concerning our Saviour, which were stuffed with all manner of Blasphemy against Christ; by [ *Maximin* ] the Emperor's Order they send them throughout all his Dominions; commanding by their Letters that these Records should be posted up in all places, both in the Country and in the Cities; and that such as were School-masters should give them to their Scholars in stead of their Lessons, and make them study them, that so they might have them imprinted on their Memories. Whilst these things were done after this manner, the Chief Commander in the Army at *Damascus*, a City of *Phoenicia* (whom the *Romans* call a *Captain*) having chased some infamous Women out of the Marketplace, compelled them by threatening them with tortures, to (b) testify, by subscribing the said publick Records, that they were formerly *Christians*; and that they were conscious to their prophane practices; and that in their very Churches they performed obscene and lascivious actions; and what-ever else he would have them say, that might bring a scandal upon our Religion. The Testimonies of these Women he inserted into the said Acts, and sent them to the Emperor: By whose order these very Records were published in every City, and in all other places.

By Pontius Pilate, and punished by him; the Acts of whose passion are extant? Moreover, these *Acta gishdialia Tarachi*, &c. were performed when *Diocletian* was Consul the fourth time, and *Maximinian* the third, as the inscription of the first interrogatory sheweth. Whence 'tis plain, that these Acts of *Pilate* were forged long before the Persecution; the contrary to which *Eusebius* affirms in this place. But, that I may freely speak my sense, the inscription of these *Acta gishdialia* is in my judgment false; and it should be corrected thus, *rebus Diocletian non Consul the ninth time*, and *Maximinian the eighth*: For (1) there is, in those Acts, mention of the Imperial Command, whereby 'twas ordered that all Men should sacrifice to the Gods. Now this command was issued out on the nineteenth year of *Diocletian's* Empire. (2) In the ninth Chapter these Words occur. The President said, you curse the Prince, who have secured a lasting and continual Peace. *Andronicus* said, I have cursed the Plague, and the Blood-thirsty, which destroy the World. This expression [concerning the securing a lasting and continual Peace] cannot agree with the fourth Consulate of *Diocletian*; for at that time the Barbarians attacked the Roman Empire on every side. Besides, I can't see how *Diocletian* and *Maximinian* can be termed, Blood-thirsty, till after the 19th year of *Diocletian*, when the Persecution began. Lastly, which is another Argument, *Eusebius* affirms, that their Acts of *Pilate* were forged in the time of this Persecution. Valef.

(b) *Rufinus* has rendered the Greek Phrase here (which is *ἀποκαταστασας*) thus, *Acta proferri*, to attest the truth of the said Acts by signing of them: For an evidence may be given both by word of mouth, and in writing also. Valef.

## C H A P. VI.

Concerning them that suffered Martyrdom in those Times.

BUT not long after, this Captain was his own Executioner, suffering a condign Punishment for his malicious Wickedness. And now  
Q 2 Banish-

**Maximianus.** Banishments and most horrid Persecutions were a fresh raised against us; the Presidents in every Province renewing their cruel Infrurections against us: In so much that some of the most eminent Asserters of the Divine Faith were apprehended, and without any Commiseration had the sentence of Death pronounced against them. Three of them having professed themselves Christians, were cast to the Wild-Beasts and devour'd by them at *Emesa*, a City of *Phœnicia*: Amongst them was a Bishop, one *(a) Silvanus*, a very old man, who had born that Office forty years compleat. At the same time also, *(b) Peter*, that most eminent Prelate of the *Alexandrian Church*, (the chiefest Ornament and Glory of the Bishops, both for his virtuous Life, and his Study and Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures) being apprehended for no crime at all, was beheaded contrary to every bodies expectation by *Maximian's* order on a sudden, and without any specious pretence. Likewise many other *Egyptian Bishops* suffered the same death that he did. *(c) Lucianus* also, Presbyter of the Church at *Antioch*, a very pious Man, much famed for his Contineny, and his Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures, was brought to the City of *Nicomedia*, *(d)* where the Emperor then kept his Court; and after he had made his Apology, in defence of that Doctrine which he asserted, before the President he was committed to Prison and murder'd. In fine, *Maximin*, that professed Enemy of all Virtue, did in a short time load us with such Burthens of Afflictions, that this latter storm of Persecution raised by him seemed to us far more grievous than the former.

*(a)* This *Silvanus* is a distinction from that *Silvanus* which *Eusebius* mentions in his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, chap. the last. For this was Bishop of the Emperor was Bishop of *Gaza*. The first was beheaded in the Mines at Palestine with 39 other Martyrs; in the eighth year of the Persecution. But this *Silvanus* was cast to the wild Beasts at *Emesa*, on the ninth year of the Persecution. Concerning this Man's Martyrdom *Eusebius* has said something before, in his eighth Book, although not in its proper place; see Book 8. Chap. 13. *Valf.*

*(b)* *Eusebius* mentions this Man's Martyrdom before in the eighth Book, Chap. 13, but not in its proper place. For the eighth Book does not go beyond the eighth year of the Persecution. But *Peter Bishop of Alexandria* was Martyr'd in the ninth year of the Persecution (which *Eusebius* expressly affirmeth in the end of the seventh Book) upon the seventh of the Calends of December, as we read in the *Excerpta Chronologica* published by *Scaliger*. *Ursinus* says the time; and so does *Ado*, and the old *Roman Martyrology*. The Greeks celebrate his birth-day on the 24th of November. The Acts of his Passion are extant in a MS. in Greek, which the Reverend Father *Franciscus Combesius* has, and will shortly publish, with many other things. *Valf.*

*(c)* *Eusebius* has mentioned this Man's Martyrdom at Book 8. Chap. 13, though not in its due place. But here he remarks the time more distinctly, wherein *Peter* and *Lucianus* suffered; to wit, under *Maximin*; not in the Reign of *Galerius Maximianus*, as *Baronius* would have us believe, at the year of Christ 311, cap. 3. Altho *Baronius* is mistaken in placing the Martyrdom of *Peter Bishop of Alexandria* on the year of Christ 310, for he suffered in the year of our Lord 311, on the ninth year current of the Persecution. *Baronius's* error arose from his beginning the Persecution a year too soon; which mistake we have sufficiently confuted before, at Book 8. Chap. 2. Note (-). Moreover, in regard *Lucianus's* Martyrdom happened under *Maximin*, the Martyrdom of *Antimachus Bishop of Nicomedia* should in my judgment, be placed under *Maximin* also. Indeed *Antimachus* suffered a little before *Lucianus*, as *Lucianus* informs us in his Epistle to the *Autiochians*, which I made mention of in Book 8. Chap. 13. Note (a). We may also make the same conclusion from the Acts of *Lucianus* the Martyr; where, instead of *Maximinus*, we read *Maximianus*, which is a common error in the Greeks. *Valf.*

*(d)* When *Galerius* was dead, *Maximinus* took possession of *Asia* and *Bithynia*, which Provinces (together with *Ibrycum*, and *Thracia*) were governed by *Galerius*. For *Galerius* kept these Provinces for himself, as *Eutropius* informs us; the same is attested by the old Author of the *Excerptions*, which I published at the end of my *Annals*. *Maximinus* therefore made his abode at *Nicomedia*, which was the chief City of *Bithynia*; where the Emperors had a Palace ever since *Diocletian's* time. Further, the following Words do evidently manifest, that by the term [Emperor] *Maximinus* must be meant. Wherefore I wonder at *Baronius*, for asserting that *Lucianus* suffered under *Galerius*, not under *Maximin*; when as *Eusebius*, contemporary with *Lucianus*, assures he was killed by *Maximin*. *Valf.*

## C H A P. VII.

Concerning the Edict against us, which was [engraven on Brazen Plates and] hung up on the Pillars.

Moreover, in the midst of every City *(a)* (which was never seen before) the Decrees of Cities, and also the Imperial Edicts against us, were engraven on Brazen Plates, and propos'd to open view. And the Boys in the Schools had nothing in their Mouths \* all day long but *Jesus* and *Pilate*, and the Acts which were forg'd to disgrace us. I judge it pertinent to insert here this very Rescript of *Maximinus's*, which was engraven on Plates of Brass: Both that the proud and arrogant Insolency of this Man's Hatred towards God may be manifested: And also that it may hence be made apparent, that Divine Justice (which hates the Impious, and keeps a continual watch against them) did with in a very short time pursue and overtake him: By which Divine Justice he was enforced to alter his Sentiments soon after concerning us, and to confirm them by his Edicts in Writing. But these are the Contents of his Rescript.

Nor is it deny'd by our *Eusebius*. But that which he asserts is now never seen before, is the engraving of their Edicts upon plates of Brass. For (as we observed before, Book 8. Chap. 5. Note (b)) the Imperial Edicts were written on Paper. *Valf.*

\* *Kala' pōvov hēmeras*, all day long; so *Rufinus* and *Langus* render it: *Christophorjon* and *Alajulus* translate it, *quodvis*, daily. *Valf.*

## A COPY OF THE TRANSLATION OF MAXIMIN'S RESCRIPT, IN ANSWER TO THE DECREES OF THE CITIES AGAINST US, TRANSCRIBED FROM A BRAZEN PLATE AT TYRE.

Now at length the infirm Confidence of Man's Mind, having shaken off and dispersed the Cloud and Mist of Error (which heretofore invested the Senses of Men, not so much wicked as wretched, being involved in the fatal Night of Ignorance,) may discern, that it is undoubtedly governed and strengthened by the indulgent Providence of the immortal Gods. It is incredible to express how grateful, how pleasing and acceptable a thing it was to us, that you gave such a Proof of your Pious Resolution towards the Gods. Indeed, before this time no person was insensible of the Obediency and Religious Worship you shew'd to the immortal Gods; (b) for your Faith is made known to them not in bare and empty Words, but by uninterrupted and miraculous, *Christophorjon* and *Maj* eminent Acts, upon which account your City may culus deservedly be filed the Seat and Mansion of the thought immortal Gods. For it is manifestly evident by many instances, that She flourisheth by the (c) Arrival and Presence of the celestial Deities in Her: But lo! Now your City (careless of all its own particular Concerns, and having no regard to the Petitions, which in times past it did usually make to us) for the welfare of its Affairs,) when heretofore it was sensible that the Promoters of that accursed to the Tyrants themselves. *Maximin* does attempt to blacken the faith of the Christians by their words, he calls it, *ἀσκήσιον πνεύματος* msc. a faith of bare words: as if the Christian faith had nothing in it but words, and were void of all reality. *Valf.*

(c) The antients believed, that on set days the Gods descended into those Cities for which they had a kindness: Hence it is that the Inhabitants of *Delos* and *Miletus* solemnized the coming of *Apollo*: and the *Argivi*, the advent of *Diana*. This coming of the Gods we find mentioned up and down in the Poets, as in *Virgil*. Hence it is, that upon old Coins, and in the Calendar, we find written *Adventus* *Imp.* *Valf.*

Maximianus

Vanity did begin to creep again, and [perceived] that (like Fire which is carefully left and raked up,) it broke forth into violent Flames; the Brands thereof being rekindled, immediately without the least delay made its Address to our Piety, as to the Metropolis of all Religion, petitioning for a Redress and an Assistance. 'Tis evident that the Gods have insinuated into your Minds this wholesome Advice upon account of your constant and faithful Perseverance in your Religion. For the most High and Mighty Jupiter, (who presides over your most famous City, and preserveth your Country Gods, your Wives and Children, your Families and Houses from all manner of Destruction and Ruin) hath breathed into your Minds this salutary Resolution; whence he hath evidenced and plainly demonstrated, what an excellent, noble, and comfortable thing it is, to adore him, and to approach the sacred Ceremonies of the immortal Gods with a due Obediency and Veneration. For what Man can there be found so foolish and so void of all Reason, who perceives not that it comes to pass by the favourable Care of the Gods towards us, that neither the Earth does deny to restore the Seeds committed to it, frustrating the hopes of the Husbandmen with vain Expectations; or that the

returning to a right and sound Temper of Mind, let them rejoice the more upon that account; in regard, (being delivered as it were from a Storm unforeseen, and from a fatal Disease,) they shall in future reap the sweet Enjoyments of a happy Life. But if any shall wishfully persist in that their execrable Vanity and Error, let them be banished and driven far from your City and its Vicinage (according to your request :) That by this means your City, being (agreeable to your commendable Diligence in this Affair) freed from all Pollution and Impiety, may wholly devote it self (according to its natural Inclination) to attend upon the Sacrifices and Worship of the immortal Gods with all due veneration. Now, that you may be sensible how acceptable your Address in this Case was to us, and how ready and forward our Mind is voluntarily to comply with and reward good Desires even without any Decrees or Supplication; we permit your Devotion to ask the greatest Favour you have a mind to, upon account of this your Religious Attempt. And now therefore make it your business, to ask this, and have it granted. For you shall obtain it without any delay. And this great Boon granted to your City shall endure throughout all Ages, both as a Testimony of your most Religious Piety towards the immortal Gods; and shall also be an Evidence to your Children and Descendants; that for this your good Course and Resolution of Life you have received due Rewards from our Gracious Goodness.

(d) *Maximianus* *Maximianus*. He alludes to that Aspect of the Planets called *Maximianus*; which term is used concerning the Planets, when they seem to move neither backward, nor forward in their Ecliptics; but are stationary. Valer.

and overflow: Or that Storms breaking forth on a sudden and unexpectedly do not raise a destructive Tempest: Or lastly, that the Earth (the Nurse and Mother of all things,) shaken by an horrid Trembling, arising from its own internal Caverns, (e) does not raise vast Hills out of its own Bowels; or that the Mountains which lie upon it are not swallowed up by its unexpected Scissures and Rents. There is no Man but knows that all these Calamities, (yea far more horrid than these) have happened heretofore. And all these Evils fell upon us, because of that pernicious Error and most vain Folly of these wicked Men, at such time as it abounded in their Souls, and turbed the whole Earth all most with Shame and Confusion. After the interposition of some words, he continues: Let Men now look into the open Fields, and see the flourishing Corn, waving its weighty Ears; let them view the Meadows gloriously bedecked with Flowers and Grass caused by the seasonable springing

This Rescript against us was fixed up, on the Pillars throughout every Province, and did utterly exclude us from all hopes of Safety, as far as it lay in Human power to do: In so much that (according to that Divine Oracle) \* Even the elect themselves, were it possible, would have been offended at these things. But now, when all expectation [of assistance from above] was amongst most of us in a manner expired and extinct; while they, who were commissioned to publish the foregoing Edict against us, were in some Countries yet on their Journey; God, the Protector of his own Church, (repressing the outrageous Insolence of the Tyrant against us, by stopping his Mouth as it were;) did on a sudden demonstrate his Celestial assistance in defence of us.

\* He alludes to Matt. 24: 24.

(e) In the Greek Text the term is *οὐρανίου* (not in Vulgar) but it should be *αὐτοῦ*, does (not) raise vast Hills out of its own bowels. For two sorts of Earthquakes (contrary to each other) are here spoken of by Maximian; to wit, (1) *βραχυσταλίας*; which (as Ammianus Marcellinus describes them, Book 17, pag. 98. Edit. Paris 1636.) *Erumum molissimum* *sublimis sursum propellens* *immoventes moles*, raise the ground after an horrid manner, and drive forth vast quantities of earth: (2) *αὐτοῦ*, which (according to Ammianus Marcellinus description, loc. citat.) *grandiori motu perfoliis subito vorantibus*, terrarum partes absorbent, having on a sudden made vast fissures in the ground by a most violent motion, swallow up parts of the Earth. See Valerius' Notes on these words of Ammianus Marcellinus; pag. 142. Maximian means here that Earthquake which afflicted the City of Tyre, in that Year before Diocletian's Persecution, as our Eusebius relates in his Chronicon. Valer.

Showers: Let them consider the Constitution of the Air, how temperate and calm it is again become. In future let all men rejoice, for that by your Piety, by your Sacrifices and Religious Worship, the Fury of that most potent and strong God Mars is appeased; and for this reason, let them securely solace themselves in the quiet enjoyment of a most prosperous and serene Peace. And, as many as have deserted that blind Error, and wholly relinquished those impertinent Wandrings, by

### C H A P. VIII.

Concerning what afterwards happen'd in the time of the Wars, of the Famine, and of the Pestilence.

\* FOR Showers and Rains which would then \* The have been seasonable (it being Winter) most ancient withheld their wonted Streams from the Earth: Upon which happen'd a Famine, not so much as MS. begins thought of or expected, which was followed by a Pestilence. There raged also another violent at these Disease, (it was an Ulcer, which was properly words; call'd a Carbuncle, upon account of its violent burning.) This Ulcer spread itself over all the parts of the Body, and was very fatal and dangerous to them that were afflicted with it. And because its chief Seat was for the most part longest about the Eyes, it blinded a great many Men, Women, and Children. Besides all these Calamities, the Tyrant did now engage in a War against the Armenians, who had been old Friends and Allies of the Romans. This \* person hated \* Maxi- by God, endeavour'd to compel these Men (who were all Christians, very studious and industrious about the Service of God,) to sacrifice to Idols and Demons, and so rendered them Foes Q 3 instead

\* Maxi- min.



Maximi-  
nus.

instead of being Friends, and bitter Enemies instead of Confederates. All these Calamities therefore, hapning on a sudden at one and the same time, did curb and confute the arrogant boasting of the insolent Tyrant against God; who had impudently brag'd, that in regard of his care in worshipping Idols, and persecuting us, neither War nor Famine, nor Pestilence, had hapned in his Reign. Therefore all these Calamities coming to pass together, and at the same instant, were as Prologues and Fore-runners of his imminent Ruin. Both He and his Armies suffered much in the Expedition against the *Armenians*: And the residue, who inhabited the Cities under his Government, were miserably oppressed with the Plague and Famine: So that one Measure of Wheat was sold for two thousand five hundred

\* See B. 1. Chap. 8. died in the Cities, but more in the Countries  
Note (b.) and Villages; so that now the † *Centor's Tables*  
† See B. 1. which were formerly filled with the names of  
Chap. 5. Country-men, wanted but little of one continued  
Note (b.) Blot; almost all persons being destroy'd either by the want of Sustainance, or the Pestilential Disease: Some did not refuse to sell to the wealthier sort, even those things which were most dear to them, for a little morsel of Food. Others selling their Estates by parcels, were reduced to the greatest want and extremity. Other some chew'd in pieces little handfuls of Grais, which they had pluck'd up, and making no distinction, but eating poisonous Herbs together therewith, which corrupted the healthful Constitution of their Bodies, they perished. Also in every City divers Women of good Families, being reduced through want to shameless necessity, came forth to beg in the Market-place: Their modest Countenances and neatness of Drefs were an evidence of their genteel Education: Some were pined away and dried up like the Ghosts of persons departed, so that they went reeling and tottering this way and that way, and being not able to stand, fell down in the midst of the Streets, and lying stretched out upon the Ground with their Faces downward, they craved that even the least morsel of Bread might be given them: And at their very last gasp cried out, that they were hungry; being only strong enough to utter this most doleful expression. But others that seem'd to be rich, astonish'd at the multitude of Beggars, when they had given away a great deal, afterwards became uncompassionate and inexorable, expecting that they themselves should ere-long suffer the same Extremities with those that now begg'd of them. So that now the dead Carcasses which lay in the midst of the Market-places and By-Streets naked and unburied for many days, were a most lamentable Spectacle to the Beholders. Moreover, some were devoured by Dogs, upon which account those that survived, betook themselves to killing of Dogs; being afraid lest they should run mad, and devour them who were yet alive. Neither did the Plague more leisurely destroy whole Households and Families; but more especially those whom the Famine could not dispatch, because they were furnished with great store of Provision. Therefore the rich Presidents of Provinces, the Prefects, and a great many that were of the Magistracy, (as if the Famine had purposely reserved them to be devoured by the Pestilential Distemper) suffer'd an acute and sudden death. All places, By-Lanes, the Markets and Streets, were full of Lamentations. There was nothing to be seen but

mournful songs at burials, (a) together with their usual pipes and other funeral-musick. Thus death fighting with the two forementioned weapons, wit, the Pestilence, and the Famine, did in a short time destroy whole Families; In so much that you might have seen two or three dead bodies carried out of the same house together to the (b) grave. Such were the rewards of *Maximin's* arrogance, and of the Decrees which the Cities issued out to the against us. During these sad times all the Heathens had evident demonstrations of the care and piety of the *Christians* exhibited towards all men. For only they (amidst so many and great calamities on all sides) in reality declared their true compassion, and good nature: Some of them imploy'd themselves, every day in taking care of and in burying the dead (for vast numbers died, whose funerals no body took care of.) Others gathered together into one body, all those in the City who lay under the pressures of the Famine, and distributed bread to them all. So that, when the same of this action was divulged amongst all *Christians*; Men; they all glorified the God of the *Christians*, and did acknowledge them to be pious, and the only true worshippers of God, being convinced both of sufficiently by their works. Affairs being in this posture, God the great and celestial defender of the *Christians*, (having by the afore said calamities manifested his wrath and indignation against all Men, because of their barbarous cruelties shown towards us,) did again restore to us the gracious and glorious spendour of his Providence; darting forth upon us (involved in the thickest darkness) the most miraculous light of his peace: And made it apparent to all Men, that God himself was always the Overseeer and Inspector of our Affairs; who does sometimes the same; indeed chastise and correct his People with scourges of affliction: But after sufficient chastisement, he does again shew himself gracious and merciful to those that confide in him.

stead of their pipes, &c. Thus he erroneously translates the place. But all our MSS. and *Nicetanus* keep to the common reading. *Valer.*

(b) By what is here related concerning the burial of the dead, we may gather that the custom of burning dead bodies was at that time wholly disused amongst the *Romans*. But, when this custom was inl abolished 'tis difficult to determine. The *Romans* seem to have taken up this custom of burying in Graves from the *Jews*, and *Christians*: Concerning which we have a place very observable in *Macrobius*: For (says he in his *Saturnal* B. 7. Cap. 7.) Although in our days the custom of burning the dead is antiquated and disannul'd: Yet *History* teacheth us that in those days, when they burned the dead, they pay'd great respect and honour to them. *Valer.*

## CHAP. IX.

(a) Concerning the death of the Tyrants, and what Ex. (a) In all our MSS. the Title of the

Chapters are transpos'd; that which ought to be the Title of the tenth Chapter is given to the ninth, and on the contrary that which ought to be prefix to the ninth is set before the tenth. This mistake we had corrected in our Translation, but because we would do nothing without the Authority of the MSS. we did therefore choose rather to follow the mistake, resting satisfied in having advertit'd the Reader of the mistake. *Valer.*

**C**ONSTANTINE therefore (who, as we said before, was an Emperor born of an Emperor, the Pious Son of a most religious, sober, and prudent Father) (b) and *Licinius* (who was next to him in Authority, both honoured for their Widow and Piety; two most Pious [Emperors] having been encouraged by God the supream King and Saviour of all Men, against

two *Met.* MSS.



Constantine,  
and Licinius.

engraven upon the Basis of it in Latin; containing these very words :

BY THIS SAVING SIGN WHICH IS THE COGNIZANCE OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE DELIVERED AND FREED YOUR CITY FROM THE SLAVISH YOAK OF THE TYRANT, AND HAVE SET AT LIBERTY THE SENATE AND PEOPLE OF ROME, AND RESTORED THEM TO THEIR ANTIEN T SPLENDOR AND DIGNITY.

After this, Constantine the Emperor and Licinius his Colleague, (who was not then fallen into that extravagant Madness which afterwards deprieved his Intellectuals) having both together worshipped and reconciled themselves to God the Author of all the Good which had happen'd to them, did with an unanimous accord and consent enact a most compleat and full Law in behalf of the Christians. And they sent a relation of the Miracles which God had done for them, and an account of their Victory over the Tyrant, together with this their Law, to Maximin who as yet was Emperor in the Eastern parts, and pretended Friendship towards them. But he, like a Tyrant, was discontented and dejected at this News: Yet being afterwards unwilling to seem to yield to others, and also out of fear to them who had confirmed the Edict, daring not

(b) Πατρι-  
άρχης το  
ἰεροῦ πό-  
λεως (though  
otherwise  
rendered  
by some  
Transla-  
tors) sig-  
nifies the  
same as ἡ  
ἐκκλησία  
ἰερὰ, a Phrase  
before used in  
the first Chapter  
of this ninth  
Book. The import  
of it is, *seponere, occultare*; to conceal,  
or suppress the Edict, as Maximin did before  
in the first Chapter of this ninth Book, when  
Galerius's Rescript was sent him. But when  
Constantine and Licinius, after the overthrow  
of Maxentius, sent their Decree to him in  
favour of the Christians; he durst not conceal  
it metu superiorum, fearing them, as being his  
superiors. Valef.

(b) to suppress and conceal it, he directed his first Rescript in behalf of the Christians, to his Ministers, as it were of his own accord, and by his own authority, tho' he was forced to it; wherein with much artifice he feigneth concerning himself such things as were never done by him.

(b) Πατρι-  
άρχης το  
ἰεροῦ πό-  
λεως (though  
otherwise  
rendered  
by some  
Transla-  
tors) sig-  
nifies the  
same as ἡ  
ἐκκλησία  
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before used in  
the first Chapter  
of this ninth  
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Constantine and Licinius, after the overthrow  
of Maxentius, sent their Decree to him in  
favour of the Christians; he durst not conceal  
it metu superiorum, fearing them, as being his  
superiors. Valef.

#### A Copy of the Translation of Maximin the Tyrant's Rescript.

(i) Diocle-  
tian was  
the first  
that as-  
sumed to  
himself  
this fir-  
name, Jo-  
vianus; as  
his Col-  
league Ma-  
ximinian  
did that  
of Hercu-  
lius. Af-  
terwards  
when Con-  
stantine I  
first came  
into these  
(k) Eastern  
Provinces,  
flavianus  
and Galerius  
were created  
Caesars, Ga-  
lerius, by mar-  
rying Diocle-  
tian's Daugh-  
ter, and living  
with him in  
the East, came  
to be called  
Caesar Jo-  
vianus; and  
Constantine,  
by marrying  
Herculius's  
Daughter-in-  
law; and liv-  
ing with him  
in the Western  
parts, was  
called Caesar  
Herculianus.  
Afterwards  
when Galerius  
died, Maximi-  
n, who was  
by him created  
Caesar, assum-  
ed to himself  
the surname  
of Jovianus;  
which English  
men takes  
notice of. See  
the Chronicon  
Alexandrinum.  
Valef.

(i) JOVIUS MAXIMINUS AUGUSTUS, to SABINUS. I suppose it well known to Your Gravity, and to all Men, that our Lords and Fathers Diocletian and Maximian (when they persecuted that almost all Men, deserting the religious Worship of the Gods, joynd and applied themselves to the Sect of the Christians,) did rightly and duly decree, that all those Persons who had apostatized from the Worship and Service of their Gods, should be recalled to the Worship of the Gods by a publick Punishment and Chastisement. But when with an happy Omen when I first came into these (k) Eastern Provinces, flavianus and Galerius were created Caesars, Galerius, by marrying Diocletian's Daughter, and living with him in the East, came to be called Caesar Jovianus; and Constantine, by marrying Herculus's Daughter-in-law; and living with him in the Western parts, was called Caesar Herculus. Afterwards when Galerius died, Maximin, who was by him created Caesar, assumed to himself the surname of Jovianus; which English men takes notice of. See the Chronicon Alexandrinum. Valef.

(k) Under the name of the East, Egypt also is contained. For the Government thereof was committed to Maximinus Caesar. For Maximinus (after he was made Caesar by Galerius) received the jurisdiction

over all those Provinces, which Diocletian had reserved to himself. And hence it came to pass, that Egypt was reckoned amongst the Eastern Provinces a long while after. So Amm. Marcellinus (B. 14. where he reckons the Provinces of the East,) reckons Egypt and Mesopotamia amongst them. Further, Egypt was originally under the Corner of the East, as we are informed from an ancient Inscription; the Contents whereof are these; M. MAECIO MEMMI O. FURIO BALBURI O. CECILIANO PLACIDO C. V. C. OMIT. ORIENTIS. EGYPTI. MESOPOTAMIAE. CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Valef.

and found that very many Men (who might be serviceable to the Republick) were Exiled and Confined by the Judges; for the reason aforesaid, to certain places appointed them; I gave a charge to all the Judges, that none of them should for the future treat the Subjects of their Provinces so barbarously; but that they should rather regain them to the service of the Gods by courteous Persuasions and kind Exhortations. During the time therefore that our Commands were, according to our Injunction, strictly observed, it happened that there was not one in all our Eastern Provinces either confined, or injured: But, in regard no Trouble or Disquietude happened to them, they were the rather reduced to the Worship of the Gods. After this, in (l) the last Year, when I successfully made a Journey to Nicomedia, and there abode, the Citizens of that City came to see me with the Images of their Gods, begging of me year past, with much earnestness that those sort of Men might (m) the by no means be permitted to inhabit amongst them. But in regard I understood that a great many Men (n) of that Religion lived in those parts, I gave them this answer That I was very well pleased with, and thankfull to them for their Address, but did not perceive that that was the desire of all Men in general. If therefore, any do persist in the [Christian] Superstition, every one of them may have his very free liberty, to choose what pleases him; and if (whereas) they will embrace the Service of the Gods, they also may do that. I thought it requisite to return a xivian kind reply to the Nicomedians, as well as to the other Cities, who with much importunity had pre-Bithynia, sent me with the same Petition, to wit, That so I might Christian might dwell in their Cities; (m) for so I gathered the preceding Emperors (as I observed) had always done; and it now so pleased the Gods, (by whom rich and all Men are preserved, and the publick State of had received Affairs continued in a sedate posture,) that I should be for grant that earnest Address of theirs, which they presented me with concerning the Divine Worship of their Gods. Wherefore although I have very frequently (m) This fore this time, as well by Rescripts as (n) Com-very in- mandis, ordered your Devotion, that the Presidents of tricate Provinces should not be rigid or severe in their Pro- and ob- ceedings against those within their Districts, who were, are, and are studious about the observation of the Rites and there is a Usage of the Christian Religion; but that they patiently tolerate, and with moderation comply with in these Words. [Ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ] which some have translated *propterea quid*, because, but the adverb [Ἐν τῇ] may be rendered ita, so, and then this is the meaning of the place, (viz.) I returned a kind reply to the Nicomedians, which the Emperors my Predecessors always were careful to do. The next difficulty is in these Words [ὑποφύει ἔτι, it therefore pleased the Gods, &c.] But we rather read ὑποφύει, and it now so pleased the Gods, &c. By this means [ὑποφύει] is fitly opposed to the preceding Words [ἔπειτα ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων, the ancient Emperors, &c.] according to this emendation we have translated the place. Valef.

(n) Maximin does here make distinction betwixt *ὑποφύει* and *ἐνδοξα*, Letters and Commands. Letters or Rescripts were sent by the Emperors to the Magistrates or Presidents, into their Provinces when they were absent from Court: Mandata or Commands were given them when they were present. When they were with him, before they went to their Provinces, all which Commands were bound up in a short *Liber*. And this was one of the chief of their Charges given them (to wit,) that they should be careful of their health. The Civilians speak much concerning these Mandata Principum. Valef.

them :

Constant. and Licinius. them yet, lest they should suffer any Affronts or Molestations from the (o) Beneficiarii, or any others, I thought it agreeable and opportune to remind You Gravity by these Letters, that You should rather win the Subjects of Our Provinces to embrace the Wor-

(o) Those Soldiers were called Beneficiarii, or Beneficiaries, that were promoted by the favour of the Tribune; they were privileged from several Duties and Military Subjects to the Worship of the Gods by fair Words and kind Exhortations. Moreover, that this Injunction of Ours may come to the knowledge of all our Subjects, let it be Your care to (p) publish this Our Order by an Edict proposed by You.

(p) It was usual that the Prefects of the Pretorium should, immediately upon receipt of the Emperor's Law, publish it to the Subjects by their Edict. Sometimes they did promulge the Emperor's Law before their own Edict; sometimes they proclaimed their own Edict, and only mentioned in it the Emperor's Law. Thus did *Severus*, in the next Chapter of this ninth Book. But *Rufinus* says that he proclaimed the Emperor's Law before his own Edict. True it is, we must confess, that the Emperor's Laws were published before the Edicts of the President most commonly. Of this we have a notable instance in the Conference at Carthage, where after the reading of the Emperor's Letter to *Marcellinus* the Tribune and the Notarius, *Marcellinus*'s Edict was read. We must suppose the same thing concerning the Emperor's Rescripts: Which were always placed before the Edicts of the Magistrates. So did *Himerius*, Rhetorick of Egypt, in his Epistle to the Governor of *Alaotia*; which *Athanasius* has related in his Apology. Valef.

When *Maximin* had issued out this Procept (being necessitated to it, and having not done it of his own accord) for all this he was not look'd upon by all Men to mean unfeigningly, or worthy to be confided in, because formerly (after the like Indulgence) he had demonstrated himself to be of a mutable and perfidious Disposition: None therefore of our Religion durst either (q) meet together in their Ecclesiastick Assemblies, or shew themselves in publick; for the Rescript did not in expresse words allow of this; it only contained an Order that we should be preserved secure from violence and abuses: But it permitted us not either to celebrate our Assemblies, or to build Churches, or to perform any of those Solemnities usual with us: Although *Constantine* and *Licinius*, the Patrons of Peace and Piety, (r) had by their Letters acquainted him, that they had both permitted us to do these things, and also had granted the same to all under their Government by their Rescripts and Decrees. But the most impious Tyrant was resolved not to yield thus, till such time as, having been prosecuted by Divine Justice, he was at length forc'd to it, whether he would or no.

(q) By ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίαν, i. e. to meet together in their Assemblies; instead of ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκλησίαν, which word I greatly approve of as explaining the place. Valef.

(r) These words [ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐκκλησίαν] *Maximulus* and *Crispologus* render thus; *Maximulus*, ut ista concederet, scripturam, they had written to Maximin that he should grant it. But I think *Eusebius*'s meaning was otherwise, (to wit,) *Constantine* and *Licinius* wrote to *Maximin*, that they had given free liberty to the Christians to exercise their Religion, to celebrate their Assemblies, and to build Churches, &c. For it seems unlikely and something arrogant, that *Constantine* and *Licinius* should command *Maximin*, their Collegue, to grant these Privileges to the Christian. Valef.

## C H A P. X.

Concerning the Victory obtain'd by the Pious Emperours.

THIS was the reason which (a) did press him on every hand. When he was no longer able (a) *Isidorus* the Translator did not understand this word of force of mind, but thought it was a word of spirit, even against his Collegues in the Empire, who were far his Superiors in Birth, Education, Desert, Prudence, and (which is the chiefest Accomplishment of all) in Humility and Piety towards the only true God. Through confidence and insolency he arriv'd to such a degree of audaciousness, as to (b) challenge the Precedency, and placed his name first in all Titles and Honours. Then (c) his madness breaking forth into utter deparation, having violated the League which he had made with *Licinius*, he rais'd a bloody and implacable War. Afterwards in a short time he put all things into confusion, and every City into a strange consternation; and having gather'd together all his Forces, being a very great Army, he march'd forth to fight against *Licinius*; being extraordinarily puffed up in mind with confidence of the assistance of Demons which he supposed to be Gods, and with his innumerable Army of Men. But when he came to engage in a Battle, he was destitute of a Divine care and protection; and the Victory was by the one only and supreme God given to *Licinius*. First of all his (d) Foot Forces were routed, in which he did most confide; then his Guards deserted him, revolting to *Licinius* the Conqueror, and he forthwith, unhappy Wretch, threw off his Royal Robes, (which did not become him,) and timorously, ignobly and unmanfully shrowded himself amongst the crowd [of common Soldiers.] Afterwards he fled; and (being very solicitous about making provision for his own safety) hid himself in the Fields and Villages, hardly escaping the Enemies hands; by which he did truly verifie thofe

(a) By these words [τῶν ἐναντίων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναγκά] is meant, to place his name first in all Titles of Law and Decrees. Also, in all Inscriptions on publick Works, Statues and Images, *Maximin* placed his name before his Collegues, *Constantine* and *Licinius*: Although they were *Augusti* before him. But *Maximin* challenged the first place, because he was created *Cæsar* before them. Valef.

(c) *Nicetiorus* changes these words [ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναγκά] thus [ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναγκά] thus [ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀναγκά] extending his Pride to utter madness; which Rendition is not amiss. For *Maxima* is, in *Chrysostome*, taken for pride in many places. Valef.

\* In all our MSS. 'tis ψυχῇ; and we translate accordingly the term. Valef.

of Demons which he supposed to be Gods, and with his innumerable Army of Men. But when he came to engage in a Battle, he was destitute of a Divine care and protection; and the Victory was by the one only and supreme God given to *Licinius*. First of all

(d) By [ἐπὶ τοὺς ποταμούς] the term here us'd, *Eusebius* means *Maximin*'s foot forces. Of all Historians only *Zosimus* mentions any thing of this Battle between *Maximin* and *Licinius* in *Illyricum*; in his second Book: He says, that *Licinius* at first suffer'd some loss; but afterwards, renewing the fight, he put *Maximin* to flight, who fled towards the East, thinking to raise a new Army. This Relation does well agree with this of *Eusebius* here, for he says that *Maximin* having lost his Army fled into his part of the Empire, that is, into the East. This Battle therefore was fought in Europe; in the year of Christ 312. *Constantine* and *Licinius* being the third time Confessors; as *Socrates* well observes, in his third Book De *Occidentali Imperio*. Valef.

firm, unerring, and Divine Oracles, which say; There is no king that can be saved by the multitude. Psal. 33. of 16.

Constant. of an host, neither is any mighty man delivered by his great strength. A horse is counted but a vain thing to save a man, neither shall he deliver any man by his great strength. Behold the eyes of the Lord are upon them that fear him, upon them that put their trust in his mercy; to deliver their souls from death. Thus therefore did the Tyrant return with disgrace into his own Provinces; and first of all in a mad passion he destroyed many Priests and Prophets belonging to those Gods he had formerly admired, (by whose Oracles he had been excited to engage himself in this War) as Cheats, Impostors, and also, Betrayers of his own Safety. Then when he had given thanks and praise to the God of the Christians, and had enacted a full, perfect, and most complete Law for their Liberty, he was forthwith struck with a mortal Distemper, and (without the least delay allow'd him) finish'd his Life. Now this was the Law which he published.

\* Annot. on the Copy of the Version, &c.

\* A Copy of the Tyrant's Decree in behalf of the Christians, translated out of Latin into Greek.

EMPEROR CÆSAR CAIUS VALERIVS MAXIMINVS GERMANICVS, SARMATICVS, PIVS, FELIX, INVICTVS AVGVSTVS. We are confident no man can be ignorant, but that every one does know and is fully satisfied (if he does recollect himself, and reflect upon what is done,) that at all times and by all means we do consult the Utility of the Subjects of our Provinces, and do willingly grant them such things as may prove most advantageous to them in general, all that may be most conducive to their common good and profit, whatever is agreeable to the advantage of the Publick, and is most grateful to the minds of every one of them in particular. At such time therefore as it came to Our knowledge, that (upon occasion of a Law made by Our Parents, their most Sacred [Majesties] Diocletian and Maximian, whereby it was decreed that the Assemblies of the Christians should be utterly abolished, many Extortions and Rapines were committed by the Beneficiarii, and that these Abuses of Our Subjects (whose Peace and Quiet is Our chiefest care) increased exceedingly, their Estates being [upon this pretence] wasted: By Our Letters written the last Year to Our Presidents of every Province, We decreed; That if any one had a desire to follow that Sect, or adhere to the Precepts of that Religion, he might without impediment persist in his Resolution, and not be hindered or prohibited by any man: And that every one should freely do what pleased him best without the least fear or suspicion. But it could not now escape our knowledge that some of Our Judges did (f) misap-

\* See the foregoing Chapter. Note 61.

(c) It means his Requisite to Submit to the Practice of the Persecution; which has interested the foregoing Chap. II. S.

Maximin says 'twas written in the year past, or the last year, i. e. in the year of Christ 312. Constantine and Licinius being both then in their second Consulate. Whence it follows, that this last Edit of Maximian was written in the year of Christ 313. Constantine and Licinius being the third time Consuls. Further, there are the principal differences between the Emperor's Rescripts and Edicts. (1.) Their Rescripts had their names annex'd to whom they were sent; the Edicts spoke to all Men in general. (2.) The Edicts were publicly proposed; the Rescripts were given to those to whom they were sent; as may be seen from Gess. Duguet. Cæcilian. p. 28. nor was it usual to publish them, unless this word was expressly added in the end of the Rescripts, *proponatur*, Let it be published. Lastly, in their Rescripts the name of the Emperor was prefix'd only with some few of his Titles: But in their Edicts, none of their Titles were omitted, but all were carefully and proudly mentioned. Valef.

(f) This word [*misinterpretatus*] is by Langus rendered *male accipisse, misinterpretatus, misinterpreted*: Which Version I approve of. For *misinterpretatus*, in its genuine sense signifies *male interpretari*. But *Mis-*

culus (and Christoph. in imitation of him) translates it, *negligere, to neglect, pro nihilo habere, not to value*: Which is not so well. The *Fab.* and *Sauv.* MSS. read [*misinterpretatus, disregarded*] which words seem to have been written in the Margin as a *Scholion* at first; but afterwards crept into the Text. Valef.

prebend Our Commands, and caused Our Subjects to Consume, and distrust and doubt of Our Decrees, and made them more slow and fearful in their access to those Religious Performances which they approved of as best: Now therefore that all Jealousies, Ambiguities, and Fears may for the future be removed, we have decreed that this Our Edit be published; whereby all men may know, that they who desire to follow this Sect and Religion, are allowed by this Our Gracious Indulgence to apply themselves to that Religion which they have usually followed, in such a manner as is acceptable and pleasing to every one of them. We do also permit them to rebuild their Oratories. Moreover, that this Our Indulgence may appear the larger and more comprehensive, it has pleased us to make this Sanction; That if any Houses or Estates (which formerly belonged to and were in possession of the Christians) are by the Decree of Our Parents devolved to the Right of the Exchequer, or are seized upon by any City, or sold, or (g) bestowed upon any one as a Gratuity: We have decreed that they shall all be restored to the ancient Tenure and Possession of the Christians; that so all men may hereby be sensible of Our Pity and Providence in this concern.

which fell to the Exchequer, to those that hegg'd them. See the Edit, in the Title *De petitionibus*. Valef.

These are the expressions of the Tyrant, which came from him not a full year after those Edicts he had publish'd against the Christians [engraven on Plates of Brass, and] fix'd up on the Pillars. And now he, who but a little before look'd upon us as Impious, Atheistical Persons, and the very Pest of Mankind, (in so much that we were not permitted to dwell in any City, Country, or even in the Deserts,) this very person [I say] made and published Laws and Decrees in favour of the Christians. And they, who but lately were destroy'd by Fire and Sword, and were devoured and torn by Beasts and Birds in the very presence of this Tyrant; they, who underwent all sorts of Punishments, Tortures and Death, in a most miserable manner, like Atheists and irreligious persons, even these Men are now acknowledged by this very Tyrant to profess Religion, and are permitted to rebuild their Oratories; nay further, the Tyrant himself does acknowledge and attest that they ought to be partakers of some Rights and Privileges. Moreover, when he made this publick acknowledgment, (as if he had hereby obtain'd some favour) for this very reason, his Sufferings were less calamitous than he deserved they should be, [for] being smitten by God with a sudden stroke, he died in the second Engagement [that happened in] that War. But he ended his Life not like those Martial Generals, who (after they had often demeaned themselves gallantly in the Field in defence of their Honour and their Friends) happened courageously to undergo a glorious Death. But he (like an impious person, and a Rebel against his Creator,) whilst his Army flood in the Field drawn up in Battalies, staying at home and hiding himself, suffered a condign Punishment, being smitten by God with a sudden Blow over his Body. For, being tortured with grievous and most acute Pains, he fell upon his Face on the Ground, and was destroyed by want

Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

want of Food, all his Flesh being melted away by an invisible Fire sent upon him from Heaven. In so much that, when his Flesh was wholly wasted away, the entire shape and figure of his former Beauty quite disappeared; his parched Bones (which look'd like a Skeleton that had been long dried) being all that was left of him. So that those about him judg'd his Body to be nothing but the Grave of his Soul buried in a Body already dead and wholly purified. And when the violent Heat of his Distemper scorched him with a greater vehemency even to the very Marrow of his Bones, (b) his Eyes leaped out of his Head, and, having deserted their proper station, left him blind. After all this he yet drew his Breath, and having given thanks, and made his Confession to the Lord, he called for Death. At last, acknowledging these his Sufferings due for his Contempt and Presumption against Christ, he gave up the Ghost.

(b) Chryso-  
stom attests  
the time, in  
his death  
on a cer-  
tain day  
of the year  
against the  
Gentiles;  
in these  
words.

Ἦν αὖτε τις κόρυς ἡ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ σώματος ἐκείνου. ὅτι ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ  
κατέβη καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν. The eye-balls of one of them leapt  
out of his eye-holes of their own accord, while he was yet alive; this was  
Maximin: The other ran mad. Diocletian was the Emperor that was  
described; which is attested by Eusebius, and by Constantine. We  
have also an account of Maximin's blindness, in Epiphanius's piece De  
Fide. Valef.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning the first Diffraction of the Enemies Re-  
ligion.

**M**aximin therefore being thus taken out of the World, (who was the only Enemy of Religion that hitherto I arrived, and declared himself the worst of them all;) the Churches by the Grace of God Almighty were rebuilt and raised from the very Foundation, and the Gospel of Christ, darting forth its Beams of Light to the great glory of the All-ruling Deity, enjoyed greater liberty than it formerly had. But the Wicked, and the Enemies of Religion were clouded with the highest Disgrace and greatest shame imaginable. For first of all Maximin himself was

(a) Through in the common E-  
cumenical term here is [κατα-  
στρέφω] yet we read κατα-  
στρέφω. For Eusebius here means,  
that Maximin was proclaimed a  
Common Enemy. This was done  
not only, by the Decree of  
the Senate, as the Compilers of  
the Historia Augusta inform us  
in many places, and especially  
where they treat of Maximin.  
Valef.

proclaimed by the Em-  
perors a (a) publick En-  
emy, and was termed in the  
publick Edicts which were  
fixed upon Pillars, a most  
impious, detestable Ty-  
rant, superlatively odious  
to God. Also the Pictures  
which were placed in ev-  
ery City in honour of him  
and his Children, were  
some of them broke in

pieces and thrown down from on high to the  
very Ground; and others were defaced, having  
their Visages blackened with dark colours. In  
like manner all the Statues which had been cre-  
ated in honour of him, were also thrown down,  
broken in pieces, and exposed as subjects of deri-  
sion and scorn to all those that would abuse  
and insult over them. After this the other En-  
emies of Religion were divested of all their  
Dignities. Moreover, all Maximin's Parry,  
more especially those whom he had preferred  
to places of the greatest power in the Provinces  
within his Empire (who to flatter him had  
been insolently abusive towards our Religion)  
were put to death. One of this number was

(b) Picentius, a person that was a great Favourite  
of his, highly esteemed by him, and his dearest  
and Intimate: Whom he created Consul a second  
and a third time, and also made him (c) Praefect  
and Rationalis. Another was one (d) Calpurnius (b) him  
who had born all Offices of Dignity in the Ma-  
gistracy and in the Government of Provinces; name of d.  
he also was famous for his innumerable Malit-  
terres of the Christians in Egypt. There were a  
great many more beside these, by whose conde-  
vours most especially, the barbarous Tyranny of  
Maximin was maintained and extended. Further,  
Divine Vengeance required justice to be executed  
upon (e) Theoctenus, being in no wise forgetful of  
his Practices against the Christians. For he was  
look'd upon as a deserving and successful person  
upon account of his Consecration of the image  
at Antioch, and besides, the Emperor Maximin  
conferr'd on him the Presidency of a Province.  
But when Licinius came to Antioch, and was re-  
solved to make Inquisition for the Impostors, Certain  
[amongst others] he tortured the Priests and  
Prophets of the new-contrived Inigo, enquiring  
of them how they palliated and put a Mask  
upon their Imposture; when they could no  
longer conceal the truth, being by their tor-  
tures compelled [to disclose it] they decla-  
red, that the imposture of the whole Mystery  
was composed by the cunning of Theoctenus.  
Valef.

(c) He seems to mean the Praefect of the Praetorium. For the term  
[Πραι-  
τοριος] is never used but to denote either the Praefect of the Prae-  
torium, or the Praefect of the City. Besides, when Eusebius affirms that  
Picentius was advanced to great honour, and made Consul twice by Maxi-  
min, it would be absurd for him to say, that he was made Rationalis by  
him, that being a place of small honour in respect of the Praefecture of  
the Praetorium. But, there are these arguments to confute this opi-  
nion: (1.) By these words [καὶ τριτὴν ἀλφειαν] Eusebius does always  
mean the Rationalis, as we have frequently observed before. (2.) Sabi-  
nus was Praefect of the Praetorium to Maximin (as we noted before) in the  
last year of Christ, 311, and 312. Neither (3.) is the dignity of the  
Rationalis Office to be looked upon as mean and low. For even Marius  
the (that bore) on the Empire in the times of Gallienus bore that  
Office: And Eusebius himself [Look 8, Chap. 9.] calls it *αὐτοῦ  
καὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, speaking of Philoromus the Martyr. But that  
which Eusebius says, to wit, that Picentius was made Consul thrice by  
Maximin, is very intricate and difficult to be made out. We have ob-  
served before, that after Galerius's death, Maximin took upon him-  
self the title of Augustus, in the year of Christ 311. Therefore, before  
this time, when he was Caesar only, he could not make Picentius Consul.  
For the Augusti only had a right of creating the Consuls. Therefore,  
after Galerius's death, Maximin declared himself and Picentius Consuls  
in that very year. On the year following Maximin and Picentius bore  
their second Consul: to the East, when Constantine and Licinius were  
the second time Consuls in the West. But in Italy and Africa Maxenti-  
us was the fourth time Consul alone. Then, on the year after, which  
was the 313 year of Christ, the same Maximin and Picentius were Con-  
suls the third time in the East, as is evidently collected from this fa-  
mous passage in Eusebius. For 'tis impossible that Maximin should give  
a third Consulship to another, and not declare himself Consul once.  
Indeed, in the Alexandrian Chronicle, Galerius Maximinus is put Consul  
with Maximianus, being in his eighth Consulship, which is the year  
of Christ 311. Although in that Chronicle he is called Galerius  
Maximus. We therefore are the first that have taken notice, that  
Maximin bore three Consulships. Whence it may be gathered, that  
Maximin was Augustus about two years, having before been Caesar seven  
years, and that he had lived till the 313 year of Christ, which we have  
also demonstrated from his Rescripts. Wherefore I wonder how so no-  
torious a mistake should creep into Eusebius's Chronicle, as to place  
Maximin's death before Maxentius's: It seems to have been committed  
by St. Jerome; for he added many things of his own to Eusebius's Chro-  
nicon. Valef.

(d) He was President of Thebats, as Epiphanius attests in his 68 Heres.  
which is the Heretic of the Meletians, where he is called [καλαπυρνός,  
Calpurnius] but it should be Calpurnius, as 'tis evident from this place  
in Eusebius. Yet Rufinus translates it Quintinus: In Nicephorus 'tis  
Lucianus; both names are false. For this President was called Calcu-  
mus, as (besides Eusebius) the Acts of Phileas the Martyr's Passion do  
affirm. Valef.

(e) Eusebius speaks of this Theoctenus before, in this ninth Book. Ce-  
drenus asserts that this Theoctenus perverted Galerius Maximinus to  
raise a Persecution against the Christians. But he is mistaken, in that he  
takes Galerius Maximinus for Galerius Maximianus, which is a common  
error amongst the modern Greek Authors. Valef.

when

Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

when therefore *Licinius* had inflicted condign punishment on them all; he gave order that *Theoctecus* himself should first be executed, and afterwards the rest of his Associates that were conscious to, and Accomplices in the Cheat, having first suffered innumerable Tortures. To all these were added *Maximin's* Sons, whom he had now made Collegues with himself in the Empire, and Partakers of the Pictures, and Inscriptions dedicated to his Honour. In fine, all the Tyrant's Relations, (who but just before had made their proud boasts, and insolently exercised authority over all Men,) most ignominiously underwent the same Sufferings with those persons forementioned, for they received not instruction, nor did they know, or understand

this seasonable Admonition uttered in the Holy Scriptures; O put not your trust in Princes, nor in the Children of men, for there is no health in them. The breath of man shall go forth, and he shall return again to his earth: in that day shall all their thoughts perish. Thus therefore the Impious being like Filth wiped away [from off the Earth,] the Empire, which by right belonged only to *Constantine* and *Licinius*, continued firm, and unobnoxious to envy. These persons (after they had first of all cleansed the World from all Impiety) being sensible of those great Benefits they had received from God, did sufficiently demonstrate their Love of Vertue and of the Deity, their Piety and Gratitude towards God, by the Laws they made in favour of the *Christians*.

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The End of the Ninth Book of the Ecclesiastical History.

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THE

# THE TENTH BOOK Of the Ecclesiastical History

OF

EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS.

## CHAP. I.

*Constant. and Licinius.* Concerning the Peace, which was procured by God for us.

**T**herefore, Glory be to God, the Almighty and Supream King, for all things: And manifold thanks to the Saviour and Redeemer of our Souls, Jesus Christ, through whom we pray that we may have always preserved to us a firm and inviolable Peace, both from outward Troubles, and also from all internal Molestations of mind. Having (by the assistance of your Prayers) added this Tenth Book of our Ecclesiastick History to those foregoing Books at this place finished, we have dedicated it to He you (most sacred (a) Paulinus!) hereby pub-

(a) He means Paulinus Bishop of Tyre, to whom our Eusebius dedicated his Ecclesiastick History. For by his perswasion he undertook this work, as he does here plainly intimate. Eusebius designedly omitted the dedication of his Books to Paulinus at the beginning of this Work, (which is usually done,) upon account of Paulinus's modesty (if I mistake not;) but was contented to make an honourable mention of him at the end of his History. For he supposed it signified not much, whether he dedicated his Books to him at the beginning, or at the end of them. Eusebius dedicated to the same Paulinus two Books *adversus eos quos vocant*, concerning the names of places: The former of these which contained the division of the twelve Tribes, the description of the City Jerusalem, and the Hebrew Appellations of extraneous Nations; the latter was above twenty years since put forth in Greek by the Reverend Father Basilius; to which there is prefixed an Epistle to Paulinus. Wherein Eusebius attests, that by Paulinus's perswasion he attempted that Work; and he gives him this title, [ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Παυλίνου, ὁ Παυλίνου, ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄξιον ἄνθρωπον.] Paulinus therefore was our Eusebius's *regis dominus*, *Insulator* to compile his Books, as Ambrosius heretofore was *Origen's*. Further, this Paulinus was at first a Presbyter of Antioch. Afterwards, being preferred to the Bishoprick of Tyre, he was much commended for his Presidency over that Church. And at length when Eusebius was deposed of the See at Antioch, he was by the Antiochians preferred to the Government of their Church: So Eusebius informs us, in his Book against Marcellus, Chap. 4. in these Words, ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, &c. Afterwards he inveighs against the Man of God Paulinus, a most blessed Person; who was adorned with the dignity of a Presbyter at Antioch; and was so famous for his Government of the Tyrian Church, that the Antiochians challenged him as their own proper Good. Philostorgius (Book 3. Chap. 15.) says expressly, that Paulinus succeeded Eusebius in the See of Antioch, and that six Months after his Translation he died. Paulinus therefore died in the year of Christ 328, after he had born the Episcopate of Antioch six Months. Wherefore Gostfredus is much mistaken, who (in his Notes on Philostorgius) supposes Paulinus to have died in the year of Christ

324; and blames Philostorgius for being inconsistent to himself. But Philostorgius agrees very well with himself, which Gostfredus does not, in asserting that Paulinus Bishop of Tyre died in the year of Christ 324. undoubtedly Paulinus Bishop of Tyre was present at the Nicene Council, and survived that Synod sometime; as Theodoret informs us, Book 1. Chap. 6. and Sozomen, Book 2. Chap. 18. Baronius indeed says that Paulinus died in the year 324, and that Eusebius succeeded him. But Baronius affirms not, that that Paulinus whom he makes Eusebius's Predecessor, was Bishop of Tyre. Valef.

liffing you to be the Seal and Closure as it *Constant. and Licinius.* were of this our whole Work. Nor will it be incongruous (as we suppose) to place here

\* an entire and compleat Panegyrick concerning the Re-edification of the Churches: Obeying herein the Holy Spirit, which exhorteth us in these words: O

*\* The Phrase in the original is [ἐκ δεξιῶν τελευτῶ] which Valefius, Christopherson, and Grynaeus render in perfect numero; and we, an entire and compleat Panegyrick.*  
sing unto the Lord a new song; for, he hath done marvellous things. With his Psal. 98. own right hand, and with his holy arm hath he gotten himself the victory. The Lord hath declared his salvation: his righteousness hath he openly shew'd in the sight of the Heavens. Therefore, since the Scripture enjoyneth us [to begin] a new Song, let us agreeable thereto sing together; because, after such terrible, black, and horrid Spectacles and Relations, we are now vouchsafed to see such happy Days, and to celebrate such Festivals, as many of our Ancestors, who were truly Just and God's Martyr, desired to see upon Earth, but have not seen them; and to hear, but have not heard them. But these persons hastning away with all possible speed, obtain'd far more excellent things, being taken up into Heaven, and into the Paradise of Divine Joy and Delight: And we, confessing these present Enjoyments to be greater than our Deserts, stand amazed at the bounty of the Donor of such Munificence: We also justly admire and adore him with the utmost vigour of our Souls, attesting the truth of his Predications by his Prophets contain'd in the Scriptures, in which 'tis said: O come hither, and behold the works of the Lord, what miracles he hath done upon the earth: He maketh the wars to cease in all the world. He shall break the bow, and knap in sunder the spear, and burn the shields with fire. Let us therefore rejoice



Constant,  
and  
Licinian.

at the perfect and effectual completion of these things in our days, and with gladness prosecute the Series of our Narration. After the same manner therefore that we have related, did the whole Race of those Enemies of God vanish, and was suddenly taken away out of Men's sight; so that that Divine Oracle was again completed, which says; \* I have seen the wicked exalted, and lifted up like the Cedars of Libanus, I went by, and lo, he was not: I sought his place but it could not be found. Now therefore a bright and glorious day, no cloud overshadowing it, doth enlighten, with Rays of heavenly Light, the Churches of Christ over all the Earth. Neither were there any of those that were strangers to the Community of us Christians, and to our Religion, (b) but (although they did not enjoy them in the same degree that we did, yet at least in some measure) might together with us partake of the Streams and Effluxes of those good things, which had been procured us from God.

(b) This place (which neither Musculus nor Christi- stoporson under-

stood) must be thus mended; συνεπολαύον ἑαυτοὺς ἐν τοῖς ῥήματι τοῦ θεοῦ, &c. But (although they did not enjoy them in the same degree that we did, yet at least in some measure) might together with us partake of the Streams, &c. Vale! In Stephen's Edition the Reading is, συνεπολαύον ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς ῥήματι, &c.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Re-edification of the Churches.

ALL mankind was now free from the Slavery and Oppression of Tyrants; and being released from their former miseries, (although several ways, yet) all acknowledged as well as they could, that it was the only true God, who was the Defender of the Pious. But more especially amongst us (all whose hopes were fixed solely upon God's Christ) there was an inexpressible joy, and a kind of celestial gladness; when we saw all places, which thro' the Irreligion of the Tyrants were a little while ago totally destroy'd, restor'd to life as it were, and recover'd from a tedious and fatal Ruin; and [when we beheld] the Temples erected again from the ground to a vast height, and in splendour far exceeding those which had formerly been destroy'd. Moreover, the Emperors themselves, in whose hands the supreme Power was, by their continual enacting of Laws in favour of the Christians, did enlarge, augment, and confirm the magnificence of the Divine Bounty towards us. There were Rescripts also frequently sent from the Emperor particularly to the Bishops, their Honours were increased, and Sums of Money were bestowed on them. The Contents of which Rescripts (being translated out of Latin into Greek,) it may not be impertinent to record in this Book (as in a sacred Table) at a proper and fit place, that they may be had in continual remembrance by all succeeding Generations.

## CHAP. III.

Concerning the Consecrations of Churches every where [solemniz'd.]

AFTER those things, a Spectacle earnestly pray'd for, and much desir'd by us all, appear'd; [to wit,] the Solemnization of the

Festivals of Dedication [of Churches] throughout every City, and the Consecrations of the new builded Oratories; the frequent Assemblies of Bishops, the Concourse of Strangers from Countries far remote, the mutual Love and Benevolence of the People; the Union of the Members of Christ's Body joyn'd together in an entire harmony and consent: Therefore, (agreeable to that \* Prophetick Prediction, which has mystically fore-signified what is to come,) bone was joyned to bone, and joyned to joyn; and what ever else that Divine Prophecy has enigmatically but truly declar'd. There was one and the same Power of the Holy Ghost which passed through all the Members; one Soul in all: The same alacrity of Faith: One common consent in chanting forth the (a) praises of God. Indeed, the Ceremonies of the Prelates were most entire, the Presbyters Performances of Service exact, the Rites of the Church decent and majestic; (b) on the one hand was a place for the Singers this of Psalms, and for the rest of the Auditors of the Expressions sent from God: On the other was a place for those who performed the divine and mystical Services: There were also [deliver'd] the (c) mystical Symbols of our Saviour's Passion. And now People of all ages, and sexes, Men and Women, with the utmost vigour of their Minds, with joyful Hearts and Souls, by Prayers and Thanksgiving, worshipp'd God the Author of all Good. All the Prelates then present made publick Orations, every one (as well as he was able) endeavouring to set forth the Praises of those assembled.

Constant,  
and  
Licinian.

\* Ezech. 37.

(a) This place is here (as) taste- nific the praising of God: so also is Saviour's laudare Deum, to praise God.

(b) Re- finus's Version of this place may serve in stead of a Comment; he translates it thus; Jam verò ingens in Sacerdotibus ministeriū, atq; in omnibus quæ ad religionis observantiam pertinet, gratia refulgebat. Assabant hic psallentium chori, juvenes & virgines, senes cum junioribus laudabant nomen domini. Ecce mysticani- nisteria ordinatis & dispositis vicibus agebantur; & ad novæ ac exceeding great Glory and Beauty appear'd in the Performances of the Presbyters, and in the Ecclesiastick Services, and in all things belonging to the Observances of Religion. In one place, the company of those that sang Psalms, Youths and Virgins, old Men and young, praised the name of the Lord. In another, the Mystical Services were performed by set counts orderly appointed. The terms [δὲ ἡ πόλις] therefore denote the People of the Congregation, who sang Psalms in the Church, and hearkned to the sacred Lessons: Which is confirmed by these Words [ἐκείνῃ, δὲ αὐτῇ, ἀκούσαντες, Auditors of the Expressions] which can be understood of the Laicks only. The Words [ἐκείνῃ, δὲ αὐτῇ] point out to us the Presbyters, who performed the Mystical Ceremonies. Vale!

(c) By these [ἐν τῇ βαπτισμῇ τοῦ σώματος, &c.] the mystical Symbols of our Saviour's Passion is meant Baptism; which is a sign of our Saviour's suffering. For, by Baptism we die, and are buried with Christ, and we rise again through the same Christ by Faith. See Coloss. 2. 12. Vale!

## CHAP. IV.

A Panegyrick concerning the splendid Posture of our Affairs.

AND a certain person, that had been differently well educated and was deserv- ing, having made this Oration, came forth into the presence of a great many Bishops, (that were then present as at an Ecclesiastick Assembly) who gave him audience quietly and decently; then turning himself towards one who was the eminentest of them all, (a Bishop acceptable to God, by whose care the Church of Tyre, the stately Fabrick amongst all the Churches within the Country of Phœnicia, was gloriously erected,) he spake thus,

A Pane-

You, the Friends and Priests of God, who are wraps in the sacred long Vesture, crowned with the Celestial Diadem of Glory, anointed with the Holy Unction, and clothed in the Sacerdotal Robe of the Holy Spirit: And You, the Grace and Ornament of this new-erected and sacred Temple of God: You, who are adorned by God with a Prudence befitting an hoary Head, but have exhibited many glorious Evidences of a vigorous and juvenile Virtue; You, to whom God, (who comprehendeth the vobis)

(a) These words [*ἵνας ὅθεν*  
[to whom God hath given  
*special and particular priv-  
ilege*] Christophorus underitands  
at it thus were the sense of them,  
(viz.) That this Church, which was  
founded by Paulinus, was a spe-  
cial Ornament or Honour to Christ,  
and his Church : But Musculus  
follows the same Sense as I do.  
false.

(b) In the Greek Text, the term is

[*transcends*] which we have translated *Religious*; but doubtless *English* wrote [*transcends*, *magnifies*] for it would be a simple way of expressing ones self thus, *transcends transcends beyond* heaven, the *Religious Auditor of Religion*. Vale!

\* P[2], 44. v. I.

days, in the times of old. But now, having not  
barely by Hearing and Reports only, perceived the ex-  
alted Arm, and celestial Right Hand of our All-  
Good and Supreme God and King; but in reality and  
(as we may say) with these very Eyes [seen the Truth  
and Verity of those things which were heretofore re-  
corded; we may sing a second Triumphant Hymn,  
and break forth into these express words, saying,

Like as we have heard, so have we seen, in the city of the Lord of hosts ; in the city of our God. *But in what City, in this new built and*

framed by God? \* Which is the Church of the living God, the pillar and ground of the truth.

Concerning which another Divine Oracle speaketh thus: † Very excellent things are spoken of thee, thou city of God. In which Church, since

God the Giver of all Good, by the Grace of His only begotten Son hath convened us, let every one here assembled cry out with a loud voice as it were, and

Jewels cry out with a loud voice as it were, and  
 say, \*I was glad when they said unto me, we  
 will go into the house of the Lord. *And again,*

† Lord, I have loved the beauty of thine house,  
and the place where thine honour dwelleth. *And*  
*not only every particular person. but let us altogether*

not only every particular person, but we altogether  
rejoyce and shout forth Praises with one Spirit, and  
one Mind, saying, \* Great is the Lord, and high-

ly to be praised, in the city of our God, even upon his holy hill. *For he is truly great, and his*

doth marvellous things. Great is He who doth magnificent things, and such as are past finding out, glorious and stupendous, of which there is no number. Great is He who altereth Times and Seasons; who dotheth and constituteth Kings: Who raiseth up the Poor from the Earth, and exalteth the Beggar from the Dung-hil: He hath thrust down the Mighty from their Seats, and hath exalted the Humble from the Earth. He hath filled the Hungry with good things, and hath broken in pieces the Arms of the Proud. Not only amongst the Faithful, but amongst the Infidels also He hath confirmed the Authority of those Relations heretofore recorded of him of old.

¶ *Tis* He who worketh Miracles: *'Tis* He that doth great things: *'Tis* He who is Lord of all: He, who is the Framers of the wbole World: He, who is Almighty: All-Good: He, that is the One and Only God. In obedience to whom let us sing a new Song; to Him, who only doth wonderful things; for his Mercy endureth for ever. Who smote great Kings and slew mighty Kings; for his Mercy endureth for ever. For the Lord remembered us

when we were in a low Condition, and hath re- deemed us from our Enemies. And let us never cease thus to praise God the Father of all. Also Him, who is the (c) second Author of all Good to us ; who is our Master in instructing us in the Knowledge of God, the Teacher of true Piety, the Destroyer of the Wicked, the Slayer of Tyrants, the Reformer of our Lives ; Jesus our Saviour, whom we were in despair, Him let us extol, having his Name always in our Mouth. For He alone, who is the Only and Best Son of the Best and Greatest Father, in compliance with His Father's Love to Mankind, most willingly clothed himself with our Nature who were buried in Corruption ; and like a careful Physician (d) who for the Health's sake of his Patients looks into the Wounds, lightly strooketh the Sores, and from other Men's Calamities attracts Grievances upon himself ; ) be himself hurt by himself saved us ( who were not only diseased and oppressed with foul Ulcers and Wounds already putrified ; but also lay amongst the Dead ) from every Faw of Death. For there was no other in Heaven that had so much power, as inoffensively to administer Health to so many ; it was He only therefore who, after he had touched our burdensome Corruptions ; He alone, who after he had endured our Labours ; He alone, who after he had taken upon himself the Punishment of our Impieties ; raised us

Eulēbios!) concerning the Son of God, who is co-equal in dominion co-eternal, and con-Creator of all things [with the Father.] Thou fellest him the second Author of all good, when as he is the same Author and Framer of all things with the Father, and of the same Substance with him. Also in the Mar. MS. we met with this Scholion here, in a latter hand, wherein Eulēbios is also reproved, in regard he subjects the Son to the Father, and attributes to him the second place, Τῷ αὐτῷ ἀποδοῦναι καὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν τὰς κεφαλὰς· Τὸν δὲν καὶ ἀντιμετρεῖν καὶ ἰσχυρῶς ἔχειν τοὺς ποταμοὺς τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τῆς πόλεως· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀλλοτρίαν τὴν μετὰ τὸν ἀντιμετρεῖν· ἀναίτια ὀνειδίσαν καὶ ἑρπετοὺς καὶ ὀφιδίους καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἰσχυρὰν ἀποδοῦναι ἀπολαύειν· οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν ὁρᾷς, ἐκ μὴ ἀποδοῦναι λαοδοξίας τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶν λατρεῖν αὐτῷ, that is, Why dost thou utter this Divinity (O Man!) to thine own destruction? detracting from and [subjecting him, who in Glory, Power, and Effluence is every way like the Father,] and attributing to him the second place from the Father? Thy Sentiments and Writings do herein contradict those Holy Fathers, who determined the Son to be co-equal with the Father? To whose Opinion thou didst [subscribe, unless they who wrote their All? do declare a palpable untruth. Vale!]

(d) In the Greek, the following Lines (the Translation whereof is contained within this Parenthesis) seem to be Iambicks taken out of some *Tragedian*. The Words are these;

Τῆς οὖν χαρισμένης εἶπεν συντελείας·  
Ὁρᾷ τὰ θειοτάτην Σιγάρην δ' ἀνέβλεψεν·  
Ἀλλοερίας τί συμφορῆσιν ἰδίαις  
καρπύεται λύπας.

which Verſes are undoubtedly very elegant, and ſmell ſomething of *Æſchylus*, or *Sophocles*. But I think they ought rather to be blotted out of this place, for they diſturb the ſence. *Valeſ.*

*Constant. and Licinius.* (when we were not only half dead, but lay altogether impure and sinking in the Graves and Sepulchres) and both in times past, and now through his earnest compassion towards us (even beyond our hopes and expectations) preferweth us, and imparteth to us an Exuberancy of his Father's good things. 'Tis he who is the Author of Life, and the Introducer of Light; our Great Physician, King, Lord, and the Anointed of God. (c) But even then, when all Mankind (by the Wiles of detestable Devils, and the Operations of Spirits hated by God) lay buried in an obscure Night, and thick Darkness, he (f) only by his appearance, with the Rays of his Light dissolved the manifold Chains of our Sins, like melting Wax. And now, when by reason of his so great Love and Beneficence [towards us] the envious Devil, Enemy to all that is good, and the Favourer of evil, was in a manner hurst [with grief], and marsh'd all his fatal Forces against us; and when at first bawling (like a mad Dog, who with his teeth gnaws the stones that were thrown at him, spending the fury he was put into against those that provoked him, upon the lifeless things thrown at him,) turning his beastly Rage upon the Stones of the Oratories, and upon the senseless Piles of the Building, he thought with himself, that he had procur'd the utter Desolation of the Churches; also, when afterwards he sent forth terrible Hissings, and his Serpentine Expressions, one while by the Menaces of impious Tyrants, at another time by the blasphemous Decrees of prophane Presidents, and moreover belched forth the Virulency of his Deaths, and with his venomous and deadly Poisons, poison'd those Souls that were captivated by him, and had in a manner destroy'd them by the pernicious Sacrifices of dead Idols; when lastly he had incited against us all those that under the shape of Men mask'd their savage Cruelty, Persons of a Disposition every way barbarous and fierce: Then again, the Angel of the Great Council, that (g) Chief Commander of God's Hosts (after a sufficient Exercise in the Combat, which the most valiant Champions of his Kingdom exhibited, by undergoing the severest Hardships with patience and fortitude,) appearing on a sudden, so utterly destroy'd and reduc'd to nothing, all his Enemies and Adversaries, that they seem as if they had never been named. But his Friends and Dependents be exalted to the highest pitch of Glory, not only amongst all Men, but amongst the Celestial Powers also, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the whole Heaven, and the World. So that now (which thing never happen'd before) the supremest Emperors, sensible of that Honour they have received from God, spit in the Faces of the dead Idols, trample under-foot the prophane Rites and Services of Devils, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them by Tradition from their Ancestors: They acknowledge one only God, the common Benefactor to all Men, and to them in particular; and they profess Christ the Son of God to be the supremest Ruler of all things, they proclaim him Saviour in their Inscriptions upon Pillars, engraving in

Royal Characters, his valiant Exploits and Victories Constant. and Licinius. (in order to their indelible remembrance) over the Impious, in the very midst of that City which is Queen of the whole Earth. So that our Saviour Jesus Christ is the only person amongst all those who have been since the World began, that is confessed to be (even by the Emperors themselves, who are Supream here upon Earth,) not an ordinary King, made such by Men, but is worshipped as being the genuine Son of the Supream God, and is [adored] as being (h) truly and in himself God; and that deservedly. For what King had ever such power, as that he could fill the Tongues and Ears of all Men upon Earth (i) with his Name? What King ever constituted such pious and prudent Laws, and was able to confirm them in such a manner, that they should be perpetually read in the audience of all Men from the one end of the whole Earth to the opposite Extremities thereof? What King hath ever by his mild and indulgent Laws, melted and softned the savage and barbarous Dispositions of the inhumane Heathens? What King, oppos'd by all Men during the space of so many whole Ages, ever demonstrated such a more than human Valour and Strength, that he flourish'd daily, and seem'd to grow young in every succeeding Age? Who hath planted a Nation (which heretofore was not so much as heard of) up in some secret unknown Corner of the Earth only, but even throughout the whole World [which lies] under the Sun? Who ever armed his Soldiers with the Arms of Godliness in such a manner, that in their Conflicts with their Adversaries they made it apparent that their Minds were firmer than an Adamant? What King was ever so potent as to lead an Army after his Death, and to erect Trophies against his Enemies, and to fill every Place, Country, and City, Grecian and Barbarian, with his Royal Palaces, and with the (k) consecrated Fabricks of holy Temples, such as are those splendid Ornaments and consecrated Gifts belonging to this very Church: Which are in themselves truly August and Magnificent, and admiration, in regard they are (l) evident Representations of our Saviour's Kingdom. \* For he now spake and they were made; he commanded, and they stood fast: For what could withstand the Beck and Will of the Word, who is the supremest King and Governour of all things, and is himself God? But an accurate Contemplation and Explication of these things

(h) We ought to take special notice of this place; for it is the first wherein Eusebius calls Christ *αυτοθεός*. This one place I think sufficient to confute all their malicious Calumnies, who believe that our Author Eusebius was infected with *Arianism*. This word [*αυτοθεός*] is made in imitation of Plato's Word *αυτοφασκός*, which signifies that which in itself is truly good: So *αυτοθεός* is he who is truly originally and is himself God. Valef.

(i) By these Words [*τις αὐτὸς αὐτοφασκός*] may be meant the Christians, who are called *τις αὐτὸς αὐτοφασκός* after his own name: Which name of Christians was spread over all Nations, and known not amongst the Romans only, but also amongst the Barbarians. But if any would have these Words [*τις αὐτὸς αὐτοφασκός*] signifye Christ's own name; I will not much condescend to stir a little after our Author speaks of the Christians: Which certainly he would not have done, had he spoken of them before. Valef.

(k) *Ἀγίασμα*, the term here, does not signifie the Consecration of Churches, as *Μυστήριον* translates it, but rather the *Ben- rance*, things offered and consecrated to God, and thus the following Words [*κατασκευαί, ὀνόματα, ὀνόματα*] declare. Certainly if Eusebius had here meant Consecration, he would have us'd *ἀγίασμα* and not *ἀγίασμα* in this place; as he does in the third Chapter of this tenth Book. Valef.

(l) In the King's MS. at the side of this line I found this mark [ε] [et] which is an abbreviation of the Word [*εlegant*]. i. e. polite, elegant. In ancient MSS. 'tis usually found plac'd at the more elegant places. Valef.

\* Psal 33. v. 9.

particularly, require a peculiar Discourse and Leisure. Moreover, a peculiar Leisure would be requisite to relate what, and how great the alacrity of the Workmen was that laboured in this Building, and how it was

(e) Here he first relates what Christ did in the days of old, for the Salvation of Mankind. Afterwards he sets forth what Miracles he lately wrought. Valef.

(f) In the Text we read [*αὐτὸς αὐτοφασκός*] but we should rather read [*αὐτὸς αὐτός*] as we find it in the Ald. MS. and MSS. *αὐτός αὐτός* signifies *solusmodus*, only, or alone; which Phrase is frequent in Eusebius, and thus he is here to be understood: That Christ only, by his appearance and incarnation in times past, delivered Men, who were enslaved by the Devil, from that grievous yoke of servitude. Valef.

(g) *Τὸ μετὰ τὸν πόλεμον* is *post bellum*, after the war, whereof, if we read word for word, it is this; Easy the hater of that which is good, and the Devil the lover of mischief. But by the following words in the period, he seems to speak of the Devil only: Upon which account we render it *The envious Devil*, &c. agreeable to Valefius's Version.

turning his beastly Rage upon the Stones of the Oratories, and upon the senseless Piles of the Building, he thought with himself, that he had procur'd the utter Desolation of the Churches; also, when afterwards he sent forth terrible Hissings, and his Serpentine Expressions, one while by the Menaces of impious Tyrants, at another time by the blasphemous Decrees of prophane Presidents, and moreover belched forth the Virulency of his Deaths, and with his venomous and deadly Poisons, poison'd those Souls that were captivated by him, and had in a manner destroy'd them by the pernicious Sacrifices of dead Idols; when lastly he had incited against us all those that under the shape of Men mask'd their savage Cruelty, Persons of a Disposition every way barbarous and fierce: Then again, the Angel of the Great Council,

(g) Upon these Words in the Ald. MS. we find this *ὀνόματα* in the Margin, (viz.) this is wicked, Atheistical, and Blasphemous, to call the Saviour Christ and God, the great Commander in chief of God's Hosts. Valef.

that (g) Chief Commander of God's Hosts (after a sufficient Exercise in the Combat, which the most valiant Champions of his Kingdom exhibited, by undergoing the severest Hardships with patience and fortitude,) appearing on a sudden, so utterly destroy'd and reduc'd to nothing, all his Enemies and Adversaries, that they seem as if they had never been named. But his Friends and Dependents be exalted to the highest pitch of Glory, not only amongst all Men, but amongst the Celestial Powers also, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the whole Heaven, and the World. So that now (which thing never happen'd before) the supremest Emperors, sensible of that Honour they have received from God, spit in the Faces of the dead Idols, trample under-foot the prophane Rites and Services of Devils, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them by Tradition from their Ancestors: They acknowledge one only God, the common Benefactor to all Men, and to them in particular; and they profess Christ the Son of God to be the supremest Ruler of all things, they proclaim him Saviour in their Inscriptions upon Pillars, engraving in

was

*Geſt.* *will look'd upon and eſteemed of by that God him-*  
*ſelf, whom we extol, who inſpects the living Tem-*  
*ples of us all, and views the Houſe built of living*  
*and (n) firm Stones, well and ſecurely placed upon*  
*the Foundation of the Apoſtles and Prophets, Jeſus*  
*Chriſt himſelf being the chief corner ſtone:*

[illegible]

Text, who is he that can with his Eyes penetrate their  
 sacred Inclosures, but he alone, the Great High-Priest  
 of all; whose only Right and Privilege it is to  
 make Researches into the Secrets of every rational  
 Soul? And perhaps the same is granted to (n) any  
 other person in the next place after him, to wit,  
 to this chief Leader of his Hof; whom the first and  
 Great High-Priest himself hath honoured with the  
 second place if the Priesthood in the sacred Temple,  
 and has himself constituted him the Shepherd of your  
 Holy Flock, having thus your People committed to his  
 charge by the allotment and determination of the  
 Father, as being his own Minister and Interpreter: A new  
 Aaron or Melchisedeck, made like to the Son of God,  
 remaining, and by the publick Prayers of you all pre-  
 served for ever by him. Unto this person alone therefore  
 is lawful next after the Chief and Principal High-Priest, if  
 not to have the first, yet at least the second place in looking  
 into, and taking care of the very inmost Recesses of your  
 Souls: For by [the help of] experience and length of time  
 he hath both made accurate Enquiries into various de-

† *Eusebius* here us'd *Nabō* improperly, making it to signify a *Tabernacle*; whereas *Nabō* signifies properly, a *Temple*: We read in *Exod.* chap. 38. that *Beseleel* built the *Tabernacle* of the Lord, not the *Temple*. Vale.

(p) This word [ $\sigma\tau\epsilon\lambda\mu\alpha$ ] ὀφθαλμοὶ is a Metaphorical term, taken from the Heathen Priests, who carried the Images of their Gods upon their shoulders. Valef.

\* Πλαστία τὴ καὶ ἀπλῶς δι-  
αφοίαν χρεῖται. So 'tis worded in  
the original.

Great Hamd, be attempted this (q) first laborious (q) He al-  
Enterprise: Supposing it fitting that this very Church leads to the  
(which had been mist battered by the Enemies, the Her-  
which had heretofore undergone great Sufferings, eucan La-  
[upon our account,] which had endured Persecu- bours, or  
cutions both with and before us, which like a Mo- Combats,  
ther was bereaved of her Children,) ought to Relief.  
enjoy together with us the magnificent Bounty of our  
most good and gracious God. For, in as much as  
that Great Shepherd hath vouchsafed to gather his  
Children together again into one place, having driven  
away the Wild-Beast, Wolves, and all the sa-  
vage and fierce kind of Creatures, and (as the  
Divine Scriptures say,) having broken the jaws-  
bones of the Lions, with good reason be re-di-  
fied the Fold for his Flock, \* That he might put a Psa. 3,  
to confusion the enemy and the avenger, and v. 2.  
which, the

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Constant.  
and  
Licinius.

themselves also disturbed, they suffered a most just punishment inflicted on them by Divine Vengeance, and irrecoverably ruin'd themselves, their Friends and Families. So that these Predictions heretofore recorded in the sacred Monuments [of the Scriptures] may now be acknowledged to be really certain, in which the Word of God does both truly declare other things, and also speaks expressly concerning them, thus:

\* Psal. 37.  
v. 14, 15

The ungodly have drawn out the sword, they have bent their bow, to cast down the poor and needy, and to slay such as are of an upright conversation. There sword shall go through their own heart, and their bows shall be broken. And again, \* Their memorial perished with a sound, and thou hast put out their name for ever and ever. || For when they were in troubles they cried, and there was none to

\* Psal. 96.  
The  
Memorial  
is perished  
with a  
sound.

save them, even unto the Lord did they cry, but he heard them not. † They were bound and fell, but we arose and were set upright; This also which was foretold in these words, (\* Lord, thou in thy city shalt bring their image to nought) is manifested in the sight of us all to be most true. These men, who like the Giants raised a War against God, procured for themselves the same fatal end of their lives that they did: But † the which was desolate, and whose safety was deprived of by all Men, but arrived to such a conclusion of her patient

\* Psal. 95.  
† See Psal.  
18. 41.  
† Psal. 20.  
v. 8.

sufferance upon God's account as we now behold, so that these words of the Prophecy of Isaiah may seem to have been spoken to her. \* Rejoyce thou thirty fold; let the solitary place rejoyce, and flourish like a lilly: the deserts shall flourish and be glad: be ye strengthened ye languid hands

\* Psal. 73.  
v. 19.  
† The  
Church of  
God.

and feeble knees: be comforted ye faint-hearted, be strong, and fear not: Behold our God doth repay judgment, and will repay our Text, as it is in the

\* Isa. 35.  
v. 1, 2, 3,  
4, 6, 7.

Our Author quotes this Text, as it is in the

Version of  
the 72;  
according  
to which  
we trans-  
late.

For Water hath broke out in the desert, and a valley in a thirsty land. The parched ground shall be changed into moorish places, and the fountain of water into a thirfty land. All this was formerly predicted in words, and laid up in the sacred Books; but the things themselves are now no longer delivered to us by bear-say, but [are exhibited] by actual per-

\* He al-  
ludes to  
Psal. 74.  
v. 7.

formances. This same dry Desert, this disconsolate Widow (\* whose very gates they have cut down at once with Axes, like Wood in the Forest, having broken her in pieces with the axe and the hammer: Whose Books they have spoiled, and have burnt the sanctuary of God with fire: they have defiled the dwelling place of his name even unto the ground; † Whose grapes all that go by plucked off, having first broken down her hedges, whom the wild boar out of the forest hath rooted up, and the wild hog devour-

† See  
Psal. 80.  
v. 12, 13.

ed; by the miraculous power of Christ (it having now pleased him so to do) flourisheth again like a Lilly. Yea, at such time as she was chastened, that [Chastisement was inflicted on her] by his appointment, as it were by a careful and indulgent Father.

† Heb. 12. †

For whom the Lord loveth he chastiseth, and scourgeth every son whom he receiveth. When therefore she had been moderately and justifiably chastised, she is again commanded from Heaven to rejoice, and to flourisheth as a Lilly, and breaths forth the fountain upon all Men a divine sweet savour: For, saith he, \* Water gushed out in the deserts, [to wit,] the Fountain of that Salutory Laver of Divine Regeneration. And now, that land which a little before was desolate, is changed into pools: And the fountain of living water hath gushed out plentifully upon a thirfty land: Those bands which were formerly weak, are really strong: And those

\* Heb. 12. †

works [which you behold] are great and power-

\* Heb. 12. †

ful Instances of this Strength of the Hands: More-

\* Heb. 12. †

over, those Knees which were formerly enfeebled and

\* Heb. 12. †

weak, having now recovered their usual Firmness

\* Heb. 12. †

and Faculty of Walking, go straight on in the way

\* Heb. 12. †

of Divine Knowledge of God, hastning towards the

\* Heb. 12. †

genuine Flock of that most good and gracious Shep-

\* Heb. 12. †

herd. And if any of them have had their Souls

\* Heb. 12. †

benumbed and stupified through the Menaces of Ty-

\* Heb. 12. †

rants, even these the saving Word does not despise

\* Heb. 12. †

as incurable, but heals them carefully and tenderly,

\* Heb. 12. †

and excites them to be partakers of the Divine Con-

\* Heb. 12. †

solation, saying, Be comforted, ye faint-hearted:

\* Heb. 12. †

Be strong, fear not. When therefore this our new

and  
Licinius.

and excellent Zorobabel (by the acuteness of his Understanding) perceived that, according as the Divine Word had foretold, She which had been brought to desolation for God's sake, should enjoy these good things, after that bitter Captivity, and Abomination of Desolation: He depicted not this dead Corps, but having in the first place with Supplications and prayers (together with the joint consent of you all) propitiated the Father, and taking for his Assistant, and Fellow-labourer the only Reviver of the Dead, he raised up this fallen Church, having first purified her, and healed her of her Maladies. And now he hath put a Robe about her, not that old one, but such a one as he had again received instructions about, from the Divine Oracles, which expressly testify thus: \* And the latter glory \* See of this house shall far excel the former. Upon Hag. 2. 2.

which account, having taken in a far larger compass of Ground, be fortified the outward Circuit with a Wall on every side, which might serve for a strong fence to the whole Structure. Then he raised a spacious, lofty, and stately Portico against the Rays of the rising Sun, which, to those who stand at a sufficient distance without the sacred Inclosure, does yield a full prospect of this Structure within; and as it were, attracts the Eyes of Infidels to look upon the first Entrances, that so no Person might pass by, who should not feel some Pricks in his Mind, both at the remembrance of the former Desolation, and also at [the sight of] the stupendious Miracle of the present Fabrick. Hence he hoped, that he (†) who upon that account felt such a Compunction, might peradventure be drawn [towards it,] and at the time that the very sight thereof would be persuaded to enter in.

But after you are come within the Gates, he has not permitted you to enter immediately into the Holy place with impure and unwashen Feet. But, having leaving left a large vacancy betwixt the Temple concerning the Portico, he beautified this vacant space the Time: (†) having inclosed it in the figure of a Quadrangle with four opposite Cloysters [supported on whereas every side with Pillars. The (†) intermediate space by them betwixt these Pillars, he filled up with Partitions which is meant the space made of Wood, resembling Net-work, which reach betwixt up an indifferent height, but the (u) middle space the Porch and the Temple. This space was inclosed (says He) in figure of a Quadrangle, and beautified with four opposite Cloysters by Paulinus. Vale.

(†) This [space] very well rendered, [intercolumnia, the space betwixt the Pillars,] was filled up with latticed bars of Wood, which reached upwards an indifferent height: Here all Eusebius calleth [this] to signify [height] which is not taken notice of by Translators. Vale.

(u) He means that middle space in the open Air, which was encompassed on every side with the four Cloysters; it was of the same figure with those which in the modern Monasteries are called Præstella. For that which the Monks call a Cloyster, is nothing else but four covered walks, within which is that vacancy in the open air, by them termed Præstallum. Moreover, in some Monasteries, this vacancy in the open air is fenced in with Rails, after the same manner that Eusebius by the Atrium, [the Court, or Yard] was, wherein the Church of Tyte stood; which is done to hinder Boys from going into that open place, which is usually planted with Flowers. This vacant place is in Latin properly termed Atrium. Vale.

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Rails made like Net-work, which were so continuously and artificially framed and carved, that they entertained those that viewed them with a wonderful and surprising sight. Neither was the very Parment neglected by him; but after he had beautified it most gloriously with Marble-stone, he proceeded to the Out-buildings of the Temple; and with great Art and Skill erected most spacious \* Exedrae and Oeci on each side, which in an \* See note uniform manner were joyned together at the sides (y.)

of the Cathedral, and united to the (γ) Doors which lead into the middle of the Church. These Buildings our most peaceful King Solomon (who erected the Temple of God) made for them, who want the Purification, and the Sprinkling by Water and the Holy Ghost. So that that Prophecy before quoted is no longer a wordy Prediction, but is really accomplished: For now it is come to pass, that the glory of this latter house is truly greater than the former. For it was requisite and agreeable that (since her Pastor and Lord, for her sake once suffered death, and after his Passion changed that vile Body, which for her sake he had put on, into Brightness and Glory; and translated that very corruptible Flesh from Corruption to Immortality,) she also should likewise enjoy the (α) Dispensations of her Saviour. For, although she (having received from him a promise of far more excellent things than she doth at present enjoy,) ineffectually

(3) We observed before (see Book I. Chap. 1. Note B.) that *ἀναστροφή* (the term that occurs here) signifies not only *Christ's Incarnation*; but that, whatever our Saviour did in the Flesh, in order to the procuring *Man's Salvation*, is in general termed *ἀναστροφή*. See the authorities there quoted. This place also evidently demonstrates the sense, where *Εὐθείας* terms not only the Death, but the *Resurrection* also of Christ, *ἀναστροφάς, dispensations*, in the plural number. *Vale!*

\* *Etias*  
 61, 10, 11  
 Our Au-  
 thor  
 quotes the  
 Words of  
 the Sep-  
 tuint;  
 and we  
 translate  
 accord-  
 ingly.

\* E[ai]2s  
61.10.11.

See  
Psalm 104.  
v. 16.

wherein his said *¶* The trees of the Lord shall  
rejoice, even the Cedars of Libanus which  
he hath planted. To what end should I make an  
exact Narration here, of the most ingenious and artificial  
Composure of the whole Structure, and of the  
incomparable Beauty of every particular part of it,  
when as the testimony of the Eyes excludes all  
knowledge which entreth at the Ears? Moreover,  
after he had thus finished the Temple, and decently  
adorned it with the biggest Thrower in honour of  
the Prelates of Churches, and also with (x) Benches  
orderly placed all over the Church, at last he placed  
beside the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the midst, and  
before that the Multitude might not come within these  
[sacred places,] he enclosed them with wooden  
fence difficulty to resolve, (that is,) for what degree or order of Men  
they were intended. Leo Allatius in his second Epist. De Templi  
Græcor. supposes these Benches were made for the common use  
of the Laity. The same says Clement, in his Constit. Apost. lib. 2.  
cap. 47. But Eusebius means another thing. For afterwards, when he  
explains the whole Fabrick of this Church Allegorically, he says that  
by the Thrones, the Bishops and Presbyters were meant: But by the  
Benches, the Deacons, and others that served in the Church. Where-  
fore these Benches were rather designed for those who served in the  
Church, than for the Laicks. Indeed the Laity were not permitted  
to sit in the Church. So says Optatus in his fourth Book, which  
Words of his we must so understand, that in a Congregation in  
the Church, during the time of Divine Service, the Laicks were not  
permitted to sit down; but when the Service was ended, they had li-  
berty to sit. So also says Albanus, in his Epist. Ad Solitari. Valde.

adorned it with the biggſt Thronos in honour of the Prelates of Churches, and alſo with (x) Benches orderly placed all over the Church, at laſt be placed the Holy of Holies, the Altar, in the miſſe, and that the Multitude might not come within theſe [ſacred places], be encloſed them with wooden ſine diſtance to reſolve, (that is), for what degree or order of Men they were intended. *See* *Leo Alitatus* in his *Conſtit. Epist. De Templi Græcor.* ſuppoſes theſe Benches were made for the common uſe of the *Laiety*. The ſame *ſays Clemens*, in his *Conſtit. Apſt.* B. 2. cap. 67. But *Eugenius* means another thing. For afterwards he explains the whole Fabric of this Church Allegorically, he ſays that by the *Thrones*, the *Biſhops* and *Presbyters* were meant : But by the *Benches* the *Deacons*, and others that ſerved in the Church. Wherefore theſe *Benches* were rather deſigned for thoſe who ſerved in the Church, than the *Laiety*. Indeed the *Laiety* were not permitted to ſit in the Church. *See* the ſecond fourth Book, which Words of his we muſt fo underſtand, that in the Congregation in the Church, during the time of Divine Service, the *Laiety* were permitted to ſit down; but when the Service was ended, they had liberty to ſit. So alſo ſays *Ambaſan*, in his *Epist. Ad Solitari*, Valde.

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all accordingly.

*Conjurers  
and  
Lichinists.*  
\*Esaï. 54. *Lord speaking:* \* Fear not because thou hast  
4, 5, 6, 7, been ignominiously treated, neither be thou  
8, ashamed, because thou hast suffered reproach.  
For thou shalt forget thine everlasting shame,  
and thou shalt no longer remember the re-  
proach of thy widowhood: the Lord hath  
called thee, not as a woman forsaken, and de-  
jected in spirit, nor as a woman hated from thy  
youth: thy God hath said; for a little while I  
have forsaken thee, but with great compassion  
I will have pity upon thee. I turned my face  
from thee when I was a little angry; but with  
everlasting mercy I will have mercy upon thee.  
†Esaï. 51.  
17, 18, 22  
23, *Arise,* the Lord who hath redeem'd thee. † Arise,  
arise, thou who hast drunk from the hand of  
the Lord the cup of his wrath. For thou hast  
drunk of, and emptied the cup of destruction,  
the cup of my fury: and there was none of al-  
thy sons, whom thou hast born, to comfort thee:  
neither was there any to take thee by the hand.  
Behold I have taken out of thy hand the cup of  
destruction, the cup of my wrath, and thou  
shalt no longer drink it. And I will put it in-  
to the hands of them who have injured thee  
†Esaï. 52.  
1, 2, and debased thee. \* Arise, arise, pur on strength  
put on thy glory. Shake off the dust, and a-  
rise: sit down: loose the chain of thy neck

\* Elin. 52.  
1, 2.

|| Eſai. 49  
18, 19, 20,  
21.

|| Lift up the eyes round about, and view thy children gathered together. Behold, they are gathered together, and come to thee. As I live saith the Lord, thou shalt put them all on as an ornament, and thou shalt put them about thee as a bride doth her bravery. For thy desolate places, and those that were wasted and ruinous, shall now be too narrow for thy inhabitants. And they shall be removed far from thee, that devoured thee: for thy Sons which thou hadst loſt ſhall ſay in thy ears; The place is too ſtrait for me: make a place for me that I may dwell. And thou ſhalt ſay in thine heart, who hath begotten me theſe? I am childleſs and a widow. Who hath nourished theſe for me? I was left deſolate: theſe where had they been? *All this Eſaias hath predicted. Theſe things were in times past recorded in the holy Scriptures, concerning us. And it was requiſite that we ſhould now at length receive the truth of theſe words really and actually fulfilled. In regard therefore the Bridegroom, the Word, hath ſpoken in this manner to his Spouſe, the Sacred and Holy Church, agreeably bere-*

to both this (w) Dreffer of the  
Bride, (with the Prayers of  
you all in common, reaching  
out to her your helping hand,  
by the appointment of God the  
suprem King , and by the  
appearance and preface of Je-  
fai and erected this deplorate  
like a dead Curcass [ on the  
scaffold of by all Men And,  
after this manner, both made  
it was instructed to do by the  
referred Scriptures. Thus [ Pa-  
suspicious Miracle, and  
degrees of Admiration, espe-  
are only intent upon the out-  
ings. But the original Ex-  
Forms herself, the spiritual  
terns are more admirable than  
the Reparations of that Di-

wine and Rational Building in our Souls. Which Confirms  
[ Structure ] when the Son of God himself had  
framed according to his own image, and had  
freely granted, that in all parts it should bear the  
resemblance of God, he bestowed upon it a Nature  
incorruptible, incorporeal, rational, different  
from all Terrene Matter,  
[ and gave it ] a ( b ) Sub-  
stance originally and of it  
self intelligent ; after he had  
once thus created it  
at the beginning out of nothing,  
He made it a holy Spouse,  
and [ framed it into ]  
a most sacred Temple for Him-  
self and His Father. This He  
himself in express words ac-  
knowledgeth, [ saying  
\* I will dwell in  
them and walk  
26. 12.

( b ) Eusebius here calls the soul  
of Man, *psia et aeterna*, ( i. e.  
a self-intelligent Substance, because  
it is eternal and of itself it under-  
standeth. So the philosophers  
call Spiritual Substance, *res  
divinae*, such as we call intelli-  
gences, Intelligences. But Chri-  
stophorus being grossly mistaken  
takes *psia et aeterna* in this place  
to be the flame with vessels it,  
and accordingly renders it, *San-  
ctissime Solis aeterna intelligentia*,  
*cognita*, a Substance which is  
known, he is comprehended, by the an-  
gels.

(5) *Euphrasia* here calls the soul of Man, *anima eutropeus*, (i.e.) a self-intelligent Substance, because naturally and of itself it understands. So the Philosophers call *Spiritual Substances*, *res intellectuales*, as we call *Intelligent Beings*, *entia intellectiva*. *Chytrion* (i.e.) *phorion* being good milk-suck, takes *rosa* (i.e.) in this case, to be the flame with *passiflora*, and accordingly renders it, *Staphania Sola membris intelligentia cognita*, a Substance which can only be comprehended, by the understanding of the mind. But there is a *Chytrion* (i.e.) *phorion*, (i.e.) *intelligibile*, that may be comprehended, or understood, and *rosae* (i.e.) *intellektus*, which does understand, or comprehend. For example's sake, *Chimera*, and all such Fictions of the understanding are *res intelligibiles*, but not *res intellectuales*, as *Chytrion* is in its 71. Epistle. Both *entia* and *res* doth very well distinguish between these words. *Vale!*

(c) By *missiles* *ignis*, *fulgebis* means *missile*, darts smeared with wild-fire, and iron fire-balls as are flung from the Walls upon Enemies; here it imitates that place of Saint Paul, where he makes the Devil to be armed *with fiery darts*, with which he fights against Men. See *Eph.* 6. 16. *Vale!*

(4) Νυμφεὶς is here very well rendered by *Christoph. Exor-nator sponsæ, the Dresser of the Bride*. *Musculus* renders it not omis *Paranympheus*, (i. e.) *one who is to take care of all things that ap-pertain to the Bride*. Valef.

appearance and presence of Jesus Christ's power) raised and erected this desolate Church, lying like a dead Carcase [on the Ground,] and despaired of by all Men. And, having lifted her up after this manner, hath made her such an one, as be was instructed to do by the Delineation of the sacred Scriptures. Thus [Fabrick] is indeed a stupendous Miracle, and doth surpass all the degrees of Admiration, especially to them, who are only intent upon the outward appearance of things. But the original Examples and primitive Forms herof, the spiritual and truly divine Patterns are more admirable than all Miracles; I mean the Reparations of that Di-

Who are next to him in dignity, on every one of them proportionably, according as he is capable of receiving the distributions of the Power of Christ, and of the Holy Ghost. The Benches also are the Souls of certain Angels, the Instruction and Custody of every one whereof is committed to them. But the *Anguß*, Great, and Only *Altar*, what

*Ghost. The Benches  
Angels, the Instruction  
whereof is committed  
meant, and Only Altar,  
what*



Constant,  
and  
Xicinius.

\* *Tannus*  
 χειρὶ, su-  
 pinis ma-  
 nibus; so  
 Valeſſus i  
 Pronis ma-  
 nibus; so  
 Chriſto-  
 pherson.

what can it be else, but the most pure Soul and Holy of Holies of the Common Priest of all. On his Right Hand standeth the Great High-Priest of all, Jesus himself, the only begotten Son of God who with a cheerful Countenance and \* stretcht forth Hands receiveth from all that sweet-smelling Incense, and those unbloody and immaterial Sacrifices of Prayers; and transmit them to his Heavenly Father the Supreme God: Whom in the first place he himself worshippeth, and he only exhibiteth due Veneration to the Father; afterwards he beseecheth him for ever to continue favourable and propitious towards all us. Such is that August Temple, which the Great Creator of all things the [ Word of God ] hath built throughout all that World under the Sun; he himself hath again framed upou Earth this intellectual Representation of those things beyond the Arches of Heaven: That by every Creature, and by rational Souls upou the Earth, his Father might be duly honoured and

adored. (p) But that Region  
above the Heavens, and the  
things there, which are the  
Originals of what we here  
behold, that Jerusalem which  
is above, that \* Celestial  
Mount Sion, and that City  
of the living God, far above  
the World, in which are in-  
numerable Companies of An-  
gels, and the Church of An-

in Heaven, who with Praises unutterable, which we cannot understand, laud their Creator and Supreme Prince; [the Blessèdnes of this Region, I say, and of its Inhabitants] † no Mortal is able deservedly to set forth. For \* eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him. Of which things, since we are now vouchsafed to be Partakers in part, let us, both Men, Women and Children, Small and Great, all together, with one Spirit and one Soul never cease to give thanks and praise to the Author of these our so great good things:

## CHAP. V.

Copies of the Imperial Laws.

**L**ET us therefore now annex the Copies of Constantine's and Licinius's Imperial Decrees translated out of Latin.

A Copy of the Imperial Edi&t translated out  
of Latin.

Having long since perceived, that a Liberty of Religion ought not to be denied, but that License should be permitted to every one's Will and Arbitrement, of being careful about their Religious Performances according to their own Mind and Judgment, We have Decreed, That as well all other Persons, as those that are Christians should retain the Faith [ and Observances ] of their own Sect and Religion. But because in that Rescript wherein this Liberty was granted them,

(a) many and different sorts of Sets seemed to be expressly set down, for which reason peradventure some of them not long after desisted from such an Obedience. Wherefore when We Constantine, and Licinius, Augusti, came fortunately to Mediolanum, and had in debate all matters which might conduce to the Good and Utility of the Publick; amongst other things, which to us seemed several ways profitable to all in general, (or rather which we judg'd ought to be decreed before any thing else) we supposed such Constitutions were to be made, as therein should be contained the Worship and Veneration of the Deity: That is, that we should allow a free Choice both to Christians and all others, of following what way of Worship they please: That so by this means that Godhead and Heavenly Being, whatever it is, might be propitious to us, and to all that live under our Government. We have there-

(a) Because that first *Refugee Letter*, mentioned here by *Grassine*, is lost, we cannot easily resolve what *Constantine* means, when he says, that in that time were named many and several sorts of *algebra*, *Seitz*; for *none reason* many dejected from *progress Christianity*. *Christophorus* translates [*διαφορα αλγεβρας*] *different and controverted Opinions*; it is the sense or meaning of this that *Edith* had been ambiguous, so *Io. Bayanus* understands *Christoph*, his Words at the year of Child 213. *Langus* and *Musculus* translate [*αίρεσις*] *Opinions & heresies*, *Heretics* & *Opinions*; farther than *Christoph*. For *αίρεσις* cannot signify the *sense*, or [*συνεσις*] meaning of a place: But it signifies an *Opinion* or *Self*. When the Emperor *Constantine* therefore had in that former *Edith* permitted this Liberty of Conscience to all, he added, that that privilege was not granted to the *Christians* only, but to all Men of every *Self*, that is to *Jews*, *Samaritans*, *Martiniticks*, &c. and to all *Sects* of Religions. This the *Christians* take to be no small injury to their Religion, that it should be reckon'd amongst *Schimticks*, and unbelieving *Jews*. *Grassine* being adverse to *Christians* by the Catholics, corrected in this latter *Edith*, that *Chmck*, which mentioned all *Sects*, being taken out: And this is that which is meant by these Words a little further, [*οι αμαρτανος ανθρωπων οτις αμαρτανος ανθρωπων οτις ανθρωπων ανθρωπων ανθρωπων*] (i.e. that all those *Sects* which were in our former *Refugee* should be quite left out. *Vilep.*

(p) Here *Eusebius*, having spoken largely concerning the double Fabrick of the Church (that is) the *material* and *spiritual*; and compared them together,) elegantly makes a transition to that Heavenly *Hierusalem*, which is the *Idea* and original Pattern of this Church on Earth. But the Translators through their Inadvertency took no notice of this elegant *Apophrophe*. Vale!

\* See Heb. 12. 22, 23.

† Instead of [ὁ τῆς θανάτου] the reading should undoubtedly be [τῆς or τῆς θανάτου, no mortal, &c. *Wales.* \* 1 Cor. c. 2. v. 9. † Psal. 103. 3, 4, c. 10, 12, 13.]

&c. Wales.  
\* 1 Cor.  
G. 2. v. 9.  
† Psal.  
103. 3, 4,  
5, 10, 12,  
13.

cond Edit to explain his Mind, for fear, lest the Heathens should murmur at the prohibiting of abolishing the Worship of their Gods. Wherefore *Constantine* says, that he granted free liberty to every one to worship what Gods and follow what Sect and Religion he pleased. This second Decree therefore forbade no selfe but an explication of the first. For in the first Edit there were some Words with which the Gentiles and also the Schismaticall Christians were not a little offended; in that they saw themselves called Hereticks. The Catholick Christians also repented it, because they were tyed in the same Decree with the Gentiles and Hereticks. Wherefore *Constantine*, that he might shew himselfe kind to all, decreed that those words might be razed out. And this is the sense of those former words, *ἡ ἀποστολικὴ καὶ ἀποκαταστατικὴ ἐκκλησία*. That the names of these Sects in our former Rescript might be wholly taken out, &c. Vale.

already, freely and absolutely granted them this, your Devotedness does hereby perceive that we have allowed a liberty to others also, who are desirous of following their own Observances and Religion: Which, 'tis apparent, is agreeable to the Tranquility of our Times, to wit, that every

and being careful about wot-  
, that we might seem not in-  
used or detracted from any man-  
or Religion whatsoever. Wee  
need in favour of the Chri-  
Places (wherein they used  
concerning which Places

there was (c) another Rule or Form appointed in our Rescripts formerly sent to your Devotedness,) in case it appears that they have been purchased by any persons, either of our Exchequer, or of any one else ) be immediately and without all bfeignacy restored to the Christians themselves, without Money, and without any exaction of an \* additional Price or Value : And if any have received these Places by way of Gift, that they in like manner forthwith restore them to the Christians. But if those, who have purchased, or had the Grants of these Places, have a desire to demand any thing of our Goodness, let them make their Address to the Governour that presides as Judge in that Province, that by his Bounty provision may be made for them : All which places it shall becom you to see forthwith restored to the Society of Christians by your Care and Diligence

without the least delay. And in as much as the said Christians are known to have had possession not only of those Places wherein they usually assembled themselves, but of others also, which did not particularly and

gave order that all these places (according to the  
(d) aforesaid Law) be without all manner of defi-  
tancy restored to the said Christians, that is, to  
every Society and Assembly of them: The Rule

Decree *above said*) (i. e.) according to that Edict signed at Rome, *Constantine II.* and *Licinius II.* Cess, which Edict *Constantine* mended before. That was *Constantine's* first Decree for the Christians. *Constantine*, having in that Law shew'd himself too favourable towards the Christians, in that in it he had extolled their Religion, condemned all other Sects and Ceremonies, was forced in this se.

aforesaid being observed, ( viz. ) that such as shall Constant. and  
 restore those places [to the Christians,] without Livinius.  
 a restitution of the price they gave for them, as we  
 have said, may expect to be indemnified by our  
 Gracious Liberality. Now it is your duty to  
 act most vigorously in all these things in behalf of  
 the aforesaid Body of the Christians; both that  
 our Mandate may with all speed be fulfilled; and  
 also that in this Matter provision may be made  
 by our Goodness for the common Quiet and Tranqui-  
 lity of the Publick. For by this means, as is aforesaid,  
 the Divine Care and Goodness towards us;  
 which we have already experienced in many Affairs,  
 will continue firm and lasting for ever. More-  
 over, to the end that the definitive Determination  
 of this our Law, and of our gracious Indulgence  
 may come to all Men's knowledge, 'tis expedient that  
 this Rescript of ours be propoed to publick view,  
 and made known to all persons, that so no body  
 may be ignorant of the Establishment of this our  
 Gracious Indulgence.

A Copy of another Imperial Edict which the Emperors published again, to declare, that this their Beneficence was granted only to the Catholick Church.

God save You, dearest Anulinus! This is the manner of our Goodness; We desire, that those things which appertain to another's Right should not only not be infected with Inquietude, but should also be restored, Dearest Anulinus! Wherefore our Pleasure is, that, as soon as you receive this our Rescript, if any of those [Ecclesiastes] (which did belong to the Catholic Church of the Christians, in all our Cities, or in other places,) are now detained by the (e) Decurions, or by any other Persons, you cause them (e) Instead of ~, ~

(c) Instead of *persecution* Citizens, in this place we suffer. The *persecution* called by the Latins, *depression* concerning women seen on Ann, Marcellin, B. 2. The *decurians* in the Perfection seized upon Farms and fields belonging to the Catholic Church, as cant. *Valef*.

A Copy of the Emperor [*Constantine's*] Rescript, by which he summoneth a Synod of Bishops at *Rome*, for the Uniting and Reconciling of the Churches.

Constantinus Augustus, to Militades Bishop of Rome,

Constant. and Licinius. Rome, and to (f) Mark. In regard several such (g) Libels as these have been sent me from the most Eminent Anulinus, Proconsul of Africa, wherein 'tis declared that Cecilianus Bishop of the City of (f) Carthage is accused of many things by some of his Collegues ordain'd [Bishops] throughout Africa: And this matter seeming not a little grievous to us, the Lear-th in those very Provinces (which the Providence need, who of God delivered to our Sacredness by a (i) voluntary Synvender, and where there is a great multitude of People) the Populace being in a manner divided, time here should be found to degenerate and become worse, and Differences should be nourished even amongst Bishops: It seem'd good to us, that Cecilianus himself (together with ten Bishops his supposed Rome, Ba-Accusers, and ten other Bishops, whom he shall romus, at judge necessary in behalf of his Cause,) fail to the year of Christ 313, Ch. 213, thinks the Text commanded to hasten to Rome) he may be heard of Eusebius in such manner as, you know, is most agreeable with the most Sacred Law. Moreover, that you may have a most compleat and perfect Knowledge of all these things, we have subjoin'd to this our Rescript, Copies of the Libels which were sent to us by Anulinus, and have transmitted them to your aforeaid Collegues. Which Libels when your Gravity shall have read, you shall deliberate how the aforeaid Controversie may with the greatest accuracy be examined, and determined according to Equity. For it is not unknown to your Assiduity that we bear so great a Reverence to the most Legitimate Catholick Church, that we would have you leave no Schism or Diffentiation at all in any part of it. The Divinity of the Supream God preserve you (k) (Dearest) many years.

Moreover, Titles of honour are common Words, but this here is an affected and unusual term. Wherefore, rejecting this conjecture of Baronius's, I think this Mark was a Presbyter of the Church of Rome, whom Constantine had a desire should be present at this Synod with Militiades. This also I think was that Mark who was Bishp of Rome after Situffer. This Epistle of Constantine to Militiades was extant in the third Conference at Carthage; Chap. 319. But the latter part of this third Conference, which in my Opinion is the most useful, is lost. Valer.

(g) By *αὐτῶν* are meant two Libels, which contained the faults of Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage, which being subscribed by the Factionist Majorinus, they gave them to Anulinus the Proconsul at Carthage on the 17th of the Calends of May. Constantine the Emperor being the third time, and Licinius the third time Consul. These Libels Constantine calls *αἰμαίνες*, because they contained in them many Papers, and many publick Ads, to prove the faults of Cecilianus. Chrysostom calls these *αἰμαίνες*, Epistles, but that is an ill term: For there was but one Epistle sent by Anulinus to Constantine the Emperor, but there were several *αἰμαίνες*, or Papers. Constantine also a little further calls them *Libelli*: So does Augustine also, in his 48 Epistle to Vincentius, call it *Libellus*: And Augustin thus supercribeth; The Libel of the Catholick Church, containing the faults of Cecilianus, put in by the faction of Majorinus. Valer.

(h) In our Text it is, *αὐτῶν*; in Nicephorus, *αὐτῶν*; in the *May*, and *Med. MSS.* 'tis written *αὐτῶν* by a transposition of the *αἰμαίνες*, which the Greeks usually do in turning Latin proper names into Greek. Valer.

(i) Instead of *αὐτῶν* we should undoubtedly read *αὐτῶν* in this place, *ἡ τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις αὐτῶν* in *ἡ τῶν ἐκκλησίαις*, *ἐκκλησίαις* (i. e.) those Countries which Divine Providence gave into our Hands by a voluntary surrender. For when the head of Maxentius was sent into Africa, all Africa at the fight of the Tyrant's head, yielded to Constantine. And also before the overthrow of Maxentius, some African Cities yielded themselves voluntarily to Constantine, when he sent some Sea-forces thither. Valer.

(k) Instead of *αὐτῶν* the reading in Nicephorus is *αὐτῶν*, *αὐτῶν* in the plural number. For since the Rescript was written to Militiades Bishop of Rome, and to Mark, and since he always speaks to them in the plural number; 'tis reasonable that in the close of the Rescript it should be *αὐτῶν*. Further, the *Acts* of this Synod at Rome are extant in Optatus, B. I. The Author of the Synodicon (whom we have often quoted) says this Synod was convened by Militiades and Mark at Rome; he joins Mark to Militiades, as soon as he perceived from this Rescript that Constantine mentioned them jointly. Valer.

Constant. and Licinius. A Copy of an Imperial Rescript, by which [Constantine] summons a second Synod, to put an end to all Diffentiation amongst the Bishops.

Constantinus Augustus, &c. Chrestus Bishop of Syracuse. When as heretofore some began wickedly and perversely to separate from the Holy Religion, the Celestial Power, and the Catholick Opinion; We, desirous that such pertinacious Contentions as these should be pared off, took such Order that (some Bishops being sent out of France, and also those summoned out of Africa, who being of contrary Factions, pertinaciously and continually quarrelled amongst themselves, the Bishop of Rome being also present,) this [Diffentiation] which seemed to offend after a most careful examination, might in their presence be compos'd. But in regard (at it commonly happens) some persons, forgetful both of their own Salvation, and of the Veneration due to the most holy Religion, cease not as yet to impute their private Grudges and Animosities, being unwilling to acquiesce in the Sentence already pass'd, but positively asserting, that they were but a few [Bishops] who gave their Sentiments and Opinions; and that (before they had carefully enquired into all things which ought to have been first inspect'd) they proceeded with too much haste and precipitancy to pass a definitive Sentence. From all this it happens that even they, whose duty it is to preserve a brotherly and unanimous unity of Mind, unworthily, or rather impiously, create Schisms, in the amongst one another; and also give an occasion of Scorn and Derision to those Men, whose Souls are alienated from the most holy Religion. Wherefore it was our chiefest care, that these [Divisions] (which ought, after Sentence already given to have been terminated by a voluntary assent) might now at last be concluded in the presence of many Bishops. Since therefore we have summoned many Bishops out of divers and immemorable places, to assemble themselves on the Calends of August, at the City Orleans: We thought good to write to you also, that having received a publick Chariot from the most Eminent Latronianus (I) Corretor of Sicily, and taking into your company two (m) of the second Order, whom you shall think fit to choose, and also bringing along with you three Servants which may minister to you in your Journey, you meet on the very day appointed at the place aforeaid, that both your Gravity, and also by the unanimous and concordant Prudence and Peripatetic of the rest there assembled, this our doubt Diffentiation (which has shamefully been continued hitherto by certain detestable Quarrellings, after all things have been heard which shall be said by the now disagreeing Parties, whom we have summon'd to appear also,) may now at last be refer'd to a tranquil and congruous [Obediency of] Religion and Faith, and to a Brotherly Union. God Almighty preserve you in health many years.

Latronianus in an old Inscription at Panormus, which is attested by Prothierus in *Tabulis Siculis*, number 164 D. N. F. L. VALERIO LICINIO AUG. DOMITIVS LATRONIANVS V.C. CORR. P.S. DEVOTVS N.M. QUE EJUS. Gualtherus also in his Annotations upon this Inscription, quoteth and correcteth this place of Eusebius. Valer.

(m) By these words [*ἑν ἐν ἑκάστῳ ἑκαστῷ*] Eusebius meaneth the Presbyters, who were commonly called *Sacerdotes secundarii ordinis*, (Priests of the second Order) which may be collected out of several good Authors, as Optatus Milevitanus, and Jacobus Sermonius in his Notes upon Sidorius, pag. 78. Hieronymus, in his Epitaph on the blessed Paula, says, There were present the Bishops of Hierusalem and other Cities, and an innumerable company of Priests [*inferioris gradus*] of the lower Order, &c. So also says Gregor. Nazianzen, in *Carm. Jamis et vita* Jud, pag. 6. Hence comes this distinction; the Bishops in both Church, sat in more lofty Thrones, the Presbyters sitting on both hands.

hands on lower seats; and the Deacons standing by in white garments, [with the same Greg. Naz. in his *Dream of Eusebia Anastasia*, pag. 78. Eusebius also, in his Description of the Church of Tyre, alloteth the Thrones which were in the Church next the Altar, to the Bishop and Presbyters, but the Benches to the Deacons, where also he calls the Presbyters, τὰς ἐξ ἡ ἐκκλησίας ὑποδιαιρούσας, i. e. those which have the second places next the Bishop. See St. Augustine's 148th Epistle. Valef.]

## C H A P. VI.

(a) Concerning the Estates belonging to the Christians.

Constant. and Licinius. (a) This Title [ἐπεὶ τὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποστολῆς] Concerning the Estates of the Christians is here put in a wrong place: for the Epistle which follows, says not a word concerning the Estates of the Christians. This Title might better have been prefixed before Chap. 5. where we have two several Decrees of Constantine's concerning the Estates of the Christians. Therefore very well do the old *Mag.* and *Fuk.* MSS. make no distinction of a Chapter in this place. Valef.]

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript, by which he granteth Money to the Churches.

Constantinus Augustus, to Cecilianus Bishop of Carthage. For as much as it was our pleasure that through all the Provinces of Africa, Numidia, and both Mauritania's, some thing should be allow'd for necessary expences to some Ministers of the most Holy and Legitimate Catholic Religion, who  
[See B. 9. were expressly named, We wrote to the \* most Perfect Chap. 9. Ursus Rationallist of Africa, and have intimated Note (1.) to him that he take care to pay to your Gravity three thousand (b) Solles. Therefore when you shall have received the sum aforesaid, command that it be distributed to all the forementioned Ministers, according to a Breve directed to you from Hosius. But if you shall perceive there will be any thing wanting towards the fulfilling of our desire to all in this point, without making any scruples or delays you shall demand of Heracles the Steward of our Estates whatsoever you shall judge requisite. For we ordered him when he was with us, that if your Gravity demanded any money of him, he should without the least hesitancy take care it should be told out to you. And because we have been informed that some men who are of an unsettled mind, make it their business to pervert the Members of the most Holy Catholic Church by a certain impious and clancular Fallshood and Corruption; We would have you understand, that We gave such orders to Anulinus our Proconsul, and also Patricius (c) Deputy of the Praefects, when present, that amongst all other things they take an effectual and sufficient care about this business, more especially, and that if any such thing be done, they should by no means suffer it to be neglected. If therefore you shall see any such men persisting in this madness, without any further doubtings you shall let us make your Address to the foresaid Judges; and when on disclose the matter to them, that they may correct them according to our Orders to them when present. The Deity of the supreme God preserve you many years.

(b) ἐξόδοι. Epiphanius mentions these Solles, at the close of his Book *De Mensur. & Ponderib.* He speaks of two sorts of them: the first he calls the small Talent, consisting of 208 Denarii. The value of the other, he says, is δύο μνῆται, δύο μινύτα, two minuter or mites. See the Learned Petrus's *Diavris* concerning the Solles, at the end of his Notes on Epiph. pag. 431. Gr. Edit. Paris, 1622.

(c) Concerning the Praefects. Proconsul. (c) Deputy of the Praefects, when present, that amongst all other things they take an effectual and sufficient care about this business, more especially, and that if any such thing be done, they should by no means suffer it to be neglected. If therefore you shall see any such men persisting in this madness, without any further doubtings you shall let us make your Address to the foresaid Judges; and when on disclose the matter to them, that they may correct them according to our Orders to them when present. The Deity of the supreme God preserve you many years.

where we shewed that there was a difference between sitting for a Praefect, and sitting for the Praefects. He may be said to sit for a Praefect, when the Praefect of a City, or the Praefect of Pratorian orders to supply his place in any special business. But he may be said to sit for the Praefects, who exercises a Deputy's power or *ordine Coadiutorum*. See the place now cited in those Notes. The title given to these Praefects at this time was: *Perfessimus*, (see Book 9. Chap. 9. Note (f)) not *Clarissimus*, or *Spe. dabile*. This we are informed of from Constantine the Emperor's Rescript to Probianus Proconsul of Africa, which Augustine relates in his 68th Epistle; and in his 34 Book against Cresconius, cap. 70. Valef.]

## C H A P. VII.

(a) Concerning the Immunity of the Clergy.

Constant. and Licinius. (a) In the most ancient *Mag.* and *Fuk.* MSS. this is called the Sixth Chapter; which is true, if I mistake not. See the foregoing Chap. Note (a.) Valef.]

A Copy of the Emperor's Rescript by which he commandeth, that the Prelates of Churches be freed from bearing all Civil Offices.

We greet you most Honoured Anulinus. Since it is apparent from several Circumstances, that the contempt of that true Religion, by which is preserved the highest Veneration of the Celestial Majesty, has brought imminent Dangers upon the Affairs of the Publick; but when it was lawfully and rightly admitted and preserved, it conserved the greatest Prosperity upon the \* Roman Empire, and \* to an eminent Felicity on all Human Affairs; (the Divine Beneficence being the Donor thereof:) it mini seemed good to Us, ((b) Dearest Anulinus,) that those Men, who with a due sanctity and an assiduous observance of this Law give themselves wholly to the the Ministrations and Services of this sacred Religion, should receive the Rewards of their Labours. *Fuk.* and *Wherefore Our Pleasure is that those Men within the Province committed to your care, who in the Catholic Church, over which Cecilianus presides, do service to this sacred Religion, commonly called by the name of Clergymen, be always preserved exempt from all manner of Civil Offices; left by any error or sacrilegious Misfortune, they should be drawn away from the Service due to the Deity: but [our and our Will is] that they should rather serve their own dearest Law without any least inquietude. For when they perform the highest [acts of] worship to God, the greatest advantage seems to accrue to the publick Affairs. Farewel, most Honoured and Dearest Anulinus.*  
[In answer to this Rescript of Constantine's in Augustine's 68 Epistle. But Eusebius inserts this Rescript in a reproachful kind of order. For Constantine's Letter to Cecilianus the Bishop, and his Rescript to Anulinus, ought in order to precede Constantine's Letter to Maximianus Bishop of Rome. For all those Letters have a relation to the Roman Synod which was summoned upon the account of Cecilianus, when Constantine and Licinius were both the third time Consul, in the year of Christ 413. Valef.]

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning Licinius's Exorbitancies which afterwards ensued, and concerning his Death.

Such [gifts] therefore did the Divine and Celestial Grace of our Saviour's presence bestow upon us: and such an exuberance of prosperous successes was procur'd by all men, by reason of the peace [restored] to us. This was the posture of our affairs, we spent the time in joy and publick festivities. But this spectacle was intollerable to the malice of the Devil, that hater of all goodnes, and industrious Patron of mischief. Nor were the calamitous misfortunes which beset the forementioned Tyrants sufficient to inflame a sober consideration into Licinius, who being honour'd with a prosperous and successful Government, and with the second place of dignity, that next to Constantine the Great, and innobled with an affinity contracted by marriage, and with a near relation to a most august family, relinquish'd the imitation of good men; and became a zealous emulator of the improbity and wickedness of impious Tyrants. And he made choice of following their Counsels whose calamitous end himself had beheld with

Constantine  
and  
Licinius.

his own eyes, rather than to continue in the friendship and affection of the best of Princes. For being stimulated with envy against his great Benefactor, he raised a most impious and nefarious war against him, in no wise revering the Laws of nature, forgetful of all oaths, affinity and leagues. For Constantine, like a most courteous Emperor, that he might shew him the most convincing tokens of his sincere kindness, envied him not his own affinity, nor did he deny him the illustrious marriage of his Sister: but vouch-

(a) Here we follow that emendation of this place which is set at the Margin of Turnebus's MS. who instead of [eulogias, affinity] in this place read, [subversis, nobilitas]. For Constantine was extracted from a Royal descent; he derived his Pedigree from Claudius the Emperor. Valef.

Kinsman and Colleague in the Empire; nor had he given him a less portion of the Roman Provinces to rule over and govern, [than he reserved to himself.] But on the other hand, [Licinius] acted quite contrary hereto, daily inventing all kinds of stratagems against him that was his Better, devising all ways how to inflame him, that with mischiefs he might reward his Benefactor. At first therefore attempting to conceal his treacheries, he counterfeited a friendship, and having several times assailed [Constantine] by guile and deceit, he hoped to have easily obtained what he expected. But God was [Constantine's] Friend, Guardian, and Protector: he brought to light and detected the intrigues which were clancularly and secretly contrived against him. So powerful a strength is that great Armour of Godliness [endow'd with], that it is both prevalent to repulse the enemy, and has also a power sufficient for its own preservation. With this Armour our most pious Emperor being fortified, escaped the many intricate snares of that accursed man. Licinius therefore, perceiving that his secret plots did not succeed according to his expectation, (because God discovered all his deceit and treachery to his beloved Emperor,) and knowing that he could lie no longer conceal'd, raiseth open war. But in that he determined to war against Constantine, he likewise resolv'd to marchal an army against Almighty God, whom he knew Constantine worshipped. Afterwards he begun secretly and by little and little to attack those pious men who lived under his Government, who never intended the least molestation to his Dominions. And this he did [in regard] he was miserably induced thereto, being blinded by his innate malice. Therefore he did not set before his eyes the examples of those who had been Persecutors of the Christians before him; nor yet of those whose destroyer and punisher he himself had been appointed, because of the height of those impieties, to which they were arrived: but, declining from the way of sober and right reason, or rather running perfectly mad, he resolv'd upon engaging with God himself (because he was Constantine's assistant,) instead of [Constantine] who was afflicted by him. And first of all he banish'd all Christians out of his family, leaving himself destitute (miserable wretch!) of their prayers to God for him; it being their commonly received Doctrine, that prayer should be made for all men. He afterwards gave command that all the Officers in the

(b) Civil Milice should be disbanded, and turn'd out of their military preferments, except they were willing to sacrifice to Devils. But these are but small things, if compared with his great Villanies, which ensued. To what end should we recount all and every particular fact, which this man, hated of God, committed? How he, who was the greatest law-breaker, invented impious laws? for he made an order, that no one should charitably relieve the poor distressed Prisoners with meat, nor show the least compassion to those, who through hunger pined away in their fetters: that is, that there should no good man live, and that they who were led by the dictates of ] nature itself to have compassion on their neighbours, should be incapable of doing them any good. And this was clearly the most impudent and cruel of all laws, by far surpassing all that mildness and clemency implanted by nature: to which Law also there was a penalty annex'd, that they who shew'd compassion upon the

(c) criminals should suffer the like afflictions with those towards whom they shew'd mercy: and that such as charitably misnifit to those in bonds and confined to prison, should suffer the same punishment with them. Such were Licinius's Ordinances. What need we reckon up his innovations concerning marriages, or his new laws about (c) dying persons; whereby (c) This he presumptuously abrogated the ancient, good, and wisely established Roman Laws, and instead of them introduced certain barbarous and inhumane Ordinances, truly unjust and illegal? He also invented several sorts of Taxes, to the great oppression of the Subjects of his Provinces; and all sorts of exactions of Gold and Silver; (e) surveying of lands; and that cursed way of getting lucre from Coun-

admit of this Version. What Law this of Licinius's was, 'tis difficult to resolve. It seems to have belonged to the Testaments of dying people: it was abrogated by Constantine after Licinius was overcome by him. Valef. (d) Eusebius uses this term [ἐξουσίαι] which occurs here, at book 8, chap. 14. (see note (c.) there) where he treats concerning Maximinus the Eastern Tyrant. But in his first book De vita Constantini he terms it ἐκείνη, (i. e.) ways of getting money. The ancient Greeks us'd ἀγογὴ and ἀποστροφή, in this sense. There is extant a Book of Xenophon's, entitled ἀποστροφή. The modern Latin Authors call these Taxes, Tituli. Valef.

(e) The phrase here us'd (viz.) ἀναμετρήσεις τὰ γῆς, is very well rendered by *Lausius*, *iterata agrorum mensiones*, the re-measuring of Lands. This Version *Reusius* confirms, who renders it *ensius innovent*, to re-new the Census, or the pricing of every man's estate. This Census could not be renewed without the re-measuring of Land: For the Census amongst the Romans consisted of two things, (i. e.) the measuring of Lands, and the numbering of the People, as I have elsewhere said. We have the testimony of *Aurel. Vittor*, and of *Vitor's* Epitome in confirmation of what Eusebius says concerning Licinius's Avarice. But what Eusebius says concerning Licinius's Exactions, and Oppression of his Subjects, is confirmed by the testimony of two ancient Authors, (viz.) *Aurel. Vittor* and *Libanius*. *Vittor* says of Licinius that he was, *Agri-ribus plane ac radiceis natus*, quia ab eo genere ortus altissimus erat, *facti milis*, i. e. To the common sort of People and Rusticks, because he was ex-tracted from and maintained by that sort of men. He was useful enough. *Libanius* in his Oration pro Tempis Gentilium, says, *ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ οὐδὲν ἔσθ' ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς, that the Cities flourish'd under him, (viz.) Licinius. Valef.*

crey-men which were not alive, but long since dead. Besides these things, why should we reckon upon the (f) Proscriptions of innocent men upon which he, the Enemy of mankind, was the inventor of? and the imprisonments of men (g) nobly defended, and of an honourable repute? Whole youthful wives he forced from them by violence, and delivered them to some of his impure slaves, that they might be most injuriously vitiated? What need we number the married Women, Virgins, and Maids, whom in his (h) decrepitude he abused, to the fulfilling of his own soul's insatiable lust? What need is there [I say] of enlarging upon these things, whenas the exorbitant grossness of his last actions evinceth his first to be trivial and almost nothing? In fine, he arrived to such an height of madness, that [he made an attempt] upon the Bishops: and looking upon them (in regard they were the servants of Almighty God) to be enemies to his practices; but [daring not] as yet to use open violence, fearing his superior, he privily and craftily plotted against them: and by the treacheries of his Presidents destroy'd the eminentest of them. The manner how he murder'd them is strange, and such as was never before heard of. But his actions at *Amasia* and the rest of the Cities of *Pontus* do far exceed the most superlative cruelty. Where some of Gods Churches were again thrown down from their vast height to the very ground, and others were shut up, lest any of those that did usually frequent them should meet there, and render a due worship to God. For he did not suppose that prayers were offer'd up for him, being perswaded to entertain such thoughts as these by a consciousness of his own impieties. But he was of opinion that all we did was in behalf of the pious Emperor, and to render God favourable to him. Upon which account he resolv'd to assail us with his utmost rage. Therefore, those Presidents that were his flatterers, being fully perswaded that this would be grateful to the Tyrant, [inflicted] the same punishment upon some Bishops that they usually impos'd upon Malefactors. So that harmless and innocent men were hal'd away, and without the least pretext punish'd like murderers. But others of them underwent a new kind of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces; and after this barbarous and most horrid spectacle, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for the fishes. After this therefore, the worshippers of God took themselves to flight, and the fields, the deserts, the woods and mountains were the receptacles of Christ's servants. When the impious Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained some thoughts of raising a general persecution against all the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle to hinder him from effecting of it, had not God, the Protector of his own servants, (that he might prevent what would immediately have

ensued,) caused *Constantine* his servant suddenly to appear as a Saviour and a great Light to all that were in a thick darkness and an obscure night, conducting him with a mighty arm into these parts.

## C H A P. IX.

Concerning *Constantine's* Victory, and concerning the prosperity procured by him to all those that live under the power of the Romans.

(a) ON this man therefore did [God] from (a) At above bestow Trophies of Victory o- words we ver the ungodly, as being the worthy fruits of began the his piety. But the impious Tyrant, together with Chap. his all his Counsellors and friends, he laid prostrate on their faces before the feet of *Constantine*. For when \* he was arriv'd at the highest degree of madness, the pious † Emperor supposing he was not to be longer born with, (b) entering into a prudent and sober consideration with himself, and having tempered the severity of Justice with [his own natural] clemency, resolves upon succouring of those that were oppress'd by the Tyrant; and prepares to

save a great part of mankind, by cutting off and removing out of the way a few pestilent and destructive persons. For having before this made use of clemency only, and shewing pity on him who deserved no compassion; he did not profit him at all; for he desist'd not from [the practice of his pristine] impieties, but rather increased his fury against the Subjects of his own Provinces. There was no hope of deliverance now remaining to those that were oppress'd and afflicted by this cruel Beast. Wherefore [Constantine] the Protector of all good men (having temper'd his hatred of impiety with his love of virtue) together with his son *Crispus*, a most mild and courteous \* *Cæsar*, \* Or Prince † the term in the Greek is *Βασιλεύς* marches forward upon this expedition, reaching out a helping hand to all that were in distress. Both the Father therefore and the Son, having for their Captain and Assistant the suprem King, and the Son of God the Saviour of all men, divided the Army fo, as on every side to encompass God's Enemies, and got an easie victory; all things in that action having been rendred facil, and successfully expedited for them by God, according to their wish. Immediately therefore, even in the twinkling of an eye, they who yesterday and the day before breathed forth death and menaces, became wholly extinct, the remembrance even of their very names not in the least surviving them. Their pictures also and other monuments [dedicated to their honour] received the deserved [spots of] ignominy; and the same [disgrace] which *Licinius* had with his own eyes beheld the impious Tyrants heretofore involv'd in, even he himself in like manner suffer'd. For he himself receiv'd not instruction, nor was he amended by his neighbour's stripes: but walking on in the same path of wickedness with them, deserv'dly wandered into the same precipice they did. Thus

this word *χορεία*. For the *Christians* used to dance on their Festivals of the Martyrs, which they kept in honour of them; and thus they celebrated their Conflicts and Victories as *Greg. Naz.* relates (in *Carminibus ad mulieres sepe curiosius exornantes*, pag. 152.) *Basilius Orig.* (in his 14th Homily against drunkennes) has a sharp invective against these *Choreas*, or *Dances*. Valef.

s own *Eaſt*, and re-united into one entire body, as it heretofore was : ſubjoining under (c) their peace the whole World [ which reaches ] from the Rifting Sun to the utmoſt Weſtern Regions, together with the Provinces that lie round about as well towards the North as the South. Men therefore were now ſecure from all fear of them who formerly had oppreſſed them, and celebrated ſplendid and ſolemn days of Feſtivity. All things ſeemed to abound with fulneſs of light, and they who heretofore beheld each other with dejectedneſs and ſorrow then look'd upon each

fied God the the King of Kings, (for thus they  
 were instructed to do) and in the next place  
 the pious Emperor, together with his Chil-  
 dren which were beloved of God. There was  
 an oblivion of past afflictions, no remembrance  
 of any impiety, but only an enjoyment of the  
 present good things and expectations of more  
 in future. In all places the Edicts of the Vi-  
 ctorious Emperor, full of kindness and clemen-  
 cy, and his Laws containing manifest tokens  
 of his great bounty and true piety, were pro-  
 claimed. All Tyranny therefore being thus ex-  
 tirpated, the Empire which did by right belong  
 to *Constantine* and his Sons, was preserved firm  
 and secure from envy. Who (after they had clean-  
 sed the World from the impiety of their Pre-  
 decessors) being sensible of those great benefits  
 which had been procured for them by God,  
 (e) did by a most apparent and convincing tes-  
 timony of their deeds declare to all men their  
 love of virtue and of the Deity, and also their  
 piety and gratitude towards God.

*Constantine*  
*and*  
*Licinius.*

(e) The  
 reading is  
 to the King  
 M. S.  
 (which

Stepheus

almost every where follows) is this [*ἵνα τὸν νόμον γενέσθαι ἀπὸ  
ἐξουσίας καταστήσει, declared by their Law [published] in favour of the  
Christians!*] But in the Maz. Mem. Fuk. and Savil. M. SS. this phrase  
written for otherwile, thus [*ἵνα οὐκ ἐπισημαίνω ὑμᾶς διὰ τοιαύτα  
τοιοῦτον δοῖται, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξουσία, did by a most apparent and convincing  
manner of their deeds declare to all men:*] which reading, being confirm-  
ed by the consent of more, and those ancient Copies, we have,  
good reason supposed ought to be preferred before the other. Fol.

T H E

# ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

O F

Socrates Scholasticus,

Translated out of the GREEK, according to the Edition set forth  
by VALESIIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1668.

Together with

VALESIIUS's Annotations on the said Historian ; which are also  
done into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annex'd,

An Account of the *Life and Writings* of the forefaid *Historian* ; Collected by  
VALESIIUS, and Translated into ENGLISH.

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L O N D O N :

Printed by J. M. for A. and J. Churchill, at the Black Swan in Pater-Noster-  
Row. MDCCVIII.



# VALESIUS's PREFACE,

To the Studios READERS.

**A**FTER Eusebius Bishop of *Cæsarea*, (whom we may deservedly stile *The Father of Ecclesiastick History*;) many inflamed with a pious Emulation, undertook to treat of the same Subject. But *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* are in the Judgment of all Antiquity far more famous than all the other Writers: Who beginning from those Times wherein *Eusebius* concluded his *Ecclesiastick History*, brought their Work down to the Times of *Theodosius Junior*. And at first I was resolv'd to have publish'd these three Writers together, that as they had prosecuted one and the same Subject in their Writings, so they might have also been comprehended and read in one and the same Volume. But in regard this would hereby have been too large a Volume, therefore I was forced to defer the Edition of *Theodoret* to another time. To which I will add *Eusebius Epiphaniensis's Ecclesiastick History*, as also the *Excerptions of Philostorgius* and *Theodorus Lector*; that the Studios may in future read over the whole Body of *Ecclesiastick History*, publish'd and explain'd by our Labour. In the interim you have here (Reader) join'd together in this Volume *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. Concerning what I have done about the Edition of these Authors, take this Account in short.

Above eight years since, when by the Command and Advice of the most Illustrious Prelates belonging to the *Gallican Clergy*, I publish'd the *History of Eusebius Cæsariensis*, I made it my business to perform three things most especially in that Edition. For first, having from all places procur'd those Manuscript-Copies that were most remarkable and eminent, I amended and differenc'd those passages which in the former Editions had been corrupted and disguised. Secondly, in regard the former Translators had, either by reason of their want of Manuscript-Copies, or on some other account, err'd in many places, that their Versions might not induce the Readers into Mistakes, I my self have elaborated a new Translation, with which the Studios will, I hope, be in future content. Lastly, I have added Annotations, that I might therein both give an account of mine Amendments, and also explain and illustrate all the more obscure and difficult places. And this Edition, being candidly received by all, is now in the hands of the Learned. Therefore, what I then (by the Divine Assistance) perform'd in the *History of Eusebius Cæsariensis*, the same I have attempted now to do in the *History of Socrates* and *Sozomen*, by the Command and Advice of the same Prelates I mention'd. For (that I may in the first place speak concerning *Socrates*, who first betook himself to write) I have amended his *History* by the help and assistance of three Manuscript-Copies, to wit, the *Sfortian*, the *Florentine*, and the *Allatian*. The *Sfortian*-Manuscript (which is the best and ancientest,) is at this time kept in the *Vatican Library*. This Copy the Learned *Lucas Holstenius* had some time since (in favour to the most Illustrious *Carolus Monchallus*, Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse*) compared with the *Geneva Edition*; and had transmitted the various Readings (together with the Emendations of *Philostorgius* transcribed from the *Scoriacensian MS.*) to the same Prelate, at such time as the *Gallican Clergy* had committed to him the Care of setting forth a new Edition of the *Ancient Ecclesiastick History*; so the said *Holstenius* informs us, in his *Epistle to Peter Possinus*, a Divine of the Order of the *Jesuites*. But afterwards, when by the Entreaty of the same Arch-Bishop of *Toulouse* (who understood, that by reason of his too much other business, he could not be at leisure to take care of this Edition) the *Gallican Clergy* had injoynd me that Province; the same *Holstenius* sent me the various Readings of the fore-mention'd *Sfortian*-Manuscript, written out with his own hand at the Margin of the *Geneva Edition*, together with those Amendments of *Philostorgius*; and had sent me more, had a longer Life been granted him. For a little before his Death he sent me some *Dissertations* concerning certain Passages in the *Nicene* and *Chalcedon Councils*, and concerning *Synefius's* Episcopate. Which *Dissertations* shall (God willing) be publish'd by us in the Third Tome of our *Ecclesiastick History*, that the learned part of the World may be no longer defrauded of that most Accomplish'd Person's Labours. The *Florentine*-Manuscript follows, transcribed above five hundred years since, which is now kept at *Florence*, in *St. Lawrence's Library*. The Discovery and Use of this Manuscript I owe to *Emericus Bigotius*, a most skilful searcher into old Libraries: By whose diligence it is contriv'd, that we sitting still and idle here, enjoy the Riches and Treasures of many and most remote Libraries. For at his entreaty, *Michael Erminius*, a Senator of *Florence*, compared that Copy with the *Geneva Edition*, and transmitted the various Readings thereof to me; upon which account I do profess my self much obliged to both of them. The third Manuscript belongs to *Leo Allatius*, a Person every way learned, and one that has deserved well of Ecclesiastick Antiquity. This Copy contains the *Ecclesiastick History of Theodorus Lector*, compris'd in Two Books; which *Theodorus Lector* had gather'd out of three Writers of Ecclesiastick Affairs, to wit, *Socrates*, *So-*

*zomen*, and *Theodoret*, after the same manner that *Cassiodorus Senator* has compos'd his *Tripartite History*. But this *Tripartite History* of *Theodorus Lector* comprehends only the Affairs transacted in the Church during the Reign of *Constantine* and *Constantius*: Whether the reason be, that *Theodorus Lector* continued his *Collection* no further, or, that the other Books of that Work are lost by the negligence of Antiquity. Out of this Copy therefore *Leo Allatius* had some time since collected the various Readings in the two former Books of *Socrates*, and transmitted them, being written out with his own hand, to the most Illustrious Prelate *Carolus Monballus*: Which I afterwards procured by the assistance of the most Eminent *Dionysius Talemus*, Advocate General to the Most Christian King in the Supreme Court at Paris. Besides these three Manuscript Copies, I made use of the King's Manuscript, (which is no very ancient one,) which *Robert Stephens* made use of only in his Edition. Upon which account it is left to be wondered at, that the common Editions of *Socrates* have hitherto been so faulty, seeing they were all derived from one only Copy, which also is a very modern one. Moreover, this Copy was taken out of the King's Library, and courteously lent me by the most Illustrious and Reverend Prelate *Nicholas Colbertus*, Bishop of *Lusson*, a Person endow'd with eminent Learning, Virtue, and Dignity. Concerning whose Praise I would speak more in this place, did not his singular Modesty hinder me, who am a very desirous thereof. And these are the Assistances of the Manuscript Copies, by the supports whereof I attempted this Edition of *Socrates*.

But in the Correcting of *Sozomen's History* I had the benefit of fewer Manuscript Copies. For besides that Copy in the King's Library, which *Robert Stephens* followed in his Edition, and besides that Copy belonging to *Leo Allatius* (whereof we made mention before,) which was an assistance to us only in the four first books of *Sozomen*, and in the beginning of the Fifth; I had only the *Fuketian Manuscript*. This Copy did at first belong to *Carolus Monballus Arch-Bishop* of *Tolouse*, a person very studious of Ecclesiastick History. But afterwards it was put into the *Fuketian Library*, and lent to me by the most worthy *Nicolaus Fuketius*. Upon which account in my Annotations I have called this the *Fuketian Manuscript*. But at length, when our Edition was completed, this Copy (together with the other Manuscripts belonging to the *Fuketian Library*) was transferr'd into the Right and Possession of the most Illustrious and Eminent Person, on account both of his own and his Father's deserts. *Carolus Mauricius Tellerius*, Abbot of *Saint Benignus*, who at this time is Coadjutor to the Arch-Bishoprick of *Rheimes*. Indeed this is no very ancient Manuscript, but 'tis of the best note, and is transcribed from a most correct Copy. The Titles of the Chapters, which in the King's Manuscript, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*, are prefix'd before the History of *Sozomen*, are wanting in this Copy. Nor is there any distinction of the Chapters throughout all the Books. From whence may be discerned the Excellency and Antiquity of that Manuscript. For the Titles or Contents of the Chapters were made by *Nicephorus Callistus*, or rather by some other more modern Author, and are wholly impertinent, and barbarously express'd. In so much that after I had look'd thereon with a greater accuracy, they seem'd to have been compos'd by some other hand, rather than by *Nicephorus*. Moreover, that I may not defraud any person of his due praise, I acknowledge my self indebted to *Samuel Tenuilius* (a very learned person, and one that is a great lover of me, at present an eminent Professor of Literature at *Nimwegen*) for the various Readings in the History of *Sozomen* and *Theodoret*, collected out of the fore-mentioned *Allatian Manuscript*; that is, out of the *Tripartite History* of *Theodorus Lector*. For whilst he was at *Rome*, he transcribed them with his own hand from *Leo Allatius's* Copy, a person never praised enough; who by my entreaty, and for my sake, had delivered those various Readings to the said *Tenuilius*, that he might write them out. By the help of these Copies therefore I have amended innumerable places both in *Socrates* and also in *Sozomen*, which were very corrupt before; I have supplied many Defects, restored many Punctuations and Distinctions, and, lastly, I have added a new Version. Concerning which I will now speak briefly.

What I have heretofore said concerning *Musculus's* and *Christophorson's* Translation in my Preface to the Illustrious Prelates of the Gallican Church, which is prefix'd before the Edition of our *Eusebius*, I need not now repeat. I will only add this: If after those Translators now named, the History of *Eusebius Casariensis* wanted a new Interpreter, a new Version of *Socrates* and *Sozomen* was much more necessary. For their Histories have come to our hands far more faulty than *Eusebius's*. And that the Judicious Reader will easily discern from *Robert Stephens's* Edition. For *Robert Stephens*, in his Edition of *Eusebius*, had the use of many Manuscript Copies, which were taken out of the King's Library: But in his Impression of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* History, he had but one Copy of each of them. Therefore at the end of his Edition, he remark'd the various Readings in the books of *Eusebius*, taken out (as he says) of most ancient Copies. But at the close of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* History he put no various Readings, because he had gotten but one Copy of each of those Writers. Also, the Copies of *Eusebius*, which *Stephens* made use of, were the best and antientest, as he himself attests. But each Copy, as well that of *Socrates's* as the other of *Sozomen's* History, which *Robert Stephens* followed in his Edition, was, as we perceive, very new; and did also abound with many faults. 'Tis therefore no wonder, that Learned Men have been so often mistaken in their Versions of *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* Books, since they had such faulty and maimed Copies before them, and were deprived of the assistance of Manuscripts. For

*Musculus*

## VALESIUS'S PREFACE.

*Musculus* had seen *Robert Stephens's* Edition only. *Christopherson* had indeed inspected some MS. Copies of *Eusebius* and *Theodoret*. But he had no MSS. of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, as I have frequently observed in my *Annotations*. He had only seen the various Readings and Conjectures of Learned Men set at the Margin of *Robert Stephens's* Edition: Of which fort many Copies came to our hands. But those Readings were almost of no weight or authority at all, in as much they had no Remark annex'd of the ancient Copy out of which they were transcribed. But I, having got the best and ancientest Manuscripts, as well of *Socrates*, as *Sozomen*, and with great labour and industry compared them with the common Editions; afterwards took an easier and plainer way to their Translation. This Edition of ours therefore will (we hope) equally satisfy all persons, as well those that are skilled in the *Greek* Tongue, as them that are not. For, both those that are knowing in the *Greek* Language will read *Socrates* and *Sozomen* amended and thoroughly purged by our Labour; and such as are less skilled in the *Greek* will easier understand those Authors done into Latin by us.

Our *Annotations* follow; wherein, in the same manner as in our *Notes* on *Eusebius*, we have attempted to perform two things. The first is, to give an account of our *Emendations*, and to propose to the Reader's Judgment the various Readings taken out of the *Manuscript Copies*. Then, secondly, to illustrate (according to our ability) the more obscure and difficult places, which seem'd to be able to involve the Reader's Judgment in Doubts. Nor am I ignorant, that there are many delicate and fastidious Persons, who may think that they have exhibited to them some exquisite Observations only, and *Common Places* (as they are called,) compos'd for shew and ostentation; and who may suppose that that part of our *Annotations*, which contains *Emendations* and various Readings, is altogether trivial and despicable. To which persons I would make this return: Altho those *Emendations* and various Readings (which the *Greeks* term *διωλεσπίας*) may frequently be insipid, and seem troublesome to the Readers, yet they are highly useful, and altogether necessary, especially in these Writers, whose Books have come to our hands less correct. Now that *Socrates's* and *Sozomen's* Books are such, we have before mention'd. And indeed our *Observations* do bear a greater shew of Learning: But an *Emendation* in my opinion requires more of Wisdom and Judiciousness. Neither is it for every Man to give his opinion concerning the true and genuine Reading of antique Writers: But he only is able to do this, who is furnished with a manifold stock of Learning, and has been long and much exercis'd in this Art of Judging.

And these are the Particulars I thought necessary to advertize the Readers of in the beginning of this Work, that they might know at first sight what they were chiefly to expect in this Edition of ours, which could not be met with in the former Editions of this History. It remains now, that we speak something concerning *Socrates* and *Sozomen*: who and what manner of Persons they were, what course of Life they followed, what Religion they profess'd, and which of them first wrote his History.

CONCER-

Concerning the

# L I F E

A N D

# W R I T I N G S

O F

## SOCRATES and SOZOMEN.

**O**UR *Socrates* therefore, for we will begin with him, had *Constantinople* for his Country. In the *Fifth Book of his History*, Chap. 24. he attests that he was born and educated in that City, and that he therefore recorded those Matters chiefly which hapned in that City. When very young he was instructed in the *Rules of Grammar*, by *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians*, who at that time had left *Alexandria*, and betook themselves to *Constantinople*. He that is desirous to know the reason why these *Grammarians* departed from *Alexandria*, will find it related by *Socrates*, in the *Fifth Book* and *Sixteenth Chapter* of his *History*. For when the Heathen Temples were demolish'd at *Alexandria*, by the Care and Industry of *Theophilus* Bishop of that City, *Helladius* and *Ammonius*, *Grammarians* (the one of whom was *Jupiter's* Priest, and the other *Simius's* at *Alexandria*,) displeased at the Ignominy their Gods were expos'd to, having left the City *Alexandria*, went to *Constantinople*, and there took up their habitation. Moreover, the Heathen-Temples at *Alexandria* were destroy'd when *Timasius* and *Promotus* were *Consuls*, (according to *Marcellinus's* Relation in his *Chronicon*,) which was the Emperor *Theodosius's* Eleventh year. Whence it is apparent, that our *Socrates* was born about the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign. For Boys were usually sent to be instructed by *Grammarians* when they were about Ten years old. After this *Socrates* studied *Rhetorick* under the Tuition of *Troilus* the *Sophista*, who about that time was an eminent Professor of Eloquence at *Constantinople*. Our *Socrates* does not indeed say thus much in exprefs words. But the attentive and diligent Reader will easily collect from his words that which I have affirmed. For he does make such frequent, and so honourable a mention of him, that he may seem to pay reward to his Master. For he names his Country, *Sida*, a City of *Pamphylia*. He also mentions not a few of his Scholars, to wit, *Eusebius Scholasticus*, and *Sikmann*, and *Ablabius* who were Bishops. Lastly, in his *Seventh Book* he relates, that *Anthemius* the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* (who, whilst *Theodosius Junior* was yet a *Minor*, was the Chief Minister of State in the Empire) did chiefly make use of the Counsels of *Troilus* the *Sophista*. Where he also gives him this *Elogue*: "Ὁς μὲν τῶν ἑσῶν αὐτοῦ Φιλοσοφίας (for that must be the Reading, as we have intimated in our \*Notes) οὐκ ἔστιν ἴσους ἀντιβένιῳ, ὅστις ἦν ὁ ἀντιβένιος τῷ Ἀνδρείῳ ἐπαμύχανῳ;" that is, *who besides the Philosophy that was in him, was Antbenius's Equal in Political Knowledge*. By these Reasons I have been induc'd to think that our *Socrates* had *Troilus* for his *Rhetorick-Master*. But concerning this matter we permit every one to determine according to his own Arbitrement. Further, you must know that the Ancients were not so speedy and hasty in [their learning the Rules of] Eloquence, as is now a-days usual, but they applied their minds to those Studies for a long time together. *Gregory Nazianzen* attests (in his *Poem concerning his own Life*) that he left *Athens* in the thirtieth year of his Age, as soon as he had learned the Precepts of the *Art of Oratory* in that City. After this, *Socrates* having left *Troilus's* School, betook himself to the *Forum*, and pleaded Causes at *Constantinople*. Whence he got the Surname of *Scholasticus*. For so the *Advocates* were at that time called, as it has long since been remarked by others: \* Not because they were reduced into Schools; but in regard, being Young Men that had left the Schools of the *Rhetoricians*, they profess'd this Art. But at length, having left off his Practice in the Law, he applied his mind to Writing of his *Ecclesiastick History*. In which Work he has made use of a singular Judiciousness and Diligence. His Judiciousness is manifested by his Remarks and Sentiments interwoven every where throughout his Books: than which there is (in my opinion) nothing more excellent. But his diligence is declared by many other Instances, chiefly by this, in regard he frequently annexes a Note of the

\* See *Socras. Ecclesiast. Hist. Fifth Book 7. Chap. 1. Note (c.)*

\* Non quod in Scholæ relati essent; sed hec words it; the expression is ambiguous.

## Concerning the Life and Writings of Socrates and Sozomen.

times, that is, the *Consulates* and *Olympiades*, especially where he mentions such Matters as are more momentous. Nor has he carelessly or negligently written his History, as *Rufinus Aquileiensis* did, who seems to me to have composed his *two Books of Ecclesiastick History* (which he annex'd to *Eusebius's*) without looking into any Records. Our *Socrates* did far otherwise, for having from all places got together the best Monuments, that is, the Epistles of Prelates, the *Acts of Synods*, and the *Books of Ecclesiastick Writers*, agreeable to their authority he composed his History. And whereas in the first Edition of his Work, having therein followed *Rufinus*, he had placed the *Synod of Tyre*, and the Banishment of *Atanasius* into the *Gallia's*, in the Reign of *Constantius Augustus*, upon reading of *Atanasius's* Books afterwards, he perceived his error. Wherefore he was necessitated to set forth a new Edition of his History, wherein he both mended the Mistake I have mention'd, and also made an addition of some other things, which were wanting in the former Edition, as he himself attests at the beginning of his *Second Book*. Whence it appears how highly we ought to value *Socrates's History*, to which the Writer himself put his last \* Hand. In the Composure of his History *Socrates* has made use of a plain and mean Stile; which was done by him on set purpose, that he might the easier be understood by all persons, as himself attests at the beginning of his *First and Third Book*. For he look'd upon that sublime and eloquent manner of expression to be more agreeable for *Panegyrick Orations*, than an History of Ecclesiastick Affairs. Moreover, he has dedicated his History to one *Theodorus*, whom in the beginning of his *Second Book* he styles a *Sacred Man of God*, which is the same Appellation our *Eusebius* gives to *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre*, at the beginning of his *Tenth Book*. But who this *Theodorus* was, it is to me unknown. For I cannot believe it was *Theodorus* Bishop of *Mopsuestia*, in regard *Socrates* wrote his History after the Death of *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*. But it is now time for us to inquire concerning his Sect and Religion, as we promised at the beginning.

*Baronius* in his *Annals*, and *Philippus Labbens* in his *Book De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, do affirm, that our *Socrates* was by Sect a † *Novatian*. The same was *Nicephorus's* Opinion before it was theirs, who in the *Proeme* to his *Ecclesiastical History* says thus: *Ὁ τῶν ἀρεσκοντικῶν, ὁ ψῶδ' ὁ γὰρ τῶν ἀρεσκοντικῶν ἔγραψε τὴν ἱστορίαν*. That is, *That Socrates, surnam'd \* Catbarus, but as to his Mind he was not pure*. Which words are not to be understood, as if *Socrates* were surnam'd *Catbarus*, but that it might be shewn he was a *Novatian*. For the *Novatians* termed themselves *Catbari*, as we are informed from the *Eighth Canon of the Nicene Council*. The same *Nicephorus* (in his *Eleventh Book, Chap. 14.*) writes thus concerning *Socrates*: *Socrates (who in this place plainly shews himself not to be a detester of the Novatian Principles) relates that these things were told him by a certain old Man, &c.* Now, why our *Socrates* was by many accounted a *Novatian*, the reasons are not few, nor trivial. For first, he carefully records the *Series of the Novatian Bishops*, who presided over the Church at *Constantinople* from the Times of *Constantine*; and also remarks the *Consulates* wherein every one of them departed out of this Life. Secondly, he highly extols them all, especially *Agerius, Sisinnius, Chrysanthus, and Paulus*. By whose Prayers, as he relates, a certain Miracle was wrought at *Constantinople*. Lastly, he prosecutes all Matters belonging to the *Novatian Sect* with so great a care and diligence, that he may seem to have been addicted to this Sect. But should any one examine these Particulars with a greater accuracy, he will find nothing in them, that may evince our *Socrates* to have been a *Novatian*. For with the like diligence he enumerates the *Arian Bishops*, who govern'd their Church at *Constantinople*; and yet it is not said he was an *Arian*. With no less carefulness also has he related all things that happened to the *Arians, Eunomians, and Macedonians* at *Constantinople*, than he has recorded what befel the *Novatians*. The reason hereof he himself has given, in *Chap. 24. of his Fifth Book*. Where he says, it was his design to record those things most especially which hapned at *Constantinople*; both because he himself lived in that City, wherein he had been born and educated; and also in regard the Affairs transacted there were more eminent, and worthy to be recorded. But should any one object, that the *Arian Bishops* are not extolled by *Socrates* at the same rate that the *Novatian Bishops* are: the Answer hereto is easie. For the *Arian Bishops*, who then lived at *Constantinople*, were far inferior to the *Novatian Bishops*. For the Church of these Hereticks did in those Times abound with many, and Those eminent Prelates: Which *Sozomen* also confirms by his Testimony, who records their *Elogues*, exactly like those given them by our *Socrates*. Wherefore, it must either be said that *Sozomen* was also a *Novatian*, or else our *Socrates* must be discharged from that Calumny. But 'tis manifest *Sozomen* was not a *Novatian*. For (to omit *Theodorus Leontius's* Testimony, who, in his *Epistle prefixt before his Triperite-History*, styles him *Μαγεωστῶν, a most blessed Person*,) he himself in his Ninth Book relates, that he was present at a publick Procession, celebrated at *Constantinople* in honour of forty Martyrs, at such time as *Prochus* presided over the Church of that City. Whence 'tis manifestly concluded, that *Sozomen* was a Person of the Catholick Communion, in regard he was present at the publick Prayers together with the Catholicks. I confess indeed, that our *Socrates* does frequently favour the *Novatians*; for instance, when he recounts the Ring-leader of the *Novatian Heretic* amongst the number of the Martyrs; when he affirms, that the *Novatians* were joyn'd to the Catholicks in the ties of a most intimate Friendship and Love, and that they pray'd together with them in the Church of God; and lastly, when he commends *Sisinnius's* Oration, which he made against this Saying of *S<sup>c</sup> Chrysostome*,  
Although

\* That is, he himself Revised, and Corrected it.

† See *Eusebius's* Ecclesiast. Hist. Book 6. Chap. 43. That is, Pure.

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Although thou hast repented a thousand times, approach. But 'tis one thing to favour the Novatians; another to be a Novatian. Our Socrates might indeed be a favourer of the Novatians, either because he was engaged in a friendship and familiarity with them, or in regard he approved of their discipline and abstinence. For, as far as we can collect from his Books, he was something severe. But I can hardly persuade myself, that he was a Novatian; especially when as I seem to have found the contrary from some places which occur in his History. For first, in Chap. 38. of his Second Book, he frequently calls the Catholics *οἱ τῆς ἐκκλησίας, those of the Church*; and opposes them to the Novatians. Therefore he acknowledges that the Novatians were without the Church. Which he would certainly never have done, had he embraced that Heresie. Besides, in the 20. and 23. Chapters of his Fifth Book he reckons the Novatians amongst the Hereticks, to wit, amongst the Arians, Macedonians, and Eunomians. Lastly, from Chap. 19. of the same Book it may be apparently concluded that Socrates was not a Novatian. For first, he always calls the Church simply and absolutely the Catholick-Church: opposing it to the Churches of other Sects, concerning which he treats in the following Chapters, to wit, of the Arians, Novatians, and Eunomians. Then, he does not obscurely reprehend that advice of Nestorius, who abrogated the *† Penitentiary Presbyter*. For he says, that hereby Licence was given to Sinners, when as there was no body that might reprove Offenders. Which Opinion could not proceed from a Novatian, in regard those Hereticks admitted neither of Repentance [after Baptism], nor of a Penitentiary-Presbyter, as Socrates does there attest. Add hereto the testimony of Theodorus Lector, who, in his Epistle prefixt before his Ecclesiastick History, calls Socrates, Sozomen and Theodoret, *ἀνδρες σεπταί, that is, Men that were pious and acceptable to God*. Moreover, Theodorus Lector lived in the same City, and almost at the same time that Socrates did, to wit, in the Reign of the Emperor Anastasius. Lastly, Petrus Halloixius (in his Notes on the Life of St. Irenæus, pag. 664.) is of the same Opinion with us. For, disputing against Baronius, who at the year of Christ 159. had written thus: *These things Socrates the Novatian, who with the Jews celebrated Easter on the fourteenth day of the Moon, &c.* he utters these words. *And whereas Socrates is termed a Novatian, that may be taken in a double sense: The one is, that he sometimes favoured the Novatians; which also Bellarmine affirms (in his Book de Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis, at the year of our Lord 440.) both concerning him, and likewise concerning Sozomen. The other is, that he was [a follower] of the Novatian-Heresie. In the now-cited Chapter, he neither shews himself to be a Novatian, nor a favourer of them. For he blames them, and detests their dissensions and vices; in so much that he may seem not to have been a friend, but an enemy, or rather neither of the two, but a declarer of the truth, which is the business of an Historian.* Thus far concerning Socrates, we must now speak of Sozomen.

Hermias Sozomen was also a practiser in the Law at Constantinople, at the same time with Socrates. His Ancestors were not mean, they were originally *Palestinians*, Inhabitants of a certain Village near Gaza, called *Bethelia*. This Village did in times past abound with a numerous Company of Inhabitants, and had most stately and ancient Churches. But the most glorious Structure of them all was the *Pantheon*, situated on an artificial Hill, which was the Tower as it were of *Bethelia*, as Sozomen relates in Chap. 15. of his fifth Book. The Grandfather of Hermias Sozomen was born in that Village, and first converted to the Christian Faith by Hilarion the Monk. For when Alaphion an inhabitant of the same Village was possessed with a Devil, and the Jews and Physicians attempting to cure him, could do him no good by their Enchantments; Hilarion, by a bare invocation of the Name of God, cast out the Devil. Sozomen's Grandfather, and Alaphion himself, amazed at this Miracle, did with their whole families embrace the Christian Religion. The Grandfather of Sozomen was eminent for his Expositions of the sacred Scriptures, being a Person endowed with a polite Wit, and an acuteness of Understanding. Besides, he was indifferently well skill'd in Literature. Therefore he was highly esteemed of by the Christians inhabiting *Gaza*, *Ascalon*, and the places adjacent, in regard he was useful and necessary for [the propagating of] Religion, and could easily unloose the Knots of the sacred Scriptures. But Alaphion's Descendants excelled others for their Sanctity of Life, Kindness to the indigent, and for their other Virtues: and they were the first that built Churches and Monasteries there, as Sozomen attests in the place before cited. Where he also adds, that some holy Persons of Alaphion's Family were surviving even in his days, with whom he himself, when very young, was conversant, and concerning whom he promises to speak more afterwards. Undoubtedly he means *Salamaneis*, *Phisco*, *Malebis*, and *Crispio*, Brothers, concerning whom he speaks in Chap. 32. of his sixth Book. For he says, that these Brethren, instructed in the Monastick Discipline by Hilarion, were, during the Empire of Valens, eminent in the Monasteries of Palestine: and that they lived near *Bethelia*, a Village in the Country of the *Gazites*. For they were Descendants of a Noble Family amongst them. He mentions the same Persons in his Eighth Book and Fifteenth Chapter, where he says *Crispio* was *Epiphanius's Arch-Deacon*. 'Tis apparent therefore, that those Brethren I have mentioned were extracted from Alaphion's Family. Now Alaphion was related to Sozomen's Grandfather. Which I conjecture from hence. First, because the Grandfather of Sozomen is said to have been converted (together with his whole Family) to the Christian Religion, upon account of Alaphion's wonderful Cure, whom Hilarion had healed, by calling on the name of the Omnipotent

† See So-  
crates's  
Ecclesi-  
Hist. Book  
5. Chap.  
19. note  
(4.)

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potent GOD. Further, this Conjecture is confirm'd by what *Sozomen* relates, to wit, that he, when very young, was familiarly conversant with the aged Monks that were of *Alaphion's* Family. And lastly, in regard *Sozomen* took his name from those Persons who were either the Sons or Grandchildren of *Alaphion*. For he was called *Salamanes Hermias Sozomenus* (as *Photius* attests in his *Bibliotheca*) from the name of that *Salamanes*, who, as we observed before, was *Phuseo's*, *Malchio's*, and *Crispio's* Brother. Wherefore that mistake of *Nicephorus's*, and others, must be amended, who suppose that *Sozomen* had the Surname of *Salaninus*, because he was born at *Salamine* a City of *Cyprus*. But we have before demonstrated from *Sozomen's* own testimony, that he was not born in *Cyprus*, but in *Palestine*. For his Grandfather was not only a *Palestinian*, as is above said, but *Sozomen* himself was also educated in *Palestine*, in the bosom (as I may say) of those Monks that were of *Alaphio's* Family. From which education *Sozomen* seems to me to have imbibed that most ardent love of a Monastick Life and Discipline, which he declares in many places of his History. Hence 'tis, that in his Books he is not content to relate, who were the Fathers and Founders of Monastick Philosophy; but he also carefully relates their Successors and Disciples, who both in *Egypt*, *Syria*, and *Palestine*, and also in *Pontus*, *Armenia* and *Ostioena*, followed this way of Life. Hence also it is, that in the Twelfth Chapter of the First Book of his History, he has propos'd to be read (in the beginning as it were) that gorgeous Elogue of Monastick Philosophy. For he supposed, that he should have been ungrateful, had he not after this manner at least made a return of thanks to those, in whose familiarity he had lived, and from whom, when he was a youth, he had received such eminent examples of a good converse. For that he himself intimates, in the Proeme to his first Book. But it is collected that *Sozomen* was educated at *Gaza*, not only from this place which I have mentioned, but also from *Cidap*. 28. of his Seventh Book, where *Sozomen* says, that he himself had seen *Zeno* Bishop of *Majuma*. This *Majuma* is a Sea-Port belonging to the *Gazites*. Which Bishop, although he was almost an hundred years old, yet was never absent from the Morning and Evening Hymns, unless it hapned that he was deranged by a disease. After this *Sozomen* applied himself to the profession of the Law. He was a Student in the Civil Law at *Berytus*, a City of *Phoenicia*, not far distant from his own Country, where there was a famous Civil-Law-School. But he practis'd the Law at *Constantinople*, as himself attests in his second Book and third Chapter: And yet he seems not to have been very much employed in pleading of Causes. For at the same time that he was an Advocate at *Constantinople*, he wrote his Ecclesiastick History; which may be concluded from his own Words. For thus he says (Book 2. Chap. 3.) οὐκ ἔστιν Ἀνδρῶν ἱσχυρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὴν αὐτῶν συντάξιν ἐκείνην, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀποστολαῖς διὰ τὴν ἀποστολὴν τοῦ πρῶτου αὐτῶν ἀνδρός· καὶ δὲ τὸ δευτέρου, ἀναγκασίως ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀποστολὴν τοῦ πρῶτου αὐτῶν ἀνδρός· καὶ δὲ τὸ δευτέρου, ἀναγκασίως ἐπ' αὐτὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἀποστολὴν τοῦ πρῶτου αὐτῶν ἀνδρός· but what hapned to *Aquilinus*, a person at this time conversant with me, and one that pleads Causes in the same Court of Judicature, I will necessarily relate, partly as I hear it from him, and partly as I myself saw it. Further, before he wrote his Nine Books of Ecclesiastick History, *Sozomen* compos'd a Breviary of Ecclesiastick affairs, from our Saviour's Ascension to the Deposition of *Valentinian*. Which work was compriz'd in two Books, as himself attests in the Proeme to his First Book. But those two Books are lost by length of time. In the compofure of his History, *Sozomen* has made use of a Style neither too Low, nor too High, but between both: which Style is most agreeable to a Writer of Ecclesiastick Affairs. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) prefers *Sozomen's* Style before *Socrates's*. With whom we agree. But by how much *Sozomen* is superior for the Elegancy of his expression, by so much *Socrates* exceeds upon account of his judiciousness. For *Socrates* judges incomparably well, both of Men, and also of Ecclesiastick Business and Affairs. There is nothing in him but what is grave and serious. Nothing that you can expunge as superfluous. But on the contrary, some passages occur in *Sozomen* that are trivial and childish. Of this sort is his digression in his First Book concerning the building of the City *Hemona*, and concerning the *Argonauts*, who carried the Ship *Argo* on their Shoulders some furlongs. Also his description of *Daphne* without the Walls of the City *Antioch*, which occurs at Chap. 19. of his Sixth Book. And that observation of his concerning the beauty of the Body, where he treats of that Virgin, with whom the blessed *Athanasius* abscinded a long while. Lastly, his Ninth Book contains little else besides warlike Events, between which and an Ecclesiastick History there is no agreement. Besides, *Sozomen's* Style, which *Photius* prefers before that of *Socrates*, wants not its faults. For I have observed, that the Periods are by *Sozomen* no otherwise joyned together, than by these Particles *καὶ* and *καὶ*; than which there is nothing more troublesome. Should any one attentively read that Epistle wherein *Sozomen* Dedicates his Work to *Theodosius Junior*, he will find that which I have said to be certainly true, to wit, that *Sozomen* was no great Orator.

It remains, that we inquire which of these \* two Authors wrote first, and which of them \* *Socrates* borrow'd, or rather stole from the other. Certainly, in regard both of them Wrote almost the same things of the same Transactions, in as much as they both began at the same beginning, and concluded their History at the same boundary, (both beginning from the Reign of *Constantine*, and ending at the Seventeenth Consulate of *Theodosius Junior*;) it must needs be true, that one of them robbed the others Desk. Which sort of theft (as *Porphyrinus* attests in *Eusebius's* Tenth Book of *Evangelic Preparation*) was committed by many of the Grecian Writers. But which was the Plagiarist, *Socrates* or *Sozomen*, 'tis hard to say, in regard both of them lived in the same times, and both

both wrote their History in the Empire of *Theodosius Junior*. Therefore, in the disquisition of this question, we must make use of conjecture. In such a case as this *Porphyrius* in the before-quoted Book (when it was uncertain whether *Hyperides* stole from *Demosthenes*, or *Demosthenes* from *Hyperides*, because both of them lived at the same time,) openly declared that conjecture was to be made use of. Let us therefore see upon which of them falls the suspicion of theft. Indeed this is my sentiment, I do suppose that the Inferior does frequently steal from the Superior, and the Junior from the Senior. But *Sozomen* is in my judgment far inferior to *Socrates*; and he betook himself to Writing *his History* when he was younger than *Socrates*. For he wrote it whilst he was yet an Advocate, as I observed before. Now, the profession of the Advocates amongst the *Romans* was not perpetual, but temporary. Lastly, He that adds something to the other, and sometimes amends the other, seems to have written last. But *Sozomen* now and then adds some passages to *Socrates*, and in some places dissents from him, as *Photius* has observed, and we have hinted in our *Annotations*. *Sozomen* therefore seems to have written last. And this is the Opinion of almost all modern Writers; who place *Socrates* before *Sozomen*; So *Bellarmino* in his Book *De Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*; who is followed by *Miræus*, *Labbeus*, and *Vossius*. Amongst the Ancients, *Cassiodorus*, *Photius* and *Nicephorus* name *Socrates* in the first place. Although *Cassiodorus* is found to have varied. For in his *Preface to the Tripartite History*, in a clean contrary order he names *Theodoret* in the first place, *Sozomen* in the second, and *Socrates* last. So also does *Theodorus Lector* recount them, in his Epistle which he prefixt before the *Tripartite History*. Thus far concerning *Sozomen*.



# THE FIRST BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History OF SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## CHAP. I.

### *The Preface to the whole Book.*

**E**USEBIUS PAMPHILUS having compiled an Ecclesiastical History in Ten Intire Books, concluded it in the Reign of Constantine the Emperor: at which time also the (a) Persecution against the Christians ceased, [which had been begun] by Diocletian. The same Author, in the Books he wrote concerning the Life of Constantine, has made but a (b) slight relation of the matters relating to Arius: for he was more careful about the praises of the Emperor, and about a panegyric sublimity in his expressions, as it is usually done in [the composition of] an *Encomium*, than about an accurate and exact account of what was done. But we, purposing to commit to writing the Ecclesiastical affairs from those times to these our own days, will begin our History (c) from those things which he has left untouched: we shall not be over curious about the grandeur of our stile, but what things soever we have found upon record, or have heard from such who were present at the transactions thereof, we will particularly relate. And because it is conducive to our design, to declare after what manner

Constantine was converted to the Christian Religion, according to our ability we will speak something of that matter.

## CHAP. II.

*After what manner Constantine the Emperor was converted to the Christian Religion.*

**WE** will begin from those times, where- in Diocletian and Maximian, surnamed Hercules, having by a mutual compact resign'd their Empire, embraced a private life: and Maximian, surnamed Galerius, who had been his Colleague in the Empire with them, came into Italy, and created two *Cæsars*, Maximin in the Eastern parts [of the Empire], and Severus in Italy. (b) But in Britain Constantine was proclaimed Emperor, in the room of Constantius his Father, (c) who died in the first year of the two hundredth seventy first Olympiad, on the five and twentieth day of the month July. [Lastly] at Rome, Maximian the Son of Maximianus Hercules was by the Pretorian Soldiers advanced to be a Tyrant rather than an Emperor. Hereupon Hercules, passionately desirous of reassuming his Imperial Authority, endeavour'd to destroy his Son Maximian. But he was hindred from doing that by the Soldiers. Afterwards (d) he died at Tarsus a City of Cilicia. that Constantine and Maximian began their Reign in the same year that Diocletian and Maximianus Hercules did reign the Empire. This also was the opinion of the Author of the *Chronicle of Alexandria*, and of others who attribute the years of Constantine's Reign to Constantine his Son. And hence it is that Constantine the Great is reported to have reigned 22 years, when as really he reigned but 30 years, and 10 months. Valef.

(e) Socrates does in the end of his Seventh Book (where he concludes his History) repeat this; in which place he says that he began his History in the first year of the 271 Olympiad, in which year Constantine the Great was proclaimed Emperor. This Olympiad does begin at the Solstice of the CCCV. year, being the year after the resignation of Diocletian. But Constantine died not this year, but in that following, when he was the sixth time Consul with Galerius Ursulus, as we may read in *Festus Idatii*. And therefore Constantine's death is to be reckon'd on the second year of the aforesaid CCLXXI. Olympiad. Valef.

(f) Socrates is here in an error, for Maximianus Hercules, who was otherwise called Maximian the Elder, was by Constantine's command slain in Gallia, in the year of Christ 310. But Maximianus Cæsar, being two years after conquer'd by Licinius, died at Tarsus, as Aurelius Victor relates, and Eusebius in his *Chronicle* and other Authors. This is the common mistake of the Greek Historians; they make a confusion betwixt Maximianus and Maximinus, using them promiscuously. Valef.

**Constant.** Severus Cæsar being sent to Rome by (e) *Galerius Maximianus* to take his own Soldiers and put to death. Last of all died *Galerius Maximianus* also, who was now (f) the supreme person in the Empire, having before his death constituted *Licinius* Emperor: he was a native of *Dacia*, and had for a long time been *Galerius's* Fellow Soldier and Confident. *Maxentius* in the mean while treated the Romans severely, behaving himself like a Tyrant rather than an Emperor towards them: impudently debauching the wives of persons gently extracted; killing many and perpetrating such like facts as these. Whereof when *Constantine* the Emperor had notice, he made it his business to deliver the Romans from that servitude he had pressed them with; and immediately became solicitously inquisitive how he might destroy the Tyrant. Whilst he was in this deep cogitation, he considered with himself what Deity he should invoke to be his Assistant and Tuetor God in this Expedition. It came into his mind that the strict worship of the Heathen Gods had not in the least availed *Dioctletian*; and he found that his father *Constantinus* having relinquished the superstition of the *Grecians*, had led a more fortunate and prosperous life. Whilst therefore he was [engaged] in this doubtful deliberation, and upon the March with his Army some whither, there hapned to appear to him a wonderful and unexpressible Vision. For about noon, when the day began now to decline somewhat towards afternoon, he saw in [the face of] the heavens a pillar of light, in figure like unto a Cross, with this inscription on it, *By this be thou Conqueror*. The Emperor stood amazed at this apparition. And, almost disbelieving his own eyes, he asked them that were present, whether they also saw the same sight; which when they all had unanimously agreed in, [the mind of] the Emperor was corroborated by that divine and wonderful apparition. The night following *Christ* appear'd to him in his sleep, and said unto him, *Make a Standard in figure like that which appeared [to thee], and make use of it, as an infallible and ready Trophy, against thine enemies*. In obedience to this [heavenly] Oracle, he orders a Trophy to be made, in figure like a Cross, which is kept in the Palace to this day. After this he proceeded in the dispatch of affairs with a greater vigour and alacrity of mind; and having engag'd the Enemy before the very Gates of *Rome*, near the Bridge called *Milvius*, he got the victory; *Maxentius* being drowned in the River. This was now the (g) seventh year of *Constantine's* Reign, when he got

(g) *Constantine* got this Victory over *Maxentius* in the year of *Christ* 312. when he and *Licinius* were in their second Consulate; this was the sixth year of *Constantine's* Reign; for he began his Reign, on the 25th day of *July*, in the year of *Christ* 306. But if we say that *Maxentius* was conquered on the eighth of the *Kalends of October* in the year 312. (as *Orosius* reckons in his *Fasts*, and *Signinus* in his second Book concerning the *Western Empire*) then that which *Socrates* here affirms may be true; that *Constantine* routed *Maxentius* in the seventh year of his Reign. But it seems something odd to me, that *Maxentius* should (in the *Panegyric of Nectarius*) be said to be slain in the end of his sixth year, just the day before he began his seventh. *Maxentius* began his Reign

some days after *Constantine*; therefore if *Maxentius* died on the eighth of the *Kalends of October*, he must necessarily begin his Reign on the seventh. And by this Computation *Constantine* came to the Empire two months before *Maxentius*. Which indeed does not seem probable to me. But *Socrates* does here accord with his own opinion: for whereas *Constantine* (according to him) began his Reign in the year of *Christ*, he very well reckons this Victory in the seventh year of his Reign. Valef.

the victory over *Maxentius*. After these [Achievements] whilst *Licinius* his Colleague (who was also his Brother-in-law, by the marriage of his Sister *Constantia*) resided in the East, he also having received so many and such great favours from God, offer'd thanksgivings to him his great Benefactor; which were of this sort, he put a stop to the persecution against the *Christians*; he recalled those that were in exile; he released such as were confined in prison, and restored their Estates to those that had been proscribed; he repaired the Churches, and all these things he did with great alacrity of mind. (h) *Dioctletian* died the third of the

(b) About this time *Dioctletian*, who had resign'd his Imperial power, died at *Salona*, a City of *Dalmatia*. The Nones of *December*, in the year of *Christ* 316, as *Idatius* does very well write in his *Annals*. The same also says the Author of the *Chron. Alexand.* but instead of *Dioctletian* there is crept into the Text, *Galerius Maximianus*; 'tis also confirmed by the authority of *Zosimus* in the second Book of his *History*, where he says that *Dioctletian* died 3 years after the third Consulship of *Constantine* and *Licinius*. For, having said, that from the Consulship of *Chilon* and *Libo* (in which the *Olympic Games* were celebrated) to the third Consulship of *Constantine* and *Licinius*, it was above 110 years, he adds *Διοκλιανὸς ἔτι τρεῖς ἔτη βίον ἐκείνων ἔζησεν* (i. e. 3 years years after died *Dioctletian*. But *Joseph Scaliger* in his *Notes* upon *Eusebius*, understood this passage of *Zosimus*, as if *Zosimus* should say that *Dioctletian* died three years after the resignation of his Empire, or after his ninth Consulship. Valef.

### C H A P. III.

How whilst *Constantine* augmented [the prosperity of] the *Christians*, *Licinius* his Colleague persecuted them.

NOW *Constantine* the Emperor, professing himself a *Christian*, did all things becoming his profession; he erected the Churches and adorned them with most magnificent consecrated gifts. Moreover, he shut up and demolish'd the Temples of the Heathens, and exposed made common the Images placed therein. But *Licinius* his Colleague, adhering to the Opinions of *Heathens*, hated the *Christians*: he forbore raising an open persecution against them, because he fear'd in the Emperor *Constantine*: but in a clandestine manner he ensnared many of them: and at length proceeded to open violence against to depose them. This Persecution was local; for it rag'd chiefly in those parts only where *Licinius* made his residence. But in regard *Constantine* was in no wise unacquainted with these, and other such like his tyrannous outrages, *Licinius* being sensible that he highly resented these proceedings, betook

himself to the making of his apology before him; and having appealed him by his obsequiousness, he hypocritically made an amicable league with him, binding himself by many oaths, that in future he would never attempt any thing that was tyrannical. But at the same time that he swore, he was also perjured. For he desired not from his tyrannick [conspiracies against *Constantine*] nor ceased he from persecuting the *Christians*. For by a Decree he prohibited the Bishops

“ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ δικαιοσύνη, ἀλλὰ ἡ ὑπόκρισις” the import wherof tendred word for word, is this, it hapned there only, where *Licinius* was: *Velleius* rendres the words thus, in his enim duntaxat pariter gratulatus, que sublimitas erat *Licinius*; it rag'd in those parts only, which were under *Licinius's* jurisdiction.

Constant.

Bishops from frequenting the houses of Heathens, that there might be no pretence of propagating the Christian Religion. This Persecution was at the same time open and secret. It was concealed and disguised in words; but in reality and deeds it was apparent. For those that lay under its pressures, endured most deplorable afflictions [and losses] in their Bodies, and as to their Estates.

## CHAP. IV.

That there was a War raised betwixt Constantine and Licinius upon account of the Christians.

These proceedings rais'd the highest indignation in the Emperor Constantine [against Licinius:] and, the feign'd league of friendship which was betwixt them being broken, they became enemies to each other. Not long after they entred into an actual War against one another: and having fought several Settle-battles both by Sea and Land, at length Licinius was vanquished at Chrysopolis in Bithynia, a Port-Town of the Chalcidians, and yielded himself. Constantine having taken him alive, treated him kindly; and would in no wise slay him, but commanded him to reside at Thessalonica peaceably and without making any disturbance. But having lived quietly a while, he afterwards gather'd into a body some of the Barbarians, and attempted to recover his overthrow, and renew the War. Constantine being inform'd hereof, commanded that he should be put to death, and accordingly he was slain. Constantine having now the sole power and command over the whole [Roman Empire,] and being proclaimed (a) Emperor and Augustus, endeavour'd again to augment the affairs of the Christians: which he effected divers ways: and by his means Christianity enjoy'd a profound and secure peace. But an intestine War amongst the Christians themselves succeeded this so firm a Peace. What manner of War this was, and how it began, in the sequel according to my ability I will relate.

(a) In the Kings and Florentine MSS. the Particle [and] is wanting; which Cyriloph. inserted.

To me it seems not very necessary. If we do retain it, then [βασιλεύς] must signify [Augustus,] not King, as Cyriloph. renders it. Socrates alludes to the Soldiers acclamations, who after a signal Victory were wont to stile their Prince Emperor and Augustus. The Citizens did the same, when the victorious Prince made his entry into the City. Valef.

## CHAP. V.

Concerning Arius's Contest with Alexander the Bishop.

AFTER Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, who suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of Diocletian, Achillas succeeded in that See. After Achillas [succeeded] Alexander, in the time of the foremention'd peace. He living in times that were more calm and secure, adorn'd and set his Church in order. Discouring one day in the presence of his Presbyters, and the rest of his Clergy too curiously concerning the [mystery of] the Holy Trinity, he asserted this point of Divinity, that there was an Unity in the Trinity. But Arius one of the Presbyters placed under Alexander (a man of no mean skill in the faculty of reasoning) supposing that the Bishop design'd to introduce the Opinion of Sabellius the Libyan, desirous to be perverse and contentious, deflected to an Opinion that was diametrically opposite to that of Sabellius, and as he thought, sharply and nimble oppos'd the Bishop's assertions, arguing thus. If the Father

\* See Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History Book 7. Chap. 6. Note

begot the Son, he that was begetten hath a *Constant.* beginning of his Existence. And from hence it is apparent, that there was a time, when the Son was not. Whence this is a necessary consequence, that he derives his Existence from nothing.

## CHAP. VI.

How from this Contention there arose a Division in the Church; and how Alexander Bishop of Alexandria depos'd Arius and his Complices.

ARIUS having drawn this conclusion from these new assertions, excited many to that question; and from this small spark was kindled a great fire. For the mischief having begun in the Church of Alexandria over-ran all Egypt, Libya and the Upper Thebais, and at length consumed the rest of the Cities and Provinces. Many there were that did patronize Arius's Opinion, but more especially Eusebius was a maintainer of it; (not that Eusebius who was Bishop of Caesarea, but another, who formerly had been Bishop of the Church of Berytus; but was then surreptitiously crept into the Bishoprick of Nicomedia in Bithynia.) Alexander hearing and seeing what was done, became highly enrag'd, and having convened a Council of many Bishops, he degraded Arius and those that embraced his Opinion; and wrote to the [Bishops] of every City, as followeth.

The Letter of Alexander [Bishop] of Alexandria.

To Our Well beloved and dearest Fellow-Min-

isters of the Catholic Church in all places, Alexander [wisteth] health in the Lord. (a) Whereas there is one Body of the Catholic Church; and 'tis com-

manded in the Holy Scriptures that we keep the Bond of Peace and Concord, it is requisite that we should

learned persons heretofore wrote a Dissertation upon this Epistle of Alexander's, which (together with some other pieces of his) he sent me a little before his death. In that Treatise he remarks in the first place, that Intemperance had not well rendered these words of Alexander [ὁ ἑκαστος ἑνός τοῦ καθολικοῦ Ἐκκλησιασμοῦ,] which they had translated thus [Cum unus sit Catholicus corpus Ecclesiae,] whereas there is one Body of the Catholic Church. But he asserts, that the place should rather have been thus rendered, [whenever the Catholic Church is one Body, &c. or, consists of one Body.] For that learned person is of opinion, that Alexander alludes to St. Paul's Epistles, wherein the Church is frequently called Christ's Body. But (say the advocates of that great man, and hereofore my dearest friend) this Version cannot be born with. For, if Alexander had thought, as Eusebius means, he would doubtless have express'd himself thus, [ἑνός σώματος ἐνός τοῦ καθολικοῦ Ἐκκλησιασμοῦ,] which in regard he has not said, it is apparent, there can be no other sense of the words, than that express'd by Translators. Besides, if Alexander would have said that the Church is the Body of Christ, he would not have worded it thus [ἑνός σώματος, one body,] but rather thus, [σώματος τοῦ Χριστοῦ, the Body of Christ.] Valef.

norant Persons into this worst and most displeasing Heresy to Christ: I thought it necessary, being sensible

Constant. fible of what is written in the Law, to be no longer silent, but to give you all notice, that you might know those that are the Apostates, and likewise the detestable Expressions of their Heresie, and that if Eusebius write to you, you should give no heed to him: For he, at that time desirous to renew his pristine Malvolence, which seemed to have been silenced [and forgot] by length of time, pretends indeed to write Letters on their behalf, but in reality he declares, that he uses his utmost diligence to do this upon his own account. Now these are the names of those which are turn'd Apostates; Arius, Achilles, Aithales, Carpiones, another Arius, Sarmates, Euzoios, Lucius, Julianus, Menas, Helladius, and Gaius; Secundus also, and Theonas, who were sometimes

(b) In the Florence MS. after these words [ἐπὶ ταύταις, these are] follow these [αὐτῶν γενεαί, the Generations of the Arius,] which words should rather be placed in the Margin. In Gelasius there occur likewise at this place, these words, ὁμοῦ αὐτοῖς, Arius's Opinion. Valef.

filed Bishops. (b) And these are their Tenets which they have invented and do assert contrary to the authority of Scripture. God, they say, was not always a Father; but there was a time when God was not a Father. The Word of God was not from everlasting, but had its beginning from Nothing. For God, who is, made him, who was not, of Nothing. Therefore there was a time when he was not: For the Son is a Creature and a Work; neither is he like to the Father as to his Essence, nor is he by Nature the genuine Word of the Father, nor his true Wisdom

(c) After these words [nor his true Wisdom] there was a whole clause wanting, which from three MSS. the Florentine, Sforzian, and Alatiian, and from Gelasius Cyrenensis we have made good, thus, [καὶ ἐκ τούτου οὐ συνιστάται τῷ Ἀποστόλῳ ἐπὶ. But he is one of his Works, and one of his Creatures;] which words Epiph. Scholasticus had found in his Copy, well apparent from his Version. For he has translated this whole place thus: Creatura est enim, & factura filius, neque, similis est patri secundum substantiam neque verus est, neque vera sapientia, & c. neque verum naturaliter patri verbum est, sed unum quidem creaturam & facturam est: For the Son is a Creature and a Work, neither is he like the Father as to his Essence: Nor is he genuine, nor his true Wisdom: nor is he by nature the true Word of the Father, but one of his Creatures and one of his Works. Hence it appears, that that Greek Copy of Socrates, which Epiphanius Scholasticus used, differed something from our Manuscripts. And yet Leo Alatiian's Copy agrees exactly with that which Epiphanius followed. For thus it words this passage: ὅτι δὲ ἀληθινὸς ὢν, καὶ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι. ὅτι ἀπολύτως καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως αὐτῷ ὄντι. καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως ὄντι ὁμοούσιον, καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως ὄντι καὶ ὁμοούσιον αὐτῷ ὄντι. &c. So exactly do the Authors of the Greek and Latin Tripartite History agree amongst themselves, that they seem to have borrowed from one another. Valef.

(d) In Leo Alatiian's MS. Copy, the reading of this place is thus, ὁμοούσιον καὶ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι. Which reading Epiph. Scholasticus has followed; who translated it thus: Filius & ipse & existens in proprio Dei verbo, & in Dei sapientia, sic himself is made and exists in the proper Word of God, and in the Wisdom of God. But we have rather follow'd the reading of the King's, the Florentine, and the Sforzian MSS. which is also confirm'd by Gelasius. Valef.

(e) In Leo Alatiian's MS. (which contains the Tripartite History that Theodorus Lector composed in Greek out of Seraptes, Sozomen, and Theodoret) these words are added, καὶ ἀπολύτως, and is invisible. So Epiph. Scholasticus reads it, as appears from his Version. Valef.

the Devil was, they were not afraid to answer, Yes Constant. certainly he may: For he is of a Nature subject to change, (f) in that he is gotten and created. We (f) last- therefore with the Bishops of Egypt and (g) Libya, near a hundred in number, being met together, have

\* Anathematized A- \* Anathematized A- rianus for these his Principles, and for his impudent Assertion of them, together with all his adherents. But Eusebius has given them entertainment, endeavouring to mix Falshood with Truth, and Impiety with Piety: but he shall not prevail. For Truth getteth the Victory: and Light has no communion with Darkness, nor hath Christ any agreement with Belial. For who ever heard the like? Or what Man, if he should now hear them, would not be amazed thereat, and stop his Ears, lest the Filth of this Doctrine should penetrate and infect them? What Man is he, that when he hears these words of St. John, In the beginning was the Word, will not condemn those that affirm, there was a time when the Word was not? Or, who is he that when he hears these words of the Gospel, The only begotten Son, and by him all things were made, will not abominate these Men that say, the Son is one of the Creatures.

(b) For how can he be one of those things that were made by him? Or how can he be term'd the Only begotten, who (according to their sentiments of him) is reckon'd amongst all the other Creatures? How can he be made of nothing, whereas the Father himself saith, \* My heart hath sent forth a good word, and † Before the morning I have begotten thee in the womb? Or how can he be unlike the Father in Essence, whereas he is the \* perfect Image, and † the brightness of the Father: And whereas he himself testifieth, || He that has seen me, hath seen the Father: Now if the Son be the Word and the Wisdom of the Father, how can there be a time when he was not? For 'tis the same [absurdity,] as if they should say, there was a time when God was both without his Word and his Wisdom. How can he be mutable and subject to change, who says concerning himself, \* I am in the Father, and the Father in me, and † I and the Father are one? He [saith also] by the Prophet, || Behold me, for I am the Lord, and am not changed. And tho' some one may say, that this was spoken in reference to the Father, yet it will be more accommodate, to understand it now to be spoken in relation to the Word: Because although he became Man, yet was he not changed; but, as the Apostle says, † Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to day, and for ever. But what motive could they have to say, that he was made for us, whereas Paul saith, \* Heb. 2. For him are all things, and by him are all things: † For concerning their Blasphemy in affirming, that the Son doth not perfectly know the Father, it ought not to be wondered at. For having once resolved to fight

(h) In Leo Alatiian's MS. and in Gelasius Cyrenensis, this place is truer written thus, καὶ δὲ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι. Which Reading we have express'd in our Translation. The Reading in the Florentine and Sforzian MSS. is καὶ δὲ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι καὶ οὐκ ἀπολύτως οὐσία αὐτῷ ὄντι. How can he be equal with those things made by him. Valef.

\* Psal. 45. v. 1. † Psal. 110. 3. \* Ex 23. 1. So is Significat the words that Text; and we translate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

\* Colos. 1. 15. † Heb. 1. 3.

† Psal. 110. 3. \* Ex 23. 1. So is Significat the words that Text; and we translate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

\* Colos. 1. 15. † Heb. 1. 3. † Psal. 110. 3. \* Ex 23. 1. So is Significat the words that Text; and we translate accordingly; the very words of the 72 being here quoted.

\* Colos. 1. 15. † Heb. 1. 3.

Constant. against Christ, they despise even the Words of the Lord himself, who says, \* As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father. If therefore the Father knoweth the Son only in part, it is manifest, that the Son also knoweth the Father in part. But if it be impious to assert this, and if the Father knoweth the Son perfectly, it is pernicious, that as the Father knoweth his own Word, so doth the Word know his own Father, whose Word he is. By asserting of these things, and explaining the Sacred Scriptures, we have frequently confuted them; but they, like Chameleons, have again been changed, pertinaciously contending to appropriate to themselves

† Prov. 18. 2. *ὅταν ἑλθὼν ἄνθρωπος ἐπὶ λόγον καὶ ἄλλοι καὶ καταγένοιτο*. So the Septuagint words this Text; which words occur here in the Original. But in our English Version of the Bible (which agrees with the Hebrew) this Text is thus rendered, when the Wicked cometh, then cometh also Contempt.

(i) The reading in Leo Allatii's MS. and in Gelasius (which is this), *Ἐπιγεγραμμένους τὰς ἐκ ἀποστολῆς, ἡμετέρας τὴν ὑποβίβου* pleases me better than this [*Ἐπιγεγραμμένους τὰς ἀποστολῆς*]. Vales.

they approach nearer to Antichrist. Wherefore they are expelled out of the Church, and Anathematized. We are really troubled at the Destruction of these Men, and the rather, because they were heretofore instructed in the Doctrine of the Church, but have now renounced it. Yet we do not look upon this as so strange a thing. For the same thing befel

\* 2 Tim. 3. 17. 18. \* Hymeneus and Phileus; and before them, Judas, who thought he had been our Saviour's Disciple, yet was afterwards his Betrayer, and an Apostate. Neither have we continued unadvised of these

† Mat. 24. 4. Luk. 21. 8. very persons; for our Lord hath predicted, † Take heed that no man deceive you: † For many shall come in my name saying; I am [Christ,] and the time draweth near, and they shall deceive many. Go ye not therefore after them.

And Paul having learned these things from our Saviour, wrote thus; \* That in the latter days, some shall depart from the sound faith, giving heed to seducing spirits and doctrines of devils, who desert the truth. Since therefore our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ hath himself commanded this, and also by his Apostle hath given us intimation concerning these men, we, being ear-witnesses of their impiety, have deservedly anathematized these men, as we said before; and openly declared them estranged from the Catholic Church and Faith. Moreover, we have signified thus much to your Piety, (beloved and dearest Fellow-Ministers) that if any of them should have the confidence to come to you, you might not entertain them, and that you should not be persuaded [to believe] Eusebius, or any one else that shall write to you concerning them. For it is our duty, as we are Christians, to detest all those that speak or devise any thing against Christ, as the Enemies of God, and the Corrupters of Souls, and \* not to say to such men so much as God speed, lest we become partakers of their iniquities (as Saint John hath commanded us.) Salute the brethren that are with you, they that are with us salute you.

Alexander, having written such Letters as this to all the Bishops in every City, the mischief grew worse: those to whom the Contents thereof were communicated, being hereby inflamed with a pernicious contention. Some

were of the same opinion with, and subscribed to the Contents of these Letters; but others did the contrary. But Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia was in the highest degree incited to dissent, because Alexander had in his Letters made a reproachful mention of him in particular. At that time Eusebius was a man of great interest, because the Emperor did then keep his Court at Nicomedia: for Diocletian had not long before built a Palace there. For this reason therefore many Bishops were very obsequious to Eusebius. And he himself wrote frequently, sometimes to Alexander, [advising him] to suppress (k) the controversy raised [amongst them] and to readmit Arius and his adherents into the Church: at other times [he wrote] to the Bishops of every particular City, [persuading them] that they should not consent to Alexander. Hence it came

to pass, that all places were filled with tumult and disturbances. For now a man might have seen not only the Prelates of the Churches in words contending with one another, but the Populace also divided, some inclining to one party, some to another. And this matter grew to that height of indignity and infoleny, that the Christian Religion became a ridicule even in the publick Theaters. Those that were at Alexandria did \* pertinaciously contend about the chiefest points of the Faith. They also sent Embassies to the Bishops of every particular Province. Likewise, those that were of the other party, were authors of the like stirrs and discords.

(l) There were mixed amongst the Arians the Melitians, who not long before had been separated from [the Communion] of the Church. Now who these Melitians are, we must relate: one Melitius a Bishop of one of the Cities in Egypt, had been deposed by Peter Bishop of Alexandria (who suffered Martyrdom under Diocletian,) for several other reasons, but most especially for this, that in the time of persecution he had denied the Faith and sacrific'd. This person being divested [of his Bishoprick,] and having got a great many followers, constituted himself the Ringleader of their Heresie, who in Egypt to this day from him called Melitians. Moreover, having no reasonable excuse at all for his separation from the Church, he barely said thus much, that he was injured; he did likewise revile and speak reproachfully of Peter. Peter having suffer'd martyrdom in the persecution, ended his life. But [Melitius] withdraws his reproaches [from Peter] and casts them first upon Achillas, Peter's successor, and afterwards upon Alexander who succeeded Achillas. During their being engaged in this dissention, Arius's controversy was started; and Melitius and his Complices became favourers of Arius, joining with him in a conspiracy against the Bishop. Now those who look upon Arius's Opinion as absurd, approv'd of Alexander's Condemnation of Arius, and thought the sentence pass'd against all that favour'd



*Constant.* us leave, who are his Servants, that we may successfully finish this our Endeavour, that by our Exhortation, Diligence and earnest Admonitions, we may reduce you to an Unity of Assembly. For in regard, as we have already said, you hold the same Faith, and have the same Sentiments of our Religion; and since the Commandment of the Law doth in all its Parts inclose all in general in one Consent and Purpose of Mind; let not this thing, which has raised a mutual Division between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the Power and Efficacy of Religion in general) by any means make a Separation and a Faction amongst you. These things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one Opinion concerning this foolish idle Controversie, of what sort severer it be. For the precious value of the Assembly may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same Communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great Diversity of Sentiments in things of the smallest import. For we do not all

*n Babut.* means the same in all things, neither is there one *Je.* Will, Disposition or Opinion in all of us. Therefore, concerning the Divine Providence, let there be amongst you one Faith, one Meaning, and one Covenant of the Deity. But as for these slender and light Questions, which with so much niceness you dispute of and make Researches into amongst yourselves, although therein you do not all agree in the same Opinion, yet it is your Duty to confine them to your own Thoughts, and keep them within the secret Repositories of your own Minds. Let therefore an unutterable and excellent common Friendship, a Belief of the Truth, the Honour of God, and a religious Observance of his Law, remain amongst you firm and immoveable; return ye to a mutual Friendship and Charity: restore to the whole Body of the People their usual Embraces. And be you your selves (having as it were purified your own Souls,) acquainted again (and renew your Familiarity) with one another. For Friendship is frequently more sweet and pleasing, after the (d) Occasion of the Enmity is laid aside; return to a Reconciliation again. Restore therefore to us peaceable and serene Days, and Nights void of Sollicitude, that during the Residue of our Life we may have the pleasure of the pure Light, and the joy of a quiet Life reserved for us. Which if [we shall not obtain] we must necessarily groan, and be wholly surrounded with Tears: Nor shall we finish the Residue of our Life without great disquietude.

(f) In my Annotations at the several Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine, instead of [perpetua] in the MSS. of Eusebius, after the mention of the Enmity is laid aside, [I have noted that the reading should be [the highest] between, after the removing of the Enmity] as it is in some Copies. But in as much as our MSS. do wit, the Florent. Sorian, and Vatican change not the reading here, we may bear with the common reading, which is also confirmed by Euseb. Scholasticus's Version: for now he translates this Passage: *Sacerdotes crebro sunt amicitie post inimicitiarum causas ad concordiam revocati.* Valeat.

For whilst the People of God, (we mean our Fellow Servants,) are rent asunder by this pernicious and indiscreet Diffinition which they are now involved in, how is it possible for us in future to continue in a sedate temper of Mind? And that you may be sensible of our excessive Sorrow for this thing, be attentive [to what we shall tell you.] When we lately came to the City of Nicomedia, we had resolved forthwith to have made a journey into the East. But while we were hastning towards you, and by the greatest part were with you, the news of this Affair quite altered our Resolution; lest we should be necessitated to be a Spectator of these things, which we could not endure even to hear. Do you therefore by your Unity, for the time to come, open the way for us into the East, which by your mutual Discord you have stopped up. Give us leave with joy speedily to see

you, and all the rest of the People, and that with an *Constant.* unanimous consent of Praises we may offer up to God due thanks for the publick Agreement and Liberty.

## C H A P. VIII.

Concerning the Council held at Nicæa, a City of Bithynia; and concerning the Faith there published.

SUCH admirable and prudent advice did the Emperor's Letter give them. But the mischievous difference was grown so strong and potent, that neither the Emperor's industry, nor the authority of the person who brought the Letters was able to do any good. For neither Alexander nor Arins were in the least mollified by the Letter. Amongst the Populace also there was an irreconcilable discord, and a great disturbance. Moreover, before this broke out, there was another distemper in that place, which had caus'd disturbance in the Church, (to wit) a disagreement concerning the Feast of Easter; but this was only in the Eastern parts: where some made it their business to celebrate that Festival after the Jewish manner, others [in their solemnization thereof] limited the rest of the Christians throughout the whole World. But tho' they differ'd thus concerning the Feast, yet they did not refrain from a mutual Communion. However, they clouded the joy of the Feast by this their diffention. The Emperor therefore seeing the Church disturbed by these two evils, convened a General Council, by his Letters requesting the Bishops from all parts to meet together at Nicæa a City of Bithynia. Accordingly the Bishops, out of divers Provinces and Cities, assembled; concerning whom Eusebius Pamphilus, in his Third Book of Constantine's Life, writeth thus word for word. The most eminent: therefore amongst God's Ministers of all those Churches which filled all Europe, Libya and Asia, were convened. And one sacred Oratory, enlarged as it were by God himself, included at the same time within its Walls, both Syrians and Cilicians, Phœnicians and Arabians, Palæstinians, and Egyptians also; Thæbæans, Libyans, and those that came out of Mesopotamia. There was also at this Synod a Persian Bishop, neither was the Scythian absent from this Choir. \* Pontus also, and Galatia, Pamphilia and Cappadocia, Asia and Phrygia afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, there appeared here Thracians and Macedonians, Achæians and Epirots, and such as dwell far beyond these

\* These words of Eusebius occur at the Third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap. 7. Socrates has not quoted them word for word as they are there. We (following herein Valentinus, Ousebius, and Grynæus) have rendered them as they are in the fore-cited place of Eusebius.

were nevertheless present [Hosius also] that most famed Spaniard, (together with many of his Countrymen) was one that sat in this Council. The † Prelate of the Imperial City was † Gelasius Cyrenicus supposed that by these words the Bishop of Constantinople was meant, with whom agrees Nicetas, (in the *thesauro Orthodoxæ fidei*, Book 5. Chap. 6.) and Epiphanius Scholasticus, in Book 2. *Advers. Tripart. Augustinus* (as 'tis apparent from his rendition of these words) thought the Bishop of Rome was hereby meant: for he renders this place thus: *Romane autem civitatis Episcopus propter senium deceret; i. e. The Bishop of Rome, by reason of his age, was absent.* Valentinus is of the same opinion with Augustinus: for (in his Annotations on Chap. 7. of the Third Book of Eusebius's Life of Constantine) he says, that at such time as this Council was convened, Constantinople was not adorned with the name of The Imperial City. See Socrumen, Book 1. Chap. 16. and Theodoret, Book 1. Chap. 7.

absent

*Constant.* absent by reason of his age. But his Presbyters were there, and supplied his place. The Emperor Constantine was the only person of all the Princes since the Foundation of the World, who (after he had platted such a Crown as this by the Bond of Peace) dedicated it to Christ his Saviour, as a divine Present and Acknowledgement for the Victories he had obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, having constituted this Synod convened in our days to be a lively Representation of that Apostolic Choir. For

\* See *Allat.* it is \* written that in the Apostles Days there were gathered together devout men out of every nation under heaven, amongst whom were Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, of Pontus and of Asia, of Phrygia and Pamphilia; of Ægypt, and of the Parts of Libya adjacent to Cyrene: Strangers also of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretians and Arabians. This was the only thing wanting, that meeting [in the Apostles Times] did not consist of the Ministers of God only: But in this present Assembly the number of the Bishops exceeded (a) three hundred. And the Presbyters that accompanied them, the Deacons, \* Aco-

luthi, and the many other persons were almost innumerable. Of these Ministers of God, some were eminent for their Wisdom and Eloquence; others for their sober and discreet Lives, others for their patient sufferance [of hardships]; and others were adorned with Modesty and a courteous Behaviour. Some of them were highly respected by reason of their great age, and others were eminent for their youthful Vigour both of Body and Mind. Some were newly initiated into the Order of the Ministry. To all these the Emperor commanded a plentiful provision of Food to be daily allowed. † Thus much says, they says Eusebius concerning those there assembled.

(a) The Ancients are not agreed concerning the number of Bishops that were at the Nicene Council. Eusebius in his third Book, ch. four both of Body and Mind. Some were newly initiated into the Order of the Ministry. To all these the Emperor commanded a plentiful provision of Food to be daily allowed. † Thus much says, they says Eusebius concerning those there assembled.

were two hundred and fifty. Eustathius Bishop of Antioch (in his Homily on those words of Solomon, The Lord created me, &c.) affirms they were about 270; but says he had not call up their number exactly. The more constant account (which is confirm'd by the consent of all modern Authors) is, that there sat in the Synod 318 Bishops, which is confirm'd by these Ancients; viz. Athanasius, in his Epistle to the African Bishops, near the beginning; Eustathius, in his Book against Constantius; Jerome, in his Chronicle; and Rufinus. See Valefius's Notes on Chap. 6. of Book 3. of Eusebius de Vita Constant.

(b) Το μέτρον τέλει κατεσκεύασται. Many senses may be given of these words. For first [μέτρον & τέλει] may be taken for [Modesty and a courteous Behaviour]; [imposing μέτρον] to be put for [μετρίαν] this sense we have followed in our Version. Secondly, [μέτρον & τέλει] may be meant concerning them, who were not the eminentest persons amongst the Bishops for Learning or Picty of Life; but did not come much behind them. So the Ancients called those Medius principes as duces, middle Princes or Captains, who were neither the best, nor the worst, but between both. Lastly, this phrase may be used concerning them, who deserved to be praised on both accounts, to wit, for their Learning and Sanctity. And thus Socrates interprets this place of Eusebius, as may be seen from his word: in his First Book, Chap. 16. See Valefius's Notes on Chap. 9. of the Third Book of Eusebius, de Vita Constant.

† In the *Allat.* MS. there are some words added here; in which Copy the reading is ἐπεὶ οὖν ἐκείνη ὁρμήσαντες οἱ Πατριάρχαι διὰ τὴν εὐδοκίαν ἐκείνην, concerning which there assembled, Eusebius Pamphilus has thus at large discoursed: to which reading has a greater Emphasis. Valef.

When the Emperor had ended his triumphal Solemnities for his Victory over Licinius, he himself came also to Nice. The most eminent amongst the Bishops were these two, Paphnurgus Bishop of the upper Thebais, and Spyridion Bishop of Cyprus: but for what reason we have made mention of these two particularly, shall in the sequel be declared. There were also present a great many Laicks, well skilled in Logick, ready to assist each their own party. Now the Patrons of Arius's Opinion were these. Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, (whom we mention'd before), Theognis and Maris: the first was

Bishop of Nice, and Maris was Bishop of Chalcedon in Bithynia. Against these Athanasius (who was then but a Deacon of the Church of Alexandria) contended vigorously. But Alexander the Bishop had an high esteem for him: upon which account he became the subject of envy, as we shall declare in the sequel. A little before the Convention of the Bishops in one place, the Logicians exercised themselves by engaging in some skirmishing disputes with several persons: and when many had been enticed to take a delight in disputing, a Laick, one that was a Confessor, an honest well meaning man, opposed these Disputants, and told them thus: That neither Christ nor his Apostles taught us the art of disputing, nor vain subtilties, or fallacies, but a plain (c) Opinion, which is to be guarded by faith and good works. All that stood by, hearing him speak these words, admired him, and approved of what he said: and the Logicians themselves, having heard this plain and honest declaration of the truth, did in future more patiently acquiesce: and thus was that tumult, which had been raised by disputing, composed. The next day after this all the Bishops were convened in one place; after whom came the Emperor: Who when he came in, stood in the midst of them, and would not take his seat till such time as the Bishops had by bowing of their heads signified to him, that it was their desire he should sit down; so great a respect and reverence had the Emperor for those men. After such a silence was made, as was agreeable to the occasion, the Emperor from his Chair of State began to speak to them in kind perswasive words, exhorting them to unanimity and concord. He also advised them to pass by all private animosities. For many of 'em had brought in accusations against one another: and some of them the day before had presented petitionary Libels to the Emperor. But he, advising them to proceed to the business before them for which they were convened, gave command that the Libels should be burnt, adding only this [maxim.] Christ commands him, who desires to obtain forgiveness, to forgive his Brother. Therefore, after he had at large discoursed upon Concord and Peace, he referred it to their power and arbitrement with a greater accuracy to make a further inspection into the points of our Religion. It will be very opportune to hear Eusebius's relation of these affairs, in his third Book of Constantine's Life. His words there are these: \* Many

(c) I prefer the reading in the *Allat.* MS. in which, instead of [ἡ γνώμη ἀπλοῦς, a plain Opinion], it is [ἡ γνώμη ὁρθή, an honest Opinion, &c.] Eusebius, following this latter reading, as appears from his Version of Rufinus's tenth Book, where he treats concerning the Nicene Council. But Socrates on purpose alter'd some things. Gelasius treating on this subject, enlarges upon it, relating the Questions of each of the Philosophers, and the Bishops Answers thereto. All which passages of his, look more like Fables, than an History of what was done. Valef.

\* Many English Questions being proposed by both Parties, and a great controversy raised even at the first beginning [of the Controversie], the Emperor heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind deliberately received their Propositions; by turns he assisted them, and the Assertion of both Parties, and by degrees reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind; by his gracious Speeches to every person, which he spoke in the Greek Tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language) he rendered himself most pleasant, acceptable, and delightful; inducing some to be of his Opinion.



*Constant.* Opinion by the force of his Arguments: wooing others by Entreaties; praising those who spoke well, and exciting all to an Accommodation; at length he reduc'd them all to an Unanimity and Conformity in Opinion concerning all Points that were in debate. So that there was not only an universal Agreement about [the Articles] of Faith, but also a set time generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the Salutary Feast [of Easter]. Moreover, the Decrees ratified by a common consent were engross'd and confirm'd by the Subscription of every Person. These are Eusebius's own words concerning these things, which he has left us in his Writings: We thought it not unreasonable to make use of them; and have inserted them into our History, relying upon the Testimony of what has been said by him: That in case any should condemn this Council of Nice as erroneous in the [matters of] Faith, we might take no notice of them, nor credit

(d) This Sabinius was Bishop of the Macedonians in Heraclea, a City of Thrace; he made a Collection of the Synodical Acts; a very useful Work: The Testimony whereof Socrates does frequently make use of in this *Eccl. History*. But Socrates reproves him in many places; both because he was unfaithful in his Collection of these Acts, (Rudely relating what conducd to the Strengthening of his own Heresie, and omitting the contrary,) and also in regard he always throws himself incens'd against the Orthodox Bishops. An instance whereof is this Relation of Socrates's here; where he says, that Sabinius term'd the Fathers of the *Nicene Council* ignorant and simple Fellows. But 'tis usual for Heretics to calumniate the Holy Fathers and Doctors of the Church. *Valf.*

omitted: Othersome he has depraved and changed; but he has interpreted all Passages according to his own sense and design. He does indeed commend Eusebius Pamphilus as a Witness worthy to be credited. He does also praise the Emperor for his Judgment and Skill in the Principles of Christianity; but he complains of the Creed published at the Council of Nice, as being set forth by Idiots and Men that understand nothing. And that same Man's words, whom he calls a wise and faithful Witness, he voluntarily condemns. For Eusebius testifieth, that of those Ministers of God that were present at the Council of Nice, some were eminent for their prudent eloquence; others for their gravity and solidness of life; and that the Emperor being present reduced them all to an agreement, and made them to be of the same mind and opinion. But of Sabinius (wheresoever necessity requires) we shall hereafter make mention. Now the agreement in [the Articles of] our Faith (e) published with loud acclamations, by the great Council of Nice, was this.

(f) In the of] our Faith (e) published with loud acclamations, by the great Council of Nice, was this. *Alar. MS.* the reading here is [ἡ δὲ ἐν νίκῃσιν παρὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν συνήθη ἡ τοῦ Ἐυσεβίου ἐκτελεσθεῖσα ἐπιτομή, &c.] Now the agreement in the Faith with loud Acclamations, approved of by the Great Synod at Nice, and by Eusebius, &c.] Epiphani. Scholast. followed the same reading. *Valf.*

(f) We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, Creed is wanting in all our MSS. viz. the King's, Sforzian, and Florent. But Christophorus did very well in placing it here: for 'tis plain both from Epiph. Scholast. as also by those following words, [ταῦτα τὴν νίκην τελευτήσαντο, &c.] this Creed three hundred, &c.] That it was placed here by the Historian himself. But all the MSS. did omit it in this place because 'tis repeated a little after in Eusebius Pamphilus's Epistle. *Valf.*

Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Constant. Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, the Only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father: God of God, and Light of Light; very God of very God; begotten not made; of the same substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven and in Earth; who for the sake of us men, and for our salvation, descended, and was incarnate, and was made Man, and he suffer'd and arose again the third day, ascended into the Heavens, he shall come to judge the Quick and the Dead. [We also believe] in the Holy Ghost. But the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth Anathematize those that aver, that there was a time when the Son of God was not, and that he was not before he was begotten; and that he was made of Nothing; or that say he was made of another Substance or Essence; or that he is either created, or convertible, or mutable.

This Creed three hundred and eighteen Bishops approved of and embraced: and (as Eusebius testifies) being unanimous in their Suffrages and Sentiments, they subscribed it. There were only (g) five that

refused to allow of it, who mislik'd the word

\*Homoioussus: these were Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis Bishop of

Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theonas of Marmarica, and Secundus of Ptolemais. For, in regard they asserted, that

that is \*Consubstantial which is from another, either by Partition, or by Derivation, or by Eruption: by Eruption, as the Branch from the Root: by Derivation, as Children from their Parents: by Partition, as two or three pieces of Gold from the whole mass: but that the Son of God is [from the Father] by none of these three ways. Therefore they said, they could not give their assent to this [Draft of] of the Creed. Therefore after a tedious cavil about the term \*Homoioussus, they deny'd to subscribe the degradation of Arius. Upon which account the Synod anathematized Arius and all those that were of his opinion, adding this besides, that he should be prohibited from entering into Alexandria. The Emperor also did by his Edict banish Arius, Eusebius, and Theognis. Eusebius and Theognis soon after their banishment exhibited their penitentiary Libels, and assented to the Belief of Homoioussus, as we shall declare in the procedure of our History. At the same time Eusebius surnamed Pamphilus, Bishop of Caesarea in Palestine (having made some small hesitancy in the Synod, and considered with himself whether he might securely admit of this form of Faith,) at length together with all the rest gave his assent, and subscrib'd: He also sent a Copy of the Form of Faith to the People within his Diocess, and explained to them the term Homoioussus, lest any one should have an ill opinion of him, because of his hesitancy: Thus therefore he wrote word for word. It is very probable (belov'd) that you may have heard what hath been done concerning the Ecclesiastick Faith in the Great Council convened at Nice, in regard report doth usually out-run an accurate Narrative of the Matters transacted. But [fearing] lest by such a bare report the Master might be represented to you otherwise than really it is, we thought it requisite to send to you, first, that Form of Faith which we our selves propos'd [to the Council,] and likewise

(g) There was only two Bishops, Secundus and Theonas which refus'd to subscribe to the Nicene Creed, as Theodoret does very well testify in the first Book of his Ecclesiastick History, and (before him) Hieronymus in his Dialogue against the Luciferians. The Synodical Epistle also of the Council of Nice, which is here related by Socrates, does plainly confirm this *Valf.*

\*That is, of the same substance. \*That is, of the same substance.

that

*Constantine*. that other published [ by the Bishops ] who made some additions to ours. That Form of Faith drawn up by us; ( which was read in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and appeared to all to be found and orthodox, ) runs thus. As we have received by Tradition from our Predecessors the Bishops, then when we were instructed in the first Principles of the Faith, and received Baptism; as we have learnt from the Divine Scriptures, and as ( during our continuance in the Presbytership, and also since we have been intrusted with a Bishoprick ) we have believed and taught, so we also now believe, and do make a publick Declaration to you of our Faith; which is this.

We believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible; and in One Lord Jesus Christ, the Word of God, God of God, Light of Light, Life of Life, the Only-begotten Son, the First-born of every Creature, begotten of God the Father before all Worlds; by whom also all things were made: Who for our Salvation was incarnate, and conversed amongst Men: Who suffered, and rose again the third day; he ascended into the Father, and shall come again in Glory to judge the Quick and the Dead. We also believe in one Holy Ghost: We believe that each of these [ Persons ] is, and doth subsist: That the Father is truly the Father, the Son really the Son, and the Holy Ghost really the Holy Ghost: As our Lord also, when

\* Matt. 28.  
19.

he sent his Disciples out to Preach, said, \* Go ye, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Concerning which [ Articles ] we do aver, that we thus maintain and hold them, that these are our Sentiments of them, that this was our Opinion formerly, that this Opinion we will still death retain, that we will persevere in this Belief, and Anathematize every impious Heresy. We call God Almighty, and Jesus Christ our Lord to witness, that these were sincerely and heartily our Sentiments, ever since we were capable of knowing our selves; and that we do now think and speak what is most true: And we are ready to demonstrate to you, by most infallible Proofs, and to persuade you, that both in times past we thus believed, and likewise thus preached.

Gregory's  
Epistles  
seems  
to affirm  
that the  
Emperor  
Constantine  
was the  
occasion  
of adding  
the word  
Homoiousios  
to the  
Creed.  
But this is

very improbable. For Constantine was not so learned, being as yet but a Catechumen. Eusebius's relation therefore must be thus understood, that the Bishop (after the Creed proposed by Eusebius Cæsariensis,) judged that the word *Homoiousios* ought to be added to it; and that Constantine confirmed their Opinion. But Eusebius, who made it his business to clear and excuse himself to those of his Diocese, because he hath subscribed that form of the Creed published by the Council, ( as *Abbasensis*, in his Book De Decret. Synod. Nicenæ and in his Book De Synod. Arimini and Seleucie attests, ) does delightfully make the business intricate, and ascribes that to the Emperor Constantine, which should rather be ascribed to the Bishops. false.

Wife and Pious Emperor Philosophize. But the Bishops, who upon the Occasion of adding this word *Homoiousios* drew up this Form [ of the Creed (i): ] (i) These words, before the Nicene Creed, in the Florentine and Spanish MSS. are added these words [ *ὁμοούσιον* ]. So the Greeks call the Creed, because the Catechumens got it by heart. Irenæus (in his third Book, Chap. 25.) has these words, *ὁμοούσιον* ἐστὶν ἡμῶν πατέρα πάντων, καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and the rest of the Articles of the Creed. See Leontius Bizantius, in his Book De sectis, pag. 466. Valef.

### The Creed.

We Believe in One God, the Father Almighty, Maker of all things visible and invisible: and in one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Only-begotten of the Father, ( that is ) of the Substance of the Father; God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God; begotten not made: Of the same Substance with the Father; by whom all things were made, that are in Heaven, and that are in Earth. Who for us Men, and for our Salvation descended, and was incarnate, was made Man, suffered, and rose again the third day: He ascended into Heaven. He shall come to Judge the Quick and the Dead. [ We also believe ] in the Holy Ghost. But those who hold, that there was a time when he was not, or that he was not before he was begotten, or that he was made of nothing, and those that affirm he is of any other Substance or Essence; or that the Son of God is created, or convertible, or obnoxious to change, [ all such ] God's Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church doth Anathematize.

When this Form of Faith was appointed by the Bishops, who did not inconsiderately omit making an enquiry, what their meaning was of those Terms, Of the substance of the Father, and of the same substance with the Father. Hence therefore arose several Questions and Answers; and the true import of those words was with great accuracy examined. And it was acknowledged by them, that these words, 'To be of the substance, did only signify thus much, That the Son is of the Father, but not as a Part of the Father. It seem'd to us altogether reasonable and safe to give our assent to this meaning of the Sacred Doctrine, which asserteth, that the Son is of the Father, but is not a Part of his Substance. Wherefore we our selves also gave our assent to this import [ of these words; ] nor do we reject the term *Homoiousios*, having peace before our Eyes as the Mark at which we aim; and [ being cautious ] lest we should fall from a right apprehension [ of the Faith. ] For the same Reasons also we have admitted of these words, Begotten, not made. For made, said they, is a common term attributed to all other Creatures which were made by the Son; of whom the Son hath no resemblance. Wherefore he is no Creature, like to those which were created by him: But he is of a far more excellent substance than any Creature: Which substance, as the Sacred Oracles do instruct us, is begotten of the Father, but by such a manner of Generation as is ineffable and inexpressible by any created Being. Thus also this Proposition, That the Son is of the same substance with the Father, was discuss'd, to wit, that this is not [ to be understood ] according to the manner of Bodies, nor [ in a sense ] agreeable to mortal Creatures. For this [ *Consubstantiality* ] cannot [ be ] either by Division of the Substance, or by Abscission, or Mutation of the Paternal Essence and Power. For all these things are inconsistent with the uncreated Nature of the Father. But this [ Proposition ] To be of the same substance with the Father, doth expressly

*Confutant.* expressly represent to us no more than this, viz. that the Son of God hath no community with, or resemblance to, created Beings; but that in every respect he is like to the Father only, who hath begotten him; and that he does exist of no other Substance or Essence, but of the Father. To this [Opinion] therefore thus explained, we thought good to give our assent: More especially, because we also knew that some of the Ancient Learned and Eminent Bishops and Writers, have made use of this term Homoiouſious, in their Explications of the Divinity of the Father and of the Son. Thus much therefore we have said concerning the Creed published [at Nice,] to which we all agreed, not inconsiderately and without examination, but ac-

cording to the senses given, (k) which were discuss'd in the presence of our most pious Emperor, and for the forementioned reasons, receiv'd with an unanimous consent. More-

Thus wrote *Eusebius Pamphilus* to *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*. Also, by the common consent and approbation of the Council, this following Synodical Epistle was written to the Church of *Alexandria*, and to the Inhabitants of *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*.

## CHAPTER IX.

*The Epistle of the Synod concerning those Matters determined by it, and how Arius was degraded, together with them that embraced his Sentiments.*

**T**O the Holy (by the Grace of God) and Great Church of the Alexandrians, and to our beloved Brethren the Inhabitants of Egypt, Libya, and Pentapolis; The Bishops assembled at Nice, who fill up that great and holy Synod, send Greeting in the Lord.

For as much as by the Grace of God, and [the Constant Summons] of the most pious Emperor Constantine (who hath called us together out of divers Cities and Provinces,) a great and holy Synod has been convened at Nice, it seemed altogether necessary, that a Letter should be written to you in the name of the sacred Synod; whence you might understand what things were there proposed, and what taken into examination, as also what were decreed and established. First of all therefore, the Impiety and Iniquity of Arius and his Complices was enquired into in the presence of the most pious Emperor Constantine: And the Council's Determination (which was confirmed by the Suffrages of all) was, that his impious Opinions, and execrable Terms and Names should be anathematized; which [Terms and Names]

(a) This Epistle is extant in Theodoret, in Chap. 6, of the first Book of his Eccelesiastical History; but is in some places different from Somner's Edition of it here, nor Theodoret omits the Word [ἁγίου], affirming, together with the following Clause, and joins all this with the preceding period. In Leo Allatius's MS. the word [ἁγίου] is also wanting, and that which follows, to wit, [θεοῦ πατρὸς, calls:] And instead of [ἀμην] the reading there is [τοῦ πατρὸς.] Valey.

(b) *strictly* [severe] and *rigour* of the Law he did not (b) 'Axe-  
deferre the least favour' that he should continue in the Law of  
his City, but have no Jurisdiction, neither to Ordain, (the phrase  
here) imports the *rigour* or *extremity* of the Law: To which *tem-  
perance, equity*, is opposed. The Fathers therefore of the Nizene Con-  
fession say, that the Synod dealt with *Melitius*, not according to the *rigour*  
and *extremity* of the Law, nor according to the exact rule and *disci-  
pline*, but (*συνελαβεν αὐτον*) by way of *dispensation*. For in the *strict*  
sense of the Law *Melitius* deserved no kindness or pardon, in regard  
he challenged Ordinations which in no wise belong to him, and had  
made a Schism in Egypt. For that is evidently declared by these  
words of this Epistle, viz. ὅτι ὁ ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ἐκείνους ἐκείνην  
ἐκκλησίαν, ὅσους ἐὰν ἐκείνην ἔσται [engaged] ἐκείνην  
ἐκκλησίαν. By reason therefore of his rashness and insolence, *Melitius*  
deserved to be deposed and excommunicated. But yet the Holy Fa-  
thers had a mind to treat him kindly, depriving him of all power, and  
leaving him only the name of a Bishop. Now, why *Melitius* was thus  
kindly used, many reasons may be alleged. The first (which the Holy  
Fathers intimate in this Epistle) is, because they had before unfeignedly  
and made use of their sharpest severity and censure against *Arius* and  
his Followers. Now it was but equal, that after so sad and heavy a  
sentence pronounced against them, there should be a place afterwards  
left for clemency; especially, since *Melitius* had been convicted of no  
Hereby, but was only accused to have made a Schism. Secondly, there  
were many persons amongst the *Melitians*, that were good Men, and  
eminent for their pious Lives. Of which sort was *Papubius* the  
V Anchorite.

*Anchoret, and John the Bishop; whom Epiphanius mentions, in Hæres. Melitian. Lastly, they did thus to promote Peace, whereby the members of the Church, which before had benrent in Sunder, might cement and unite: Therefore the Nicene Fathers receiv'd the Melitians into communion. And this is a most illustrious Example of Ecclesiastick Dispensation. Valef.*

*Constant.*

or to \* propose the Names of those that were to be Ordained, or to appear in any Village, or City upon this pretence: But that he should barely enjoy his appellation and Title only. And as for (c) those that had been Ordained by him to any Function, being confirmed by a (d) more sacred Ordination, they should afterwards be admitted into Communion, and upon this condition they may continue possessors of their Performer and Function, but yet they are to acknowledge themselves always inferior to all those that had been approved of in every Diocess and Church, who had been (e) Ordained before by our dearest Colleague in the sacred Function, Alexander. So that besides, they shall have no Power (f) to propose, or nominate whom they please; or to act in any thing at all without the Knowledge and Consent of some Catholic (g) Bishop, who is one of Alexander's Suffragans. But those that by the Grace of God and your Prayers have not been found [engaged] in any Schism, but have continued in the Catholic Church blameless; let such have Power to nominate and elect those that are worthy of the sacred Function, and act in all things according to the established Law and Sanctions of the Church. Epiphanius attests. Yes, he had ordain'd far more Bishops, than Presbyters; as may be collected, from that Catalogue, which Alexander (tis said) requir'd of him, after the Nicene Synod. Wherein are reckon'd twenty eight Bishops of Melitian's Party; but five Presbyters, and three Deacons. This Catalogue is extant in Athanasius's Second Apology against the Arians. Since therefore Melitian had Ordained so many Bishops, if the Nicene Fathers had made no Determination concerning the Bishops by him Ordain'd, their sentence had been impeded; in regard they would have Decreed, what should be done with the Presbyters made by Melitian, but would have made no mention of the Bishops. Wherefore I think these Words must be taken in such a Sense, as to include both Bishops, and also Presbyters. Valef.

(d) In the first place the Synod Decreed, that the Bishops and Clergy, which had been Ordain'd by Melitian, should be confirm'd by a more Holy Consecration, that is, should receive imposition of hands from the Bishop of Alexandria. For, in regard they had been Ordain'd without his consent, it was the pleasure of the Synod, that they should be Ordained by the Alexandrian Bishop, according to the ancient usage, by which it was customary, that all the Bishops of the Diocess of Egypt should be Subject to the Prelate of Alexandria. But the Synod requir'd not the Re-ordination of Melitian, because he had been rightly Ordained before. Valef.

(e) Instead of *προσέχουσιν* it should rather be *προσέχουσιν*, ordain'd before, as it is in Theodoret, book i. chap. 6. *Εκδ' Βισβ'.* For *προσέχουσιν* signifies another thing, as what I have here attested. (See the following Note.) *Σεγμεν* (in his first book chap. 24. where he epitomizes this Epistle) supposed these Words were meant of the Clergy, not of the Bishop. Valef.

(f) In our Annotations on the third Book of Eusebius concerning the Life of Constantine, we remark'd, that *προσέχουσιν*, signifies to propose the Names of such Persons as are to be ordained. So the Synod Decreed above concerning Melitian, *οὗτοι προσέχουσιν πρὸς μετάνοιαν*, that he should neither ordain, nor propose the Names of those that were to be ordained. In the same sense Nicetas us'd this term, in his Life of Ignatius Patriarch of Constantinople, where he mentions his Election: his Words are these, *τοιαύτῃ τολαίᾳ ἐν πνεύματι* The manner was *προσέχουσιν*, &c. where therefore the names of many Persons must be propos'd in presence of the Church, &c. Therefore the following Words [in *ἐκδομένην ὁμολογίαν*, or to nominate] are only an explication of the foregoing term. In the same Sense *Σεγμεν* took this word, in his forecited 24th chap. Moreover, we must note, that Melitian was more severely dealt with, (as being the Author of a Schism,) than the Melitians. For the Nicene Fathers depriv'd Melitian of all Episcopal Jurisdiction, and left him only the name of a Bishop. But they permitted the Melitians to exercise their Functions in the Church. That is, that the Deacons should Minister in the Order of Deacons, and that the Presbyters should Consecrate and Baptize, as should also the Bishops. They only took from them their Power of Voting in Elections: Which was prudently done of the Nicene Fathers, lest the Melitians should clandestinely promote some Men of their own Party to the Ecclesiastick preferments. Valef.

(g) It should rather be *ἐπὶ Θεοκρίτω, Bishop*, as it is in Theodoret, and in the *Acta*. M. S. Valef.

And if it shall happen, that some of those who now hold Ecclesiastick preferments, die, then let those that are newly admitted and receiv'd [into the Church] be preferred to the Dignities of the deceased, (b) provided that they shall appear worthy, and that the People shall freely elect them, provided also that the Bishop of Alexandria doth by his Suffrage ratify and confirm [the Peoples Election.] This same Privilege is also granted to all. But concerning Melitian in particular, We otherwise Decreed, that (because of his former irregularity, rashness, and giddiness of disposition,) no Jurisdiction or Authority shall be allowed him, he being a Man able to revive the same disturbances that were before. These things are such as most especially and particularly relate to Egypt, and [concern] the most holy Church of Alexandria. But if there shall be any other Canon or Decree made, being our Lord, and our most Reverend Fellow Minister and Brother Alexander is present, he at his arrival will give you a more particular Account, in regard he is the Author of, and conscious to, what ever is done. We also send you the good News concerning the unanimous consent of all, in reference to the celebration of the most solemn Feast of Easter; for this difference also hath been made up by the assistance of your Prayers; so that all the Brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated this Festival at the same time the Jews did, will in future conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who have of old observed our manner of celebrating Easter. Do you therefore (rejoicing at the good success of Affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord [amongst all Men], and also because all Heresie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater honour, and more ardent love receive our Fellow-Minister (but your Bishop) Alexander, whose presence here hath greatly rejoic'd us, and who in this his infirm Age hath endured so great labours, that Peace might be restor'd amongst you. Pray for us all, that those good Determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty GOD, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost; to whom be Glory for ever, Amen.

And if it shall happen, that some of those who now hold Ecclesiastick preferments, die, then let those that are newly admitted and receiv'd [into the Church] be preferred to the Dignities of the deceased, (b) provided that they shall appear worthy, and that the People shall freely elect them, provided also that the Bishop of Alexandria doth by his Suffrage ratify and confirm [the Peoples Election.] This same Privilege is also granted to all. But concerning Melitian in particular, We otherwise Decreed, that (because of his former irregularity, rashness, and giddiness of disposition,) no Jurisdiction or Authority shall be allowed him, he being a Man able to revive the same disturbances that were before. These things are such as most especially and particularly relate to Egypt, and [concern] the most holy Church of Alexandria. But if there shall be any other Canon or Decree made, being our Lord, and our most Reverend Fellow Minister and Brother Alexander is present, he at his arrival will give you a more particular Account, in regard he is the Author of, and conscious to, what ever is done. We also send you the good News concerning the unanimous consent of all, in reference to the celebration of the most solemn Feast of Easter; for this difference also hath been made up by the assistance of your Prayers; so that all the Brethren in the East, who formerly celebrated this Festival at the same time the Jews did, will in future conform to the Romans and to us, and to all who have of old observed our manner of celebrating Easter. Do you therefore (rejoicing at the good success of Affairs, and at the unanimous Peace and Concord [amongst all Men], and also because all Heresie is wholly extirpated,) with a greater honour, and more ardent love receive our Fellow-Minister (but your Bishop) Alexander, whose presence here hath greatly rejoic'd us, and who in this his infirm Age hath endured so great labours, that Peace might be restor'd amongst you. Pray for us all, that those good Determinations which are made, may remain firm and inviolable, through Almighty GOD, and our Lord Jesus Christ, together with the Holy Ghost; to whom be Glory for ever, Amen.

In this Synodical Epistle 'tis apparent, that the Nicene Fathers did not only anathematize Arius and his followers, but the very Terms of his Opinion also: And that (in regard they had amongst themselves agreed concerning the celebration of Easter,) they receiv'd into Communion (i) the Arch-Heretic Melitian, allowing him indeed the liberty of retaining the Dignity of a Bishop; but they deprived him of the Power of doing any thing as a Bishop. And upon this Account I suppose it is, that the Melitians in Egypt are to this Day separated from the Church, because the Synod took away all [Episcopal] Power from Melitian. Moreover,

nor Athanasius (in his 2<sup>d</sup> Apology) nor Epiphanius, accuse Melitian of any Heresie; they only affirm, he was the Author of a Schism. But when the Melitians had afterwards joyed themselves to the Arians (which, as I remark'd before, happen'd after the Nicene Synod, and Melitian's death,) they turned their Schism into an Heresie, as Augustine writes concerning the Donatists. In this sense therefore Melitian may be termed an Arch-Heretic. Valef.

*Constant.* You must know, that *Arius* wrote a Book concerning his own Opinion, which he entitled *Thalia*. The Style of the Book [and the Doctrine contain'd in it] was loose and dissolute, much resembling the Songs (k) or Verses of *Sotades*. This Piece of his also the Synod did at the same time condemn. Nor was the Synod only solicitous about writing Letters concerning the Peace restored [to the Church:] but the Emperor *Constantine* also [signified the same] by his own Letters, who wrote to the Church of *Alexandria* as followeth.

### The Emperor's Letter.

*Constantinus Augustus*, to the Catholick Church of *Alexandria*. God Save You, beloved Brethren. We have received the greatest Blessing from the Divine Providence, that being released from all Error, We can now embrace and profess one and the same Faith. The Devil hath no longer a Dominion over us: For all the Machinations he design'd against Us are now totally destroy'd. The bright lustre of Truth has (according to the Commandment of God) defeated those Dissentions, those Schisms, those Tumults, and (if I may so term them) those fatal Poisons of Discord. We therefore do all adore one God in name, and We believe that He is. Moreover, that this might be effected, by the Admonition of God, We convened a great many Bishops at the City of *Nice*: Together with whom We Our selves, one of Your number, who rejoice exceedingly in that We are Your Fellow-servant, undertook the Disquisition of the Truth. We did therefore enquire into and accurately discuss all things, which seem'd to yield the least occasion of Ambiguity or Dissention. And (may the Divine Majesty pardon us!) how great and horrid Blasphe- mies were some indecently utter'd concerning Our Great Saviour, concerning Our Hope and Life, speaking and openly professing that they believe things contrary to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and to the sacred Faith? Whenas therefore three hundred Bishops and upwards, admirable both for their Moderation and Acuteness of Understanding, had unanimously confirm'd one and the same Faith, (which, according to the Verity and accurate Disquisition of the Divine Law, can only be the Faith) *Arius*, vanquish'd by a Diabolical force, was found to be the only person, who with an impious Mind disseminated this Mischief, first amongst You, and afterwards amongst others. Let Us therefore embrace that Opinion, which Almighty God hath deliver'd. Let Us return to Our beloved Brethren, from whom this impudent Servant of the Devil hath separated Us. Let Us with all diligence imaginable listen to the common Body, and to Our own natural Members. For this doth well become Your Prudence, Faith, and Sanctity, that since his Error (who has been evidently proved to be an Enemy of the Truth) is confuted, You should return to the Divine Grace. For that which was approved of by three hundred Bishops, can be [judg'd] nothing else but the Determination of God; especially, since the Holy Ghost, residing in the Minds of such Great and Worthy Personages, hath disclosed to them the Will of God. Wherefore let none of You continue dubious, let none of

You make delays: But do You all with great Alacrity return to the right way: That when We come to You, which shall be as soon as possible, We may together with You return due thanks to God, who inspects all things, because, having revealed the pure Faith, He hath restored You that mutual Love which was the Subject of all Men's Prayers. God preserve You, beloved Brethren.

Thus wrote the Emperor to the People of *Alexandria*, demonstrating to them that the determination of the Faith was not imprudently, or unadvisedly made; but that it was dictated with a great deal of disquisition and diligent examination: Nor [does he say] that some things were spoken [in that Council,] and others pass'd over in silence: But that all that was fitting to be said in confirmation of the Opinion, was produc'd and urg'd; and that the Controversie was not inconsiderately determin'd, but was with great Accuracy first discuss'd. Inasmuch that, all things whatever, which seem'd to produce Matter of Ambiguity or Dissention, were wholly remov'd and destroy'd. In short, he terms the Determination of all those there assembled, the Will of God, and does confidently aver that the unanimity of so many and such eminent Prelates was procur'd by the Holy Ghost. But *Sabinius*, the Ring-leader of the *Macedonian* Heresie, does wittingly and on set purpose oppose their [Authorities] and files the Fathers there assembled, Idiots and Men of no knowledge; and he does in all appearance asperse even *Eusebius Cæsariensis* with [the imputation of] ignorance: But he does not in the least consider with himself, that, although those conven'd in that Synod were Idiots, yet in regard they were illuminated by God, and the Grace of the Holy Ghost, they could in no wise err from the Truth. But let us hear, what the Emperor, by another Letter which he sent to all the Bishops every where, and to the People, decreed against *Arius* and those that embraced his Opinion.

### Another Letter of Constantine's.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS,  
to the Bishops and People.

(1) In as much as *Arius* has followed the Practices (1) This of wicked and profane Persons, 'tis but just that Epistle of be should undergo the same ignominy with them. Therefore, as *Porphyrius*, that Enemy of true Emperor, Piety, found a just recompence for composing impious Volumes against Religion, and such a recompence as has rendered him ignominious to Posterity; our Autocrat bled him with infamy and many reproaches, should rather be plac'd there. So it also now seems reasonable to term *Arius* and those that embrace his Opinion *Porphyrians*, that they may derive their denomination from him, whose Morals they have so exactly imitated. Moreover, if any Book written by *Arius's* Letter shall be found extant, We do hereby order, that it be immediately burnt: That by this means not only his wicked Doctrine may be wholly destroy'd, but the next also that there might not be left to Posterity the Chapter. For certainly those Letters which concern the Council of *Nice* should regularly be plac'd first. But this Letter does not concern that Council, nor does it in the least mention the Council. *Athanasius* in his Epistle ad Solitarii, alludes to this Letter of *Constantine's*, where he speaks thus concerning the Emperor, *ὁ δὲ τὰς Ἀριανῶν ἐκείνων ἀποκαταστάς ὁμολογῶν, τὴν ἐκείνῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκείνῃ συνόδῳ* (i. e.) Why does he (to wit, *Constantine*) endeavour to reduce the *Arian* into the Church, whom he himself calls *Porphyrians*? Valef.

*Constant.* least monument of him. This also we declare, that if any Person shall be found to have concealed a Book compiled by Arius, and shall not immediately produce the said Book and burn it, his punishment shall be death. For immediately upon his being found guilty of this Fact, he shall undergo a capital Punishment. God preserve you.

#### Another Letter.

Constantinus Augustus, to the Churches.

Having sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing posture of the Publick Affairs, how great the benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; We judged it our chiefest concern and aim [to labour] for the Preservation of one Faith, a sincere Charity, and one universally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God amongst the most blessed Congregations of the Catholick Church. But since this could not be otherwise firmly constituted and established, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were convened in one place, and every particular that concerns the most sacred Religion were by them first discussed: Upon this Account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and we also, as one of you, were present with them (for we will not deny, what we account our greatest Glory, that we are your Fellow-servant) all things were sufficiently discussed so long, until a determination acceptable to God the Inspector of all things, was publish'd in order to an universal agreement and union: So that there is now no place left for Dissention, or controversy about [matters] of Faith. Where also, after a Disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of Easter, it was by a general consent concluded to be the best course, for all Men in all places to celebrate that Festival upon one and the same Day. For what can be more comely and commendable, or what more grave and decent, than that this Festival, from which we have received the hopes of Immortality, should be unerringly kept by all Men in one and the same order, and in a manner apparently and expressly agreeable? And in the first place, all Men look upon it as an unworthy thing, and misbecoming the dignity of that most sacred Festival, to follow the Jewish usage in the Celebration thereof. For the Jews, Persons who have defiled themselves with a most abominable Sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their understandings. Having therefore rejected their usage, we may by a more certain and infallible order propagate that Day to future Ages for the completion of this Solemnity, which we have kept from the first Day of the Passion even to this present time. Let us then have nothing in common with that most hostile multitude of the Jews. We have received another way from Our Saviour. For there is proposed to us a lawful and decent leading to our most Sacred Religion. Let us therefore (dearest Brethren) with one accord constantly persist in this course, and \* withdraw our selves from that

\* In book 3, chap. 18, of Eusebius's Life of Constantine where (we have this Epistle of the Emperor,) the reading is [τὴν αἰρετικὴν συνάχην] which Valefius at that place, and here, renders thus [ab illa turpissima societate & conscientia,] from that most abominable society and their consciences. Upon this his Version, he gives this reason: They who celebrate Easter with the Jews, seem to be conscious of that wickedness which they committed against our Lord. See his *Annals*, at the book and chapter now cited.

But of what are they able to pass a right judgment, who after that parricide of theirs, the murderer of our Lord, were struck with madness, and are led, not by the conduct of reason, but by an ungovernable \* impetus, whithersoever their insatiable rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is that even in this particular they discern not the Truth,

(m) but always wandring at the greatest distance from a decent and agreeable amendment, they celebrate Easter twice within the space of one and the same Year. What reason have we therefore to follow these Men, who, it is acknowledged, are disempowered with an abominable Error? We must never endure the keeping of two Easters in one Year. But although what we have said were not sufficient, yet nevertheless, it behoves your Prudence to make it your greatest care, and the matter of your constant Prayers, that the purity of your Souls, and in the likeness of any thing seem to be joined or mix'd with the usages of most wicked men. Besides, this is to be considered, that it is a most impious thing, that there should be any disagreement in a matter of so great concern, and in such a solemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Day [to be celebrated in commemoration] of our Redemption, That is the Day of his most sacred Passion: And he also desired that his Catholick Church should be one. The members of which Church (although they are much dispersed in divers places, yet nevertheless) are cherished by one Spirit, that is, by the Will of God. Let the Prudence of your Sanctity consider, how grievous and undecent a thing it is, that on the self same day some should keep strict Fasts, and others celebrate Feasts: And that on the Days after Easter, some should be conversant in Feasting and a vacanciness from labours, and others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore it pleased Divine Providence that these things should be seasonably redressed, and reduced to one and the same Form, as we suppose you are all sensible. Since therefore it was expedient to make such an emendation in this point, as that we might not seem to hold the least Communion with those Parricides, and Murderers of Our Lord, the Jews: And since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern and Northern parts of the World, and also some in the Eastern Parts do observe: For these Reasons all Persons have at present judged it good and expedient; (and we our selves also promised that it would not be ungrateful to your Wisdom,) that that which with such an universal unanimity is observed in the City of Rome, and all over Italy and Africa, throughout

(m) Instead of [αἰρετικὴν] in the Florent. and Sforzian MSS. the reading is [αἰρετικὴν] which reading Theodoret confirms. In book 3, chap. 18, of Eusebius's Life of Constantine, it is [αἰρετικὴν] whereas the Jewish Paschal Newmoon (or new Moon) began from the fifth Day of March, and was concluded at the third of April, hence it sometimes happened, that their Passover began before the *Æquinox*. So that they celebrated two Passovers in one Year, (supposing you mean the Solar and Julian Year) that is, accounting from the Vernal *Æquinox* of this year, to the Vernal *Æquinox* of the year following. Ambrosius asserts the same in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Emilia*, where he remarks, that the Jews sometimes celebrated their Passover in the twelfth month, that is according to the *Latin*, and *Eastern* men. For the Jews never kept their Passover on their own twelfth month, but on the fourteenth day of their first month. Moreover, this celebrating of their Passover twice in one year, which *Constantine* objects against the Jews, seems to me not at all momentous. For the Jews might have returned the objection upon the *Christians*, to wit, that they celebrated Easter twice in the same year. For, suppose Easter is this year kept on the tenth of the Calendar of *May*; (that is, on the 22d of April) next year it will necessarily be kept sooner. And so there will occur two *Passovers* amongst the *Christians* within the space of one year current. But this will not happen, if you reckon the year from the *Æquinoctial Cardo* to the Vernal *Æquinox* of the Year following. See Epiphanius, pag. 824. Edit. Peten. and Feaui. *Antiquitates*, pag. 294, 295. See also *Ægilius Baderius de Paschali Judentorum Cujus*, chap. 3.

all

Constant. all Egypt, Spain, France, Britain, Libya; or  
 ver all Greece, and the Provinces of Asia and Pon-  
 tus, and throughout Cilicia, would also be most  
 willingly received and embraced by You. Let this  
 also be seriously considered, that not only the number  
 of the Churches in the forementioned places is far the  
 greater; but also that it is most just and equal that  
 all Men's Wills should universally concur in that which  
 strict Reason seems to require, and which has no  
 Communion with the Perjury of the Jews. But, that  
 We may speak more summarily and briefly, it was by  
 a general consent agreed that the most sacred Festival  
 of Easter should be solemnized upon one and the same  
 day. For it is undecent that there should be any dis-  
 crepancy in so great and holy a Solemnity: And it is  
 far better to adhere to that Opinion, in which there is  
 no mixture of strange and absurd Error and Impiety.  
 Since therefore these things are thus ordered, do You  
 with joy receive this celestial and truly divine Com-  
 mandment. For whatsoever is transacted [and de-  
 termined] in the sacred Assemblies of the Bishops, must  
 be attributed to the Divine Will. Wherefore, when  
 You have imparted to all Our beloved Brethren what  
 has been prescribed, it is Your duty to embrace, and  
 establish the forementioned Rule and Observation of  
 the most Holy Day: That when We shall come into  
 the presence of Your Love (which We were long since  
 desirous of,) We may celebrate the sacred Festival  
 with You, on one and the same day: And that We  
 may rejoice together with You for all things, be-  
 holding the cruelty of the Devil totally removed by  
 the Divine Power and Our Endeavours; whilst Your  
 Faith, Peace, and Concord does every where flourish.  
 God preserve You, beloved Brethren.

(n) Another Letter to Eusebius.

(n) This Letter of the Emperor to Eusebius, and also the two next, are misplaced. For they have no Relation to the Council of Nice; neither do they make the least mention of Arius or the Arians. Yea, the first of Constantine's Letters to Eusebius was written before the Council of Nice, as Eusebius himself testifies, in his 2d Book of Constantine's Life, Chap. 45. Valf.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS,  
 MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to  
 Eusebius.

We really believe and are absolutely persuaded  
 (Dear Brother) that, in regard an impious  
 Desire and tyrannick Violence hath persecuted the  
 Servants of God our Saviour even to this present  
 time, the Edifices of all Churches, have either by  
 neglect gone to ruin, or through fear of the im-  
 minent dangerousness [of the Times] have been adorn'd  
 with less of stateliness. But now, since Liberty is  
 restored, and that Serpent, (o) that Persecutor Li-  
 cinius, is by Almighty God's Providence and  
 Our instrumental Endeavours forced out of the  
 Administration of publick Affairs, We suppose that  
 the Divine Power hath been sufficiently manifested  
 to all Men: And that all who either through fear  
 or unbelief have fallen into any Sin, (p) having  
 now acknowledged the only true God, will in future  
 return to the true and right course of life. Do You  
 therefore remind as well all [persons belonging to]

(o) We meet with this Letter of the Emperor's to Eusebius at Book 2. Chap. 46. of Eusebius's Life of Constantine; where these three words [that Persecutor Licinius] are wanting; being added here, in stead of a Scholion by Socrates, or some other Scholiast. He terms Licinius a Serpent, by reason of his craftiness, and age. Hence we may conjecture, that this Letter was written soon after Licinius's deposition. See Valesius's Notes on Book 2. Chap. 46. of Eusebius's Life of Constantine.

(p) Here we made choice of this reading [ἐμμενέας ἡμῶν, &c.] being now acknowledged, &c. By the term [fear] in the foregoing clause he means the Christians, who through fear of persecution had neglected the Churches, or renounced the Faith. The term [Unbelief] belongs to the Heathens, who had demolished the Churches, and divers ways vexed the Christians. See Valesius's notes, at the Book and Chapter before-cited.

the Churches over which You preside, as also all Constant. other Bishops presiding in other places, together with the Presbyters and Deacons, whom You know, that they use their utmost diligence about the Structures of the Churches; either about repairing those that are still standing, or about enlarging others, or in building new ones, wheresoever it shall be found requisite. And You your self, and the rest by Your mediation may ask Necessaries [for that Work] both from Our Presidents of the Provinces, and also from the (p) Office of the Prætorian Prefecture. For they are already empowered by Our Rescripts to the term be diligently observant about all Your Holiness's Or- ders. God preserve You, Beloved Brother.

Thus wrote the Emperor to the Bishops throughout every particular Province, concerning the Building of the Churches: But what he wrote to Eusebius of Palestine about provid- ing [some Copies of] the sacred Scriptures, we may easily collect from these his Works.

Soldiers waiting on the Judges. The *æges* are the Prefects of the Prætori- um; so termed, because they were *ægis* *ἀσπίδος*, over the Prefects and Rectors of Provinces. There were *πρωτοὶ ἀρχιε* (the Phræse here used) imports the Office of the Prætorian Prefecture, concerning which consult the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Further, the Office (or the Offices) of the Prefect of the Prætorium was more honourable than the Offices of all the other Magistrates. To, as the *Præfatus* of the Prætorium excelled all the other Judges, as well Military, as Civ. In Dignity; so his Officials or Attendants, were look'd upon to be more honourable than the other Officials. Hence, in the Chalcedon Council, *Actum* 3, the Office of the Prefects of the Prætorium is called *ἀρχιε* *πρωτοὶ*. See Valesius's Notes, at the before-cited Book and Chapter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
 MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to  
 Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea.

By the assistance of God our Saviour's Providence, so great a multitude of Men have joined themselves \* He to the most holy Church in that City which bears, mentions the our \* Name; that [Christianity seems] to have Constanti- made its greatest progress and increase there, nope.

(r) It seems therefore very requisite that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore do You with the greatest alacrity admit of what We have decreed. We thought fit to signify this to Your Prudence, that You should order fifty (s) Con- Copies of the sacred Scriptures (the Provision and Use whereof You know to be most necessary for the instru- tion of the Church,) to be written on well prepared Parchment by artificial Transcribers of Books, most skilful in the Art of accurate and fair Writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable, in order to their being used. Moreover Letters are on Euse- dispatched away from Our Clemency to the (s) Rabi- bialist of the Diocesis to take care for provision of [Diocesi] all things necessary towards the preparing of the said Copies. Let it therefore be the employment of Diocesi of Your Care to see that the foresaid Copies be provided the East, as soon as may be. You are also empower'd by this The old Our Letter to make use of two publick Carriages Romans for their conveyance. For by this means those which are fairest transcribed may be easiest convey'd even number to Our sight, to wit, if one of the Deacons of your Churches be employ'd in the Performances hereof: Who, when he comes to Us, shall experience Our Libera- lity. God preserve You, Dear Brother.

(r) In Eusebius's Life of Constantine, Book 4. Chap. 36. (where this Letter occurs) this place is far otherwise read and varied, than it is here; so also it is in Theodoret, Book 1. Chap. 16. Valf.

(s) Concerning the Rationalist and his Office, we have spoken before, in our Notes on Eusebius's Life of Constantine. By the (s) Rabi- bialist of the Diocesis to take care for provision of [Diocesi] all things necessary towards the preparing of the said Copies. Let it therefore be the employment of Diocesi of Your Care to see that the foresaid Copies be provided the East, as soon as may be. You are also empower'd by this The old Our Letter to make use of two publick Carriages Romans for their conveyance. For by this means those which are fairest transcribed may be easiest convey'd even number to Our sight, to wit, if one of the Deacons of your Churches be employ'd in the Performances hereof: Who, when he comes to Us, shall experience Our Libera- lity. God preserve You, Dear Brother.

under a Deputy of the Prætorian Prefecture by this name [Diocesi]. For the Prefect of the Prætorium had under his jurisdiction many Diocesi; but the Deputy had each but one Diocesi. This term began to be used in this sense about Constantine's time, as appears from his Letters, and from some Laws in the *Col. Theod.* See Valesius's Annotations on Eusebius's Life of Constant. B. 4. Chap. 36.

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## Another Letter to Macarini.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS,  
MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to  
Macarini Bishop of Jerusalem.

\* He means our Blessed Saviour's Sepulchre, not the Earth, because he conceal'd for so many

So great is our Saviour's Love and Favour, that no Rhetoric seems sufficient to set forth a Declaration of the present Miracle. For, that the \* Monu- ment of his most holy Passion, long since hid under- neath the Earth, should be conceal'd for so many

(1) Constantine here terms Li- cinius the public Enemy, after whose Destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of our Lord, which had been before concealed, was discover'd. Licinius was slain in the Year of Christ 326, as 'tis record'd in Hist. Lat. and on that very Year, when Helena came to Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of our Lord was found. By the name of the public Enemy, the Devil might here be meant, were not this contradicted by the Expressi- ons here used. For the Devil was not then vanquish'd and overcome, when the Sepulchre of our Lord was cleared from the Rubbish that cover'd it. Besides, the Term [*adversus*, Slaughter] is more expressive, being meant of *Licinius*, than of the Devil. See Valerius's Notes on Eusebius's Life of Constantine, Book 3, Chap. 30.

\* H. is *Divine* & *etern* signs, the Truth, Authority, or Estima- tion of this Miracle, &c.

this is always our chief and truest Authority, as the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new Miracles, so the Minds of us all should with all Modesty and unanimous Alacrity become more careful and diligent about an Observation of the Divine Law. Which in regard we judge to be manifestly apparent to all Men, our Desire is you should most especially be persuaded of this, that it is altogether our chiefest Care, that that sacred Place (which by God's Command we have unburthen'd of that most detestable (u) ac- cession of the Idol, as it were of a ponderous and heavy weight; which [Place] was by God's Determination made holy from the Beginning, but was afterwards demonstrated to be more holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Certainty of our Saviour's Passion) should be beautified and adorn'd with magnificent

and stately structures. Wherefore it does well be- come your Prudence so to order the matter, and to make such a Provision of Materials necessary for this Work, that not only the Temple it self may in state- liness excel all others in what place soever, but also that the other parts of it be made such, as that all the beautifullest Structures in every City, may be ac- knowledge'd far inferior to this Fabric. And as concerning the Workmanship and exquisite Beauty of the Walls, we would have you know that we have committed the Care thereof to our Friend & Dra- cilianus, Deputy to the most excellent the Prefects of the Prætorium, and to the President of the Province.

+ There are two Laws made by

Constantine, extant in the Cod. Theod. (the one in *Tit. de usuris*, the o- ther in *Tit. de hereditatibus*), written to this Draclianus. The former of these Laws bears this Inscription, *Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad Draclia- num agentem vices Prætorianæ præ.* that is, Emperor Constantinus Augustus to Draclianus Deputy to the Prefects of the Prætorium. This

Law was publish'd at Cæsarea in Palestine on the 15th of the Calends of May, when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls. The other is said to have been publish'd on the Calends of September, Constantinus Augustus being the seventh time, and Constantinus Cæsar Coss. that is, in the Year of Christ 326. In which Year Constantine wrote this Epistle to Macarini, Bishop of Jerusalem. Further, we must remark, that the Prefects of the Prætorium are here stile'd *clarissimi*, most excellent. For as yet they had not received the Title of *Most Illustrious*. Moreover, in other of Constantine's Laws, the Prefects of the Prætorium are stile'd *Most Excellent*. Now, as the Prefects of the Prætorium were in Con- stantine's times allow'd only the Title of the *Most Excellent*, so the Deputies of the Prætorian Præfecture had in the said Constantine's time only the Title of *Most Perfect* given them, as the Epistle to Probianus Procurator of Africa, shews, which we meet with in Athanasius's Apo- logy to Constantinus, p. 794. See Valerius's Notes on Book 3, Chap. 31, of Eusebius's Life of Constantine.

For our Piety has taken order, that Artificers and Consti- tution, and whatever else they may be inform'd from your Prudence to be necessary for the Structure, shall by their Care be forthwith sent. But concerning the Pillars or Marbles, & whatever you your self on sight of the

(x) Model [of the building]

shall judge to be more rich and useful, ) make it your Business to inform us by writing: that when we shall under- stand from your Letter, how many, and what manner of Materials you stand in need of, they may be convey'd to you from all Parts. For it is but reasonable that that most admirable place of the whole World should be beautified ac- cording to its Dignity and Worth. We desire to know of you, whether you think good to have the inner Roof of the Church, (y) arched, or made of any other sort of Work. For if it be arched, it may also be gild'd with Gold. It remains therefore, that your Holiness inform as soon as may be the foremention'd Judges, how many Work- men, and Artificers, and what Money for Expences you shall want. And as you care- fully to return Us a speedy Ac- count, not only concerning the Marbles, and Pillars, but also concerning the arched Roof (if you shall judge that to be the more beautiful Work.) Dearest Brother, God pre-

serve you. The Emperor wrote several other E- pistles in a more florid Style like Orations, against Arius, and those that embraced his Opinion, and caus'd them to be (z) publish'd in every City; in (3) Inferi- or [*inferius*]

He added] the Reading must necessarily be [*inferius*], as published. For the Roman Emperors did usually propose to publish view those Rescripts they wrote to the Cities. Therefore, at the Close of the Rescript they added this Note [*Proposuit, ut ille publicetur*]: as we have observ'd in our Notes on Eusebius. So Constantine, when he had wrote many Letters against Arius and his Follow- ers, commanded they should be propos'd to publish view in the fir- st. Of this sort was Constantine's Epistle to Arius and the Ariens, Synod Nicene; which Epistle Epiphanius mentions in *Hæres. Ariens*. It was written by Constantine after the Nicene Synod, and it contains the Punishment of those that would not recede from Arius's wicked Te- nets. For at the Close of that Epistle, the Emperor commands, that if Heads, besides their own I-oll-Money, they shall pay tribute for the Curiales, (or Noble Men) they shall be deliver'd to the Court, and made liable to bear the publick Offices of the Decurians. This Letter therefore was like an Ed-ict, and so ought to be publickly read and promulg'd. Valer.

(x) At this place the Term [*εὐρύτης*] signifies the Model or Delimitation of the Fabric that was to be erected. It is taken in the same Sense, in the Epistle of Himerius Rhetorist of Alexandria to the Prefect of Maroneis; which Athanasius has recorded in his *ap- plog.* p. 303. For after he had said, that Augustus and the Cæ- sars had permitted Augustus to build a Church in his Town, he orders the Governor of that Town, that he should forthwith draw a Model of the future Build- ing, and transmit it to his office; [*εὐρύτης*] (says he) *ταύτης τῆς ἐκκλησίας κατασκευῆς, οὗ τὴν οὐρανὸν ἀνεύθυνεν.* See Valerius's Notes, at the Book and Chapter before cited.

(y) The inner Roofs of Church- es were commonly fram'd two ways. For they were either beau- ty'd with arched or embow'd Roofs, or else painted with dis- tinct Work. Concerning the arched (or embow'd) Roofs, this place (of Constantine's Letter is an Evi- dence. Procopius evidences the Use of the *Mosaic-work*, in his first Book *De Fabricis* Justinian, where he describes the Temple of Sancta Sophia. Now the arched Roofs were usually adorn'd two ways. For they were either gild- ed with Gold, or painted; which latter way was first invented by Pausanias, as Pline attests, Book 35, Chap. 11. *Hist. Natural.* See Valerius's Notes, at the Book and Chapter before cited.



*Constant.* which Epistles he represents [*Arius*] to be an infamous Person, and rebukes him sharply in an Ironical manner. Moreover, he wrote to the (a) *Nicomedian*, against *Eusebius* and *Theognis*: wherein he severely reprehends *Eusebius*'s wickedness, not only for his *Arianism*, but also because, having formerly been a Favourer of the Tyrants, Parcy, he had been a Traitor against [him and] his Affairs. He therefore advises them to elect another Bishop in his stead. But I thought it superfluous to insert his Letters concerning these Matters here, because they are long. They that are desirous [to inspect them] may easily find them out, and read them over. Thus much concerning these things.

Year of Christ 329; as *Justinian* the Emperor sent it to Pope *Vigilius*. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

That the Emperour summoned to the Synod *Acecius* also, a Bishop of the Novatian Heresy.

*(a) Sozomen* relates the same story in his first Book, chap. 22. but in such a manner, that 'tis sufficiently apparent, he had it out of *Socrates*'s History. For *Socrates* tells the whole Story more fully and elegantly. And after he has told it, says he had it from a credible Person, who lived in the times of the *Nicene Council*. But *Sozomen* begins this Relation thus, *ἀνέγραψε δὲ ἡ βασιλεῖα, &c.* It's reported that the Emperour, &c. Nor does he confirm it by any Persons Authority. Besides, *Sozomen* has in a manner stole the very words of *Socrates*, making some little alterations and interpolations, as Plagiaries usually do. But this Story seems to me very improbable upon many accounts. First, because it is founded on the Authority of no ancient Writer. Secondly, neither *Socrates* nor *Sozomen*, do say, of what City *Acecius* was Bishop, which was very necessary to confirm the Story. Thirdly, it is not at all likely, that an heretical Bishop should be summoned by *Constantine* to an Ecclesiastick Synod. For if *Constantine* had sent for *Acecius* in order to the restoring of Peace and Agreement to the Church, upon the same account he ought to have summoned the Bishops of other Heresies also to the *Nicene Council*. Lastly, what *Socrates* says, to wit, that he had this story from a very old man who was at the Synod, seems to me altogether incredible. This person's name was *Auxano*, a Novatian Presbyter, who was at the Synod with *Acecius*, and lived until the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, as *Socrates* says, Chap. 13. of this Book. Now from the *Nicene Synod* to the beginning of *Theodosius*'s Reign, there are 83 Years. To which if you add 20 (for so old *Auxano* must needs be when he was present at the Council) *Auxano* must necessarily be above an hundred years old, when he told *Socrates* this Story. Let the Reader judge therefore, at what rate the Testimony of a decrepid old Heretick is to be valued.

of Remission from the Priests, but from God, who only is able; and has Power to forgive Sins. When *Acecius* had spoken thus, the Emperour replied, O *Acecius*, set a Ladder, and do you alone climb up to Heaven. This Story neither *Eusebius Pamphilus*, nor any other Author has mention'd. But I had it from a Person that was in no wife a Liar, one who was very aged, and related what he had seen transacted in the Council. Whence I conjecture, that the same Accident befell those who have omitted the Mention hereof, which happens to many other Writers of History. For they usually pass over many things, either because they are ill affected towards some, or have a Desire to gratifie others. Thus much concerning *Acecius*.

## CHAP. XI.

Concerning Paphnutius the Bishop.

NOW because we have promised before, to make mention of *Paphnutius* and *Spyridon*, it will be seasonable to speak of them here. *Paphnutius* therefore was Bishop of one of the Cities in the upper *Thebais*; he was a Person so pious, that wonderful Miracles were wrought by him. In the time of the Persecution, one of his Eyes had been cut out: The Emperour had an high Esteem for the Man, and frequently sent for him to the Pallace, and kissed [the place of] that Eye which had been dug out. So great a Piety and Reverence was there in the Emperour *Constantine*. Let this therefore be one thing said by us concerning *Paphnutius*. This other (which was done by his Advice for the Utility and Advantage of the Church, and the Grace and Ornament of the Clergy,) I will now relate. The Bishops had a Design to introduce a new Law into the Church, to wit, That those who were in holy Orders, I mean the Bishops, Presbyters, and Deacons, (a) should abstain from lying with those Wives which they had married during the time they were Laicks. And when a Proposition was made to consult hereof, *Paphnutius* (b) rose up in the midst of the Assembly of Bishops, and cried out with a great deal of Earnestness, that such an heavy Yoke ought not to be imposed upon those Persons that were in sacred Orders, saying, That Marriage was honourable; and the Bed undefiled; [so that they ought to be careful] lest they should rather incommode the Church, by their over-much Severity. For all Men [said he] cannot bear the Practice of so strict and severe a Continence, nor is it likely that the Chastity of every one of their Wives should be preserved. (The Husband's keeping Company with his lawful Wife he termed Chastity.) It was sufficient [said he:] that they who had entered themselves into the Function of the Clergy before they were married, should afterwards (according to the ancient Tradition of the Church) abstain from entering into a State of Matrimony: But that no Person ought to be separated from his Wife,

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whom he had heretofore married, [to wit:] whilst he was a Laick. Thus he spake, though he was a Man, who had not experienced what marriage was, and (as I may truly aver) never knew a Woman, for from his childhood he had been educated in a \* place where the strictest exercises of Virtue and Abstinence were constantly practised, and was eminently famous above all Men for his singular continency. All the whole Assembly of the Clergy were persuaded to yield their assent, to what *Euphrasius* said; wherefore they silenced all further Debate concerning this Point, and left it to every Man's arbitrement whether he would [or would not] abstain from keeping company with his Wife. And thus much concerning *Euphrasius*.

\* *Ex dextre* is that is, in a place, where the *Africa* lived; concerning whom and their course of life, see *Englb. Ecclesiast. Hist.* book 2. chap. 17. bet. *Valof.*

note (a) book 7. chap. 32. note (c.) in the second Alphabet.

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning *Spyridon Bishop of the Cyprians*.

NOW [we come to speak] of *Spyridon*: So great a sanctity was in this Person whilst yet a Shepherd, that he was thought worthy to be made a Pastor of Men. He had obtained the Bishoprick of a City in *Cyprus* call'd *Trimithuntis*: But by reason of his singular humility he fed sheep during his being a Bishop. There are many things related of this Man: But I will only record one or two, that I may not seem to wander from my Subject. One time about midnight, thieves entering his sheepfold privately, and attempted to take away the sheep. But God who protected the shepherd, preserv'd his sheep also: For the thieves, were by an invisible Power fast bound to the folds. The Morning being now come, he went to his sheep, where finding the Men bound with their hands behind them, he perceiv'd what had hapned. And after he had prayed, he loosed the thieves, admonishing and exhorting them earnestly, to endeavour the procuring of a livelyhood by honest Labours, and not by such unjust Rapine: He also gave them a Ram, and dismiss'd them with this facetious saying, *least*, says he, you might seem to have watched all all night in vain. This is one of *Spyridon's* Miracles. Another was of this sort. He had a Daughter, a Virgin, indued with her Father's piety, her name *Irene*. A Person well known to her, entrusted her with the keeping of an Ornament, that was of great value. The Maid, that she might with greater safety keep what was deposited with her, hid it in the Earth: And within a short time died. Soon after that, he who had committed this thing to her care, came [to demand it.] Not finding the Virgin, he involves her Father [in that concern,] sometimes accusing, another while entreating him. The old Man looking upon the Persons loss who had entrusted his Daughter, as his own misfortune, went to his Daughters grave, and did there beg of God, that he would shew him the promised Resurrection before the Time. And his hope was not frustrated. For the Virgin immediately revives, and appears to her Father, and having shewed him the place where she had hid the Ornament, immediately departed. Such Persons as these were during the Reign of *Constantine* the Emperor eminent in the Church. These things I both heard from several *Cyprians*; and and also read them in a Book of *Rufinus* a Presbyter,

written in Latin, out of which I have not only collected what has here been said, but also some other Things, which shall a little after this be declared.

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## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning *Eutychianus the Monk*.

I Have also heard of *Eutychianus*, a pious Man, who flourished at the same Time: Who although he was one of the *Novatian* Church, yet was admired for Works of the same Nature with those [we have mentioned.] I will sincerely confess who it was that gave me this Account of him: Nor will I conceal it, though I am sensible some will be offended with me for it. One *Auxanon* a Presbyter of the *Novatian* Church, was a Person of a very great Age: This Man, when he was very young, went to the Council of *Nice* with *Aetius*, from him I received what I have said before concerning *Aetius*. He lived from those Times to the Reign of *Theodosius* the younger, and rehearsed to me, though then very young, these [Memoirs] of *Eutychianus*: He discour'd much to me concerning the Divine Grace infus'd into him: But one thing he told me concerning him, more especially worthy of remembrance, which happened in the Reign of *Constantine*. One of those belonging to the Guard, whom the Emperor calls his (a) Domesticks, being suspected to have attempted some Tyrannick Designs, made his escape by flight: The Emperor, highly incensed thereat, gave order, that he should be put to death, wherever he could be found: Being apprehended about the mountain *Olympus* in *Bithynia*, he was shut up in prison, and loaded with very heavy and painful chains; near these parts of *Olympus* *Eutychianus* then resided, leading a solitary Life, where he wrought many cures both upon Men's Bodies and Souls. The long lived *Auxanon* was with him at that time, being then very young, and was by him instructed in the Precepts of a solitary Life. Many did resort to this *Eutychianus*, beseeching him to release the Prisoner, by interceding for him with the Emperor. (For the fame of the Miracles wrought by *Eutychianus* was come to the Emperor's hearing.) He readily promised to make a Journey to the Emperor. But in regard the Prisoner suffered most acute tortures caused by his chains, those that did solicit for him, reported, that his death, hastned by [the tortures of] his fetters, would both prevent the Emperor's punishment, and *Eutychianus's* intercession for him. *Eutychianus* therefore sent to the keepers of the Prison, and intreated them to release the Man. But when they answered that it would be a very dangerous thing for them to release a Criminal, he, taking *Auxanon* only along with him, went to the Prison: And upon the Keepers refusal to open the Prison, the Grace which was in *Eutychianus*, did there most illustre it self: For the Prison, doors opened of their own accord, whilst the Keepers of the Prison had the keys in their custody: And when *Eutychianus*, together with *Auxanon*, had entred the Prison, and a great amazement had seized those that were present,

(a) By *domestici* he means the *Prætoribus Domestici*, or Guard of the Body, which waited on the Emperor's Person. They were Soldiers of a superior Order; who also had greater pay than, the others. See *Valerius's* Note, on *Amm. Marcellin*, book 14. pag. 33.

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*Confiant.* the Chains fell from the Prisoners [Members] of their own accord. Afterwards [*Eutychianus*] together with his Companion *Azucan* travelled to the City heretofore named *Byzantium*, but afterwards called *Constantinople*, and being admitted into the Imperial Palace he freed the Prisoner from [the danger of] Death. For the Emperor, having a great respect for *Eutychianus*, readily granted his request. This was done after [those times which we are now giving an account of.] But then, the Bishops that were present at the Synod, after they had drawn up in writing some things, which they usually term Canons, return'd to their respective Cities. Moreover, I look upon it as a thing advantageous to such as are studious of History, to insert here those Bishop's Names (as many of them as we were able to find,) that were convened at *Nice*, as also [the name of] the Province and City over which every one of them did preside, and likewise the time wherein they were assembled. (b) *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* in *Spain*. I do believe as is before written. (c) *Pito* and *Vincentius* Presbyters of *Rome*. *Alexander* [Bishop] of *Egypt*. *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Antioch* the Great. *Macedarius* [Bishop] of *Jerusalem*. d) *Harporacion* [Bishop] of *Cyropolis*. And the rest who are particularly and fully set forth in the (e) *Synodicon* of *Arbanus* Bishop of *Alexandria*. And the time when this Synod was convened was (as we found it in the (f) *Notation* of the time prefix'd before the Syn-

words: *ἡμεῖς ἀρχιερεῖς Κεδέβου, Ἰωφὺς Βῆσσοφ Καρδίου* followed by *ἡμεῖς Ἐπίσκοποι Βρεσέου, Καὶ Βιτο καὶ Βινcentius.*) But those incomparable MSS. exhibited this place entire to us, after this manner: *ἡμεῖς ἀρχιερεῖς Κεδέβου, Ἰωφὺς Βῆσσοφ Καρδίου, ἡμεῖς ἐπίσκοποι Βρεσέου, Καὶ Βιτο καὶ Βινcentius.* Ἐπίσκοποι, &c. i. e. *Ἰωφὺς Bishop of Cardia in Spain. I do believe as it is before written. Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters of Rome, &c.* This is the Series of the Bishops who subscribed the Nicene Creed, and the names of the same are not to be omitted, but he himself attacheth hereafter. In the Greek Collection of the Canon this Series is wanting, nor is it extant in Dionysius Exiguus's Version. But in the *ancient Collection* lately published at Paris, (which the Western Church heretofore made use of, before Dionysius's Version) and in *Isidorus's* Collection, this Series occurs almost in the same words. In that ancient Collection the words are these: *ἡμεῖς ὑπογράψαντες. Ἰωφὺς Ἐπίσκοπος ἐκκλησίας Καρδίου, Βιτο καὶ Βινcentius ἐπίσκοποι, ἡμεῖς ἀρχιερεῖς Κεδέβου, Ἰωφὺς Βῆσσοφ Καρδίου, καὶ Βινcentius ὑποψύτοι.* *urbis Romæ. Alexander Alexandria ἡγουμεν. Αἱ ἀποκρίσεις, &c. i. e. And they subscribed. Ἰωφὺς Bishop of the City Cardia, in the Province of Spain, said: I believe so, as the above written. Vito and Vincentius, Presbyters of the City of Rome. Alexander of Alexandria the Great, Αἱ ἀποκρίσεις, &c. The words in *Isidorus's* Collection are almost the same. But in Athanasius's Catalogue, *Enfantius* Bishop of *Cardia*, and *Isidorus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, are placed after *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*. Vale!*

• *Arbanasius* makes mention of this *Vito* the Presbyter, in *His Apologetic* against the *Arians*, and attests, that a *Roman Synod* consisting of fifty Bishops (by whom he was received into Communion) was convened in his Church. *Valef.*

(c) This Book of *Athanasius's* is not now (to my knowledge) extant. But 'tis probable, that the names of the Bishops who subscribed the *Nicene Council*, were translated out of that Book.

*Heterogeneous* (the term *clat* occurs here) imports the notion of express Declaration of the time usually prefix before public Acts. In the Greek Collection of the Canons (which contains *Tilias* first published) the notation of the time is prefixed, thus: Κατοίς τοῖς τινὲς αἰσὶν πατρίσι, καὶ ἐν ὧς οὐκ ἀνεκδοκίμοις ἐστὶν ταῦτα κενεῖται καὶ ἱκανοὶ εἰς τὸ ἀποφασισθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς ἀρχιεπισκόπου· ἢ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἀναγινώσκοντες, ἀπὸ τοῦ 318. *Soli* *Sancti*, *Conventus*, *Episcoporum*. i.e. The Canons of the 318 Holy Fathers, Convent, assembled in Council at Alexandria, A.D. 600. *Paschalis*, *Jubilaeum*, on the Fifth day from Alexander on the nineteenth day of the month *Dehius*, before the thirtieth of the Calends of July. Valef.

ned) in the Consulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*,  
on the (g) twentieth day of the Month of *May*;  
that was the (b) six hundredth thirty sixth year  
from the Reign of *Alexander the Macedonian*.  
Thus the Synod was concluded. We must also  
take notice, that after [ the dissolution of ]  
this Synod, the Emperor took his Progress in  
to the Western Parts [of his Empire].

the foregoing Note.) For 'tis said that the Synod was convened on the nineteenth Day of the Month *Dofius* (which the *Romans* call *June*) on the thirteenth of the *Calends* of *July*. Which is confirmed by the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, by the *Chalcedon Council*, and by the *Latin Collection* which *Evagrius* calls *Gregoniana*, which account I think is the true one, or should we suppose that the Council of *Nice* was 'emitted on the twentieth of the Month of *May*, there would be too narrow a space of time left for the transacting of those Affairs which *Confantine* did after his vanquishing of *Licinius*. It was therefore sub-  
A u d u c e d in the last Engagement at *Chalcedon*, in the year of *Christ* 324, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*: On the day following *Iovinianus* (who made his escape to *Nicomedia*) yielded himself to *Confantine* the Conqueror. After this *Confantine* made his entry into *Nicomedia*: Whilst he continued there, and halld to make his Progress into the Eastern parts, a Messenger arrived, declaring to him the Diffention of the *Alexandrian Church*, and of all *Egypt*, upon account of *Arius's* Opinion, and the disturbances of the *Melchites*, as himself attests in his Epistle to *Alexander* and *Arius*. And first he sends *Hofius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, that he might compose the Differences by his Authority. But *Hofius*, after he had said a little while at *Alexandria*, returns to *Confantine* without effecting his business. All this could in no wise have been done in a shorter space of Time than three Months. Moreover, *Confantine* perceiving the Chief to increase daily, resolves upon calling a general Council of *Bishops*, that he might thereby restore Peace to the Church. Upon this he sends forth Ambassadors, and waits, couriers throughout all the Provinces, to convene the *Bishops* and wait in *Syria*. Suppose therefore, that the Couriers delivered the Emperors Letters to every one of the *Bishops* in the Month of *March*: It is scarce credible, that the *Bishops* could come from the remotest Regions, as well of the East as of the West, to *Rhynia*, before the Month *July*: Especially since they came by Land, and not by Water, as *Eusebius* attests, Book 3, Chap. 6. De *Vita* *Constantini*. See *Valerius's* Notes on *Euseb. Life of Constantine*, Book 2, Chap. 14.

*Confiantine's* second 3<sup>d</sup>. Confiantine 14.  
The fix hundred thirty six year from the  
reign of Alexander the Macedonian worded  
it was the nineteenth year from the beginning of his reign. *Confiantine*  
*the Emperors*, which is very true. For when Paulinus and Gellianus  
were Confiantine, (which was on the 325th year of Christ), the Nicene  
Synod was (according to Beccate's Opinion) assembled in May, it be-  
ing then the nineteenth year of *Confiantine's* Reign. His 20th year  
began the same year, about the end of July following. Valef.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*That Eusebius Bishop of Nicomedia, Theognis Bishop of Nice ( who had been banish'd because they were Abettors of Arius's Opinion,) having afterwards sent a Libel of Repentance, and agreed to the Exposition of the Faith, were readmitted to their Sees.*

**M**oreover, *(a) Eusebius and Theognis*, *(b) ha-* *(a) Socrates*  
ving felt a *Libel of Repentance* to the most ha-  
eminent *Bishops*, were by an *Imperial Order* recall'd ved no or-  
from *Exile*, and reftored to their own *Churches*: *der here*.

*Says, that Eusebius and Theognis* were recall'd from banishment almost  
before he had told us they were exiled. *Saymen* therefore did better,  
who in this particular corrected *Socrates's* Relation. For, in the first  
Book of *his E History*, Chap. 21. he relates that *Eusebius and Theognis*  
were banish'd by the Emperor *Constantine* a little after the Synod, and  
that other *Bishops* were put into their Sees. Then, in his second Book  
Chap. 16. he declares how they were recalled from their banishment.  
From which passage (that I may make this Remark the more plain) may  
be concluded, that *Socrates* wrote *his History* after *Socrates* is as  
much as he corrects and amends *Socrates's* Narration in many places.  
Further, *Eusebius and Theognis* were banish'd three Months after the  
*Nicene Synod*, as *Philoforgius* attests: and returned from their Exile  
(as the said *Philoforgius* relates) in the third year after that Synod,  
that is, in the year of Christ 328. which account agrees exactly with  
the History of Affairs transacted in that time. For all *Hisstoryans* agree  
that *Eusebius*, upon his return from banishment, entertained thoughts  
of confirming *Arius's* Opinion, and of thrusting forth that doctrine that altered  
the *Nicene Faith*. And, that his first attack was made against *Eusebius*

*Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch*, whom he caused to be expell'd [from his See] by feigned Calumnies, in the year of Christ 329, or 330. *Baronius* therefore did ill, to place *Eusebius Nicomedensis's* return from exile on the year of Christ 320. *Valef.*

1000. *Baronius* (at the year 325 of Christ 325,) reproves *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, for saying, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were banish'd a little of the *Nicene Synod*; and that some few years after (having sent a Libel of satisfaction to the most eminent Bishops) they were recalled from their Exile. *Baronius* endeavors to prove, that this Libel was presented by *Eusebius* to the Bishops in the *Nicene Synod*. For he asserts, that the Rule of Faith was first writ down by *Eusebius Nicomediensis* (with four other Bishops) and so he would subscribe it. But, the said *Eusebius*, and the other Bishops, would not subscribe it. But, the said *Eusebius*, and the other Bishops, afterwards presented a Libel of Satisfaction to the said Synod, in which he had been determined [in the Synod.] But, after this, when the Synod had *Anathematiz'd Arius*, *Eusebius* and *Theognis* (says he) would not subscribe this *Anathematism*; and for that reason they were condemned and depol'd, by the Synod, and *Amphion* and *Cerebus* were put into their Sees. But the Emperor *Constantine* (continues he) interceded that the sentence might not be put in execution, and perfwaded the Synod that they might be admitted to Repentance. This is *Baronius's* Opinion, and he is followed by *Beza*, *Stephanus*, and *Ussher*. *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were presented by *Eusebius*: For of the former *Libel* no Body has ever made mention. Secondly, he cites no Author for what he says concerning *Eusebius's* and *Theognis's* Deprivation and Condemnation done in the *Nicene Council*. *Constantine* (in his Epistle to the *Nicomediens*, the latter part of which Epistle in Greek the Reader may meet in *Theodorit. Eccl. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 20*; it occurs entire at the close of *Gelasius Cyrenensis's* 3d Book, pag. 217.) says, that it was then done, but only says, the *Eusebius* was afraid it would be done. Lastly, his saying, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* were recalled from the *Libel* is tell'd. For this *Libel* was, is manifestly retited from the *Libel* it self. For the *Libel* was presented by *Eusebius*, when he was in banishment, as is attest'd by their words of it, *ὅτι διὰ τὴν περὶ γεγραμμένης ἀναθεματικῆς τῆς συνόδου, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βαλόντος ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν, Sc. i. e.* and by this *Libel* do fully declare and confirm our consent; [which we are induced to do not because we look upon our Exile to be tedious, &c. Besides, this Libel was presented when *Eusebius* was recalled from banishment; which is apparent from these words, *ἵνα ὅτι διὰ τὴν γεγραμμένης ἀναθεματικῆς τῆς συνόδου, καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου βαλόντος ἡμῶν, ἀλλὰ τῶν, Sc. i. e.* and by this *Libel* do fully declare and confirm our consent; which we are induced to do not because we look upon our Exile to be tedious, &c. Moreover, *Arius* was recalled from banishment by *Constantine* long ere this, after the *Nicene Synod*. *Sc. Vult.*

*Conflant.* those who had been Ordain'd in their places being removed by them; *Enfibus* [put out] *Amphion*, and *Tucognus* [removed] *Chrestus*. This is the Copy of their Libel.

(c) In as much as  
Full, has  
and they  
we do

we having been some time since (c) condemned  
by Your Pity, (d) without having Our Cause de-  
clared or defended, ought quietly to bear what  
has been determined by Your Holy Discretion.

his do  
the beginning of this Epistle, that they were condemned by  
the *Bishops*; it is worth our making an enquiry, when and where  
they were condemned. *Baronius* says they were condemned, and de-  
posed in the *Nicene Synod*. But this is contradicted by *St. Jerome's*  
Authority; who, in his *Dialogue against the Luciferians*, does in ex-  
press words assert, that *Eusebius* and *Theognis* (with other *Bishops* of  
the *Antiochian* faction) were admitted of by the *Nicene Synod*. And  
he proves both from the testimony of *St. Jerome* himself, and from  
the *Synod*, and also from the *Acts of the Nicene Synod*, in which,  
amongst the names of those *Bishops* who subscribed the *Synod*, *Euse-  
bius* and the others I have mentioned are reckoned. The same is  
attested by *Philoforgius*, who says that *Eusebius* was banished about  
three months after the *Nicene Synod*. Since therefore *Fabius* and  
*Theognis* do confess themselves to have been condemned by the *Bi-  
shops*, and since 'tis manifest that was not done in the *Nicene Synod*; it  
must necessarily have been done in some other *Antiochian* *Bi-  
shops*. The reason of their being exiled, *Constantine* does declare  
in his Epistle to *St. Athanasius*, (the latter part whereof see in *Theo-  
doret*, *Book I*, *Chap. 1*, *Book 1*, *Chap. 2c*.) For he says, that he banish-  
ed them, because they entertained certain Heretics, (whom he  
had commanded to be sent to his Court from the City *Alexandria*),  
and held communion with them. (*Baronius*, at the year of Christ  
329, thinks these Heretics were *Melchites*. But I do rather believe  
they were *Arians*.) And this is expressly affirmed by the *Egyptian*  
*Bishops*, in their *Synodal Epistle*, which *Athanasius* has recorded in  
his second *Apology against the Arians*. And the reason thereof, *St. Atha-  
nasius* omits not to mention, saying, that some *Bishops* were convened, from  
*Eusebius* and *Theognis* were condemned and deposed, after whom  
the Emperor banished them. This is expressly affirmed by *Athana-  
sius* (in his *Book De Synodis*), and by *Theodoret* (*Book 1*, *Chap. 19*,  
Excell. Hist.) *Yale*.

(d) *Christophorson* and *Mufculus* omitted these words [*ἡμεῖς καὶ οὐκ αὐτοί*, without having our cause declared or defended] in their Version. They occur in *Sozomen* (Book 2. Chap. 16.) and *Epiphani*. *Scholasticus* has rendered them thus : *Dulium quidem ante iudicium condemnati à Reverentiâ vestrâ, patienter ferre quæ decreta sunt à sancto vestro con-*

*gilio dehuimus*; c. *Having been sometime since, condemned by your Reverence before judgment, we ought patiently to bear what is decreed by your Holy Council.* By these words *Eusebius* seems to intimate, that he was condemned without being heard, and by a rash judgment, or prejudice: To wit, because the Emperor had condemned him before, who was angry with *Eusebius* for several reasons, which you may meet with in *Constantine's Epistle to the Nicomedians*; see *Theodoret*, *Eccles. Hist. Book 1. Chap. 20. Valsef.*

But because 'tis absurd, by silence to give an occasion of Calumny against our selves, for this reason we declare to You, that We have both unanimously agreed to the [Determination about the] Faith, and also (after We had made Researches into the Notion of Homoiouios,) with Our utmost earnestness laboured for Peace, having never been Followers of any Heresie. And when We had suggested whatever came into our Minds upon account of the Churches security, and had fully satisfied those that ought to be persuaded by us, We subscribed the Faith, but have not subscribed the Anathematism; not that we had any thing to object against the Faith, but because We did not believe the Person accused to be such a one [as he was represented to be,] having been fully satisfied that he was no such Person, partly from the private Letters written to Us by Him, and partly from the Discourses he made in Our Presence. (e) But if Your Holy Council was [then] satisfied, We [now] make no resistance, but agree to what You have determined, and by this Libel do fully declare and confirm our Consent; which We are induced to do] not because We look upon Our Exile to be tedious and burthensome, but that We might avoid the suspicion of Heresie. For if You shall now vouchsafe to let Us return to Your Presence, You shall find Us to be of the same Opinion with You in all Points, and

quently to adhere to what Your Father determineth: Since  
it hath seemed good to Your Piety gently to treat  
even \* Him, who is accused for these \* Arius, that we  
things, and to (f) recall Him from had just  
Banishment. But it would be absurd (since He that caused  
seemed to be guilty is recalled, and his made his unwilling  
Defence in reference to those things laid to his charge,) to  
that He should be silent, and muster up an Argument  
against Our selves. Do You therefore vouchsafe (as  
it befits Your Piety that loves Christ) to remind Our  
Emperor most dear to God, to offer up Our Suppli-  
cations to Him, and speedily to determine concerning  
Us as shall be most agreeable to Your [ Prudence. ] them  
This is the Libel of Eusebius and Theognis' now we  
Recantation. From the words whereof I conclude  
conjecture, that they subscribed the Faith which  
had been published [ in the Council ; ] but  
would not give their consent to the deposing  
of Arius : And it appears hence, that Arius was  
recalled from Banishment, before them : But  
although this seems to be so, yet he was for-  
bidden to enter Alexandria. Which is evident from  
this, [ro wit,] that he afterwards invented a  
way for his own return into the Church and  
the City Alexandria, by having made use of a  
counterfeited Repentance, as we shall relate  
in its due place.

Constant.

## CHAP. XV.

How the Emperor dying after the [Nicene] Synod, Athanasius was consecrated Bishop of the City Alexandria.

(a) Socrates (as all the) Mistakes here in placing Alexander's death, and Athanasius's Ordination after Eusebius's and Theognis's return from exile. For Alexander Bishop of Alexandria dyed within few months after the Council of Nice, as Athanasius testifies in his second apology against the Arians, where he speaks of Melitius. The same says Theodoret, in the first book of his History, in chap. 26. Alexander therefore died in the year of Christ 325, and Athanasius was consecrated either at the latter end of the time Year, or in the beginning or the next. Valef.

passing by at that time, saw all their Play. And, having afterwards sent for the Children, he enquired of them what place had been allotted to ever one of them in the Plays, supposing that from what had been done, some thing might be portended [concerning each of them.] And he gave order, that the Children should be educated in the Church, and instructed in Learning; but most specially Athanasius. Afterwards when he was come a maturity of Age, he ordained him Deacon, and took him along with him to Nice, that he might assist him in the Disputations there, at such time as that Synod was convened. These things Rufinus has related concerning Athanasius, in his (b) Books [of Ecclesiastick History:] nor is it at all unlikely that these things hapned: For many such like Acts are frequently found to have been done.

Thus much we have hitherto said concerning Athanasius.

(b) See Rufinus's Ecclesiastick History, Book 1. chap. 14. where Rufinus adds this circumstance to this story; that the Boys (upon Alexander's enquiry) would have some Catechumens had been baptiz'd by Athanasius, whom they had chosen Bishop in their sports. Then Alexander, having demanded of those said to be baptiz'd, what Questions they had been asked, and what Answers they made, and also having examined him who had asked them the Questions; found that all things had been done according to the Rites of our Religion: And, after a consult with his Clergy, 'tis said, he ordered, that those Boys (on whom water had been poured, after they were perfectly question'd, and had return'd compleat answers) should not be rebaptiz'd. See Rufinus at the Book and Chapter now cited.

## CHAP. XVI.

How the Emperor Constantine, having enlarged the City heretofore call'd Byzantium, named it Constantinople.

THE Emperor, after the [Dissolution of the] Council spent his time in delight and pleasure. As soon therefore as he had finish'd the Publick Festivals of his (a) Vicennalia, he forthwith employ'd himself very diligently about redifying and erecting of Churches. This he did as well in other Cities, as in that that bore his own Name. Which City being formerly called Byzantium, he very much enlarged; he encom-

passed it with magnificent Walls, and beautified with several Edifices; and having made it equal to the Imperial City Rome, (b) he named it Constantinople, and did by a Law establish that it should be call'd New Rome. Which Law was engraven on a Pillar of stone, and (c) exposed to the publick view, being erected in the (d) Strategium, near to the Emperor's Statue on horseback. He also founded two Churches in the same City, the one of which he named Irene, and the other he called the Apostles: Nor did he only improve and enlarge the Affairs of the Christians, as I have said, but did also subvert [the Superstition] of the Gentiles. For [he took their] Images [out of their Temple:] and set them up in the most Publick Places, that they might serve to beautifie the City Constantinople: He also expos'd the Delphick Tripods openly in the Hippodrome. But it will perhaps seem superfluous to mention these things now. For they are sooner beheld with the Eyes, than the relation of them can be heard. But at that time the Christian Religion was mightily propagated and increased. For the Divine Providence did (amongst other things) reserve that more especially for the times of Constantine: And thus has Eusebius Pamphilus in a magnifick stile recorded the praises of this Emperor. But yet we judge it not unseasonable for us to speak briefly of them according to our ability.

(a) In stead of [καθ' ἑκαστον, was set, or placed] it should be [καθ' ἑκαστον, was exposed, or erected] This emendation is confirm'd by Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version. Romanesque firmavit. Valef.

(b) The Strategium was a publick edifice wherein the Strategus, (i. e. the Duumviri, the two principal Magistrates that heretofore governed the City Byzantium) were wont to sit. It is mentioned in the old description of the City Constantinople, which is preface before the Notitia Imperii Romani. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

How Helena, the Emperor's Mother, came to Jerusalem, and having there found Christ's Cross, which she had sought for a long time, built a Church.

HELENA the Emperor's Mother, (from whose name Drepanum, which was formerly only a Village, but made a City by the Emperor, was call'd Helenopolis) being admonished by God in her Dreams, travell'd to Jerusalem. And when she found that place which was formerly Jerusalem, desolate (as the Prophet predicteth)

\* like a lodge [set up] to preserve Apples, she searched diligently for Christ's Sepulchre wherein he was buried, and whence he arose, and though with great difficulty, yet by God's assistance she found it out. What was the reason of this Difficulty, I will in few words explain. Those that embraced Christ's Doctrine, did after the time of his Passion pay an high respect to that Monument. But the Heathens, who abhorred the Christian Religion, having covered the Place with an heap of Earth, erected thereon a Temple to Venus, and set up her image there, designing wholly to suppress the memory of that place. And this plot of theirs had for a long time succeeded. But the Emperor's Mother had notice hereof. Wherefore, having thrown down the image, remov'd the Earth, and wholly cleared the place, she finds three Crosses in the monument: One of them was that blessed Cross on which our Saviour

\* See Esai. 1. 8. where the Septuagint Version is, ὡς ὅτι ἐπεσκέψατο, which, in our English translation is thus worded, as a lodge in a Garden of Gucum. Rensden does expressly agree with the original had Hebrew.

(a) That is the Festival for his having arrived the twentieth year of his Empire.

*Constant.* had hung: The other two were those, on which the two *Thieves*, that were crucified with him, had died. There was also found with the Crosses *Pilate's* Title; whereon he had written in divers Languages, and proclaim'd that that *Christ* who was crucified, was the King of the *Jews*. But in regard 'twas dubious which of these was the Cross that was search'd for, the Emperor's Mother was not a little troubled hereat. This trouble the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, by name *Macarius*, soon eased her of; and by [the power of] his Faith clear'd the doubt: For he requested a Sign of God and obtain'd it; the Sign was this: A certain Woman of that Vicinage, having been oppress'd with a tedious and lasting Dis temper, was now just at the point of death. The Bishop therefore commanded every one of the Crosses to be applied to her now expiring, being per swaded in himself that if the Woman were touch'd by the precious Crosses [of the Lord] she should recover: Nor was his Hope frustrated: For the two Crosses which were not our Lord's being applied, the Woman nevertheless continued in her dying condition; but when the third, the true and genuine Cross was applied, the dying Woman immediately recover'd and was made whole. After this manner was the Cross found out: But the Emperor's Mother erected over the place where the Sepulchre was, a most magnificent Church, and call'd it (a) *New Jerusalem*, building it opposite to that old deserted *Jerusalem*. She left there one half of the Cross, inclosed in a Silver Case, as a Relique to be seen by those that shou'd desire it; the other half she sent to the Emperor, which when he had receiv'd, being fully perswaded that that City would be perfectly secure wherein such a Relique [as this was preserv'd], he hid it within his own Statue, (b) which is erected upon a vast Pillar of *Porphyr* in *Constantinople*, in the Forum, call'd from him *Constantine's Forum*. This

Sto ry I have recorded as it has been related to me; but almost all the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* do affirm it to be true. *Constantine* having also receiv'd the Nails with which *Christ's* Hands were fastned to the Cross; (for his Mother, having found them also in the Sepulchre, sent them to him: ) He order'd Bridges, [he erected another Church] upon the Mount, from whence he was taken up into Heaven. And she was so religiously and piously affected towards these things, that she would pray in the Women's company together with the others: She also invited those Virgins that were enrol led in the Catalogue of the Churches to an En

tainment: Where she herself waited, and brought the Meat to the Tables. Besides, she was very liberal both to the Churches; and also to the Indigent. [In fine,] having spent her life very piously, she died about the eightieth year of her age: And her Body was convey'd to the Imperial City *New Rome*, and deposited amongst the Imperial Monuments.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*How the Emperor Constantine abolish'd Gentilism, and erected many Churches in several places.*

AFTER this, the Emperor, becoming more solicitous about [the Propagation of] Christianity, abhor'd the Superstitions of the Gentiles: And first he abolish'd the Combats of the Gladiators: Afterwards he placed his own Statues in the Temples. The Heathens affirming that it was *Serapis* that caused the Inundations of *Nile*, whereby the Fields of *Egypt* were water'd, because there was a Cubit usually carried into his Temple, the Emperor (a) order'd *Alexander* to remove the Cubit into the Church [of the *Alexandrians*,] hereupon 'twas generally reported, that, because *Serapis* was disgusted, the *Nile* would not overflow; neverthe less, there hapned an Inundation on the ensuing Year, and afterwards, which also does continue to this day: And thus it was really demonstrated, that the Inundation of the *Nile* hapned not by the means of their Superstition, but by the decree of Providence. About the same time, those barbarous Nations, the *Sarmatæ* and the *Goths* made Inroads into the *Roman* Territories, and yet the Emperor's forwardness in building of Churches was not in the least interrupted thereby, but he made a commodious provision for both those Affairs. For, having put his confidence in the \* *Christian* Banner, he totally subdued those his Enemies; in so much that he took off the Tribute of Gold which had been customarily paid to the *Barbarians* by those Emperors who were his Predecessors; and that was the first time that they (being astonish'd at their prodigious Overthrow) were perswaded to embrace the Christian Religion, by which *Constantine* had like to the other Churches: One he built at that place called the *Oak of Mambre*, under which the sacred Scriptures tell us that the Angels were entertain'd by *Abraham*. For the Emperor being inform'd that Altars were erected under that *Oak*, and that Pagan Sacrifices were there perform'd, by his Letter he severely reprov'd *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*: And gave command that the Altar should be demolish'd, and an House of Prayer erected near that *Oak*. He also gave order for the building of another Church, in *Heliopolis*, a City of *Phœnicia*, for this

(a) *Socrates* borrow'd this Story out of *Eusebius's* third Book of *Constantine's* Life, Chap. 33. But mistakes in saying that the Church which was built over our Saviour's Sepulchre by *Helena*, or rather by *Constantine*, was call'd *New Jerusalem*. For *Eusebius* says no such thing: But he only alludes to the *New Jerusalem*, which is mentioned in *St. John's* Revelations. See our notes on *Euseb. Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 33. Valef.*

(b) *Philostorgius* does report that the People us'd to come to this Pillar with their Tapers, and worship it; which is very strange and almost incredible: But *Theodoret* does by his authority confirm it, in the first Book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, and the last Chapter. *Valef.*

(a) *Christopherson* and *Musubus* thought that these Words were transposed; they read them (as appears from their Version) thus, οὗ τοῦ κυβανταίου Ἀλεξάνδριον ἡ τοῦ κυβανταίου ἐκκλησία [the Emperor] order'd that the Cubit should be removed into the Church of the *Alexandrians*. But, because the word [κυβανταίου] cannot be taken in a passive sense, the place must be otherwise understood: Which from the *Sforzin* MS. we have thus restored: οὗ τοῦ τοῦ κυβανταίου ἡ τοῦ κυβανταίου ἐκκλησία [the Emperor] order'd *Alexander* to remove the Cubit into his Church [of the *Alexandrians*,] which emendation needs no confirmation. See *Ruffin. Eccles. Hist. Book 2. Chap. 23*. This order of *Constantine's* lasted not long. For *Julian* commanded that the same Cubit should be carried back again into *Serapis's* Temple, where it seems to have continued till *Theodosius's* Reign, and the demolition of *Serapis's* Temple. *Valef.*

\* He means that *Standard*, or *Banner*, which the Emperor order'd to be made, in figure like to the Cross that appear'd to him in the face of the Heavens. See Chap. 2. of this Book.

*Constantine.* this reason. What manner of Law-maker the Citizens of Heliopolis originally had, or what Person he was as to his Morals, I cannot certainly tell. But his Disposition is sufficiently demonstrated from that City : For the Law of their Country has commanded that the Women should be common amongst them, upon which Account the Children amongst them could not be known whose they were. For there was no distinction betwixt the Parents and the Children. Their Virgins they delivered to strangers that arrived amongst them, that they might deflower them. The Emperor made it his business to abolish this custom, which had so long prevailed amongst them. For having abrogated the flagitiousness of those unclean usages, by a discreet and chaste Law, he brought them to know and distinguish betwixt Families : And when he had built Churches, he took care that a Bishop should be ordain'd over them, and a sacred Clergy. Thus he reformed the impious usages of the Heliopolites, and made them more modest and civil. After the like manner also he demolish'd the Temple of Venus at Aphaca near [the mount] Libanus, and abrogated those impudent and obscene Mysteries there celebrated. What need I relate how he expell'd that Devil who pretended to utter Prophecies, out of Cilicia, commanding the house in which he lurk'd, to be demolished even to its very Foundations. Moreover, so ardent was the Emperors love for the Christian Religion, that being about to engage in a War with the Persians, he provided a Tabernacle made of Linen painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church (even as Moses did in the Wilderness) and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready. But this War went no further at that time: For it hapned to be immediately extinguish'd through the fear which the Persians had conceiv'd of the Emperor. But I think it unreasonable to relate here how diligent the Emperor Constantine was in repairing Cities, and how he turned many Villages into Cities ; as for instance, *Drepana*, which bore his Mother's name, and *Constantia* in Palestine, so called from his Sister's Name *Constantia*. For our Design is not to recount all the Emperor's Actions, but them only which belong to the Christian Religion, and those more particularly which were done about the Churches. Wherefore, the Emperor's famous exploits, in regard they are of a subject different [from mine,] and require a peculiar Treatise, I leave to others, that are able to commit to writing such Matters. Indeed, I my self, had the Church continued undisturbed by Factions and Discord, had been wholly silent. For where the Subject affords not matter proper for a Narrative, the Relator's Words are superfluous and useless. But in regard a subtle, vain, and insignificant craftiness in disputing, hath disturbed, and at the same time also dissipated and distracted the Apostolick Faith of Christianity, I supposed it requisite to commit these things to writing ; that so those Affairs which have been transacted in the Churches, might not be buried in silence. For the knowledge of these things does both procure great praise and commendation amongst most Men, and also renders him that is well versed therein much more solid and cautious ; teaching him not to fluctuate or stagger [in his sentiments,] when any \* vain babblings about words and

CHAP. XIX.

*Constantine.*

After what manner the Innermost Indian Nations were in the times of Constantine converted to Christianity.

NOW therefore we must record, how the Christian Religion was propagated in the times of this Emperor. For the innermost Indians, and the Iberians did then first embrace the Christian Faith. But we will briefly explain, what we mean by the addition of this Term, the Innermost. When the Apostles, about to take their Journey to the Heathens, in order to their preaching to them, had by lot divided them amongst themselves,

(a) Thomas received the Apostolate of the Parthians. To Matthew was allotted *Æthiopia*. Bartholomew had that *India* assign'd to him which lyes upon the confines of *Æthiopia*. But this innermost India, which is inhabited by several barbarous Nations, who make use of different Languages, was not enlightened with the Doctrine of Christianity, before the Times of Constantine. What was the cause of their embracing the Christian Religion, I come now to relate. One *Meropius*, a Philosopher, by birth a *Tyrian*, made it his business to see the Country of the Indians, emulating herein (b) *Metrodorus* the Philosopher, who a little before him had travelled over that same Country. *Meropius* therefore taking along with Philo-

(a) See book 3. chap. 1. of Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History : To which add this place of an anonymous Author out of the second Homily upon Matthew. Denique cum post resurrectionem. Domini Thomas Apostolus isset in Provinciam illam, advenit sum ei : & baptizati ab eo, facti sunt adjuvatores predicationis illius : Meaning the Persian Magi. Valef.

(b) This is whom Jerome has mention'd in his Chronicon ; who, returning from his Travails in India, presented Constantine with many gemms and pearls, and feigned that many more of greater value were taken from him by Sapor King of the Persians : which lie of his was the occasion of the Persian War, as Amm. Marcellinus attests, book 25. pag. 295. Edit. Valef. See Valefius's Notes on Amm. Marcell. pag. 304.

sophy, whom Jerome has mention'd in his Chronicon ; who, returning from his Travails in India, presented Constantine with many gemms and pearls, and feigned that many more of greater value were taken from him by Sapor King of the Persians : which lie of his was the occasion of the Persian War, as Amm. Marcellinus attests, book 25. pag. 295. Edit. Valef. See Valefius's Notes on Amm. Marcell. pag. 304. that a little before [his arrival there] the League betwixt the Romans and Indians had been broken. The Indians therefore took the Philosopher, and those that were in the Ship with him, and put them all to death, except his two young Kinsmen. Having saved the Lives of the two Youths, out of a compassion to their Age, they presented them to the King of the Indians. He, much pleas'd with the young Men's looks, made the one of them, whose name was *Adsius*, the Cup-bearer of his Table : To the other, whose name was *Frumentius*, he \* committed the custody of his Accounts and Evidences-Royal. Not long after this, the King dying (having left behind him a Son to be his Successor, who was a minor, and his Wife,) gave these two Young Men their liberty. But the Queen, seeing her Son left in his minority, spok to these two Persons to take care of him, till such time as he should come to maturity of Age. The young Men, in Obedience to the Queen, undertake the management of the King's Business. But *Frumentius* was the chief Person in managing the Affairs of State. And he was very earnest in

\* Rationes suas scripsisse commisit ; so Rufinus (from whom Socrates translated this story almost word for word) describes this young Man's Office ; book 1. chap. 9. Hist. Ecclesiast.

\* Kippowas terms shall happen to arise. See i Tim. 6. 20.

*Constant.* enquiring of the *Roman Merchants* who then came to trade in that country, whether there were any that embrac'd Christianity to be found among 'em. Having found some, and inform'd them who he was, he exhorted them to make choice of (c) some private meeting places for the performance of prayers therein, after the manner of *Christians*. Afterwards, within some short interval of time he built an oratory: and they, having instructed some *Indians* in the principles of Christianity, brought them to prayers with them. But afterwards, when the young King came to a maturity of age, *Frumentius* resigning to him the administration of the affairs of the Kingdom, which he had well manag'd, petitioned for leave to return into his own Country.

And tho' the King and his mother entreated him to stay, yet they could not persuade him, but being desirous to see his own Country, he, together with *Adesius* return'd home. *Adesius* hasten'd to Tyre to see his Parents and kindred: but *Frumentius* arriving at *Alexandria*, related the whole story to *Athanasius*, (d) who was then newly dignified with that Bishoprick; informing him of the circumstances of his travels, and that there was good grounds to hope that the *Indians* would embrace Christianity: [He also desir'd him] that he would send a Bishop and a Clergy thither, and that he ought in no wise to neglect those that might be brought unto salvation. *Athanasius* having taken into consideration what was most expedient to be done, entreated *Frumentius* himself to take upon him the Bishoprick, telling him that there was no man better qualified for it than he. Which was done. (e) *Frumentius* therefore dignified with an Episcopate, returns again to those

parts of *Africa*, which *Rufinus* had termed *Conventicula*. Now *Conventicula* are properly private Places wherein *Catholics*, or short Prayers are made; and from these places Churches are distinguished, which belong to the right of the Publick, and are not in the Power of any private Person. *Valef.*

(d) *Rufinus* says the same: *Tum vero Athanasius* (nam is super sacerdotibus supererat,) i.e. But then *Athanasius* (for he had a little before undertaken the Episcopate, &c.) But if we consider the matter more attractively, these things cannot be. For *Mercopius* the Philosopher is said to have travell'd into *India*, in imitation of the Philosopher *Metrodorus*, who had taken a view of that Country before him. But *Metrodorus*, return'd not from his *Indian* Journey before the Year of Christ 326. For at his return from *India* he presented the Emperor *Constantine* with gifts which he had receiv'd from the King of the *Indians*, as we remarked before in note (b.) in this chapter. Which must necessarily happen after the conquest of *Licinius*. For then *Constantine* first receiv'd the Empire of the East. Now, *Licinius* was vanquish'd at the latter end of the Year of Christ 324. *Mercopius* therefore, in regard, following *Metrodorus*'s Example, he attempted to travel over *India*, must have undertaken this journey some Years after him. Let us then suppose, that *Mercopius* went into *India* in the year of our Lord 327. On the year following, when he should have returned into his own Country, he was slain by the *Barbarians*. And *Adesius* and *Frumentius*, being as yet youths, were presented to the *Indian* King; and one of them was made his Cup-bearer; the other was set over his Ads and Evidences Royal. In which Offices both continued to the Kings death. Now, suppose they served the King three years. After this the *Indian* King dies, leaving his Son very young. But the Queen his mother entreated *Adesius* and *Frumentius* to undertake the Government of the Kingdom, till her Son were of Age. Let us also allow that the King's Son was about eight years old when his father died. In as much as *Frumentius* return'd not to *Alexandria* till the young King was grown a Man, it is wholly requisite that he should have manag'd the Affairs of the Kingdom at least ten Years. So *Frumentius* return'd to *Alexandria* about the Year of our Lord 341; in which year *Athanasius* was not newly made Bishop, but had held that Bishoprick above fifteen Years. From what we have said 'tis apparent, that this conversion of the *Indians* by *Frumentius* happen'd in the Reign of *Constantine*, not of *Constantine*, as *Rufinus*, and others that follow him, have related. *Valef.*

(e) *Athanasius* speaks of this *Frumentius*, in his Apologetic to the Emperor *Constantine*. And a little after mentions *Constantine*'s Epistle to *Arianus* and *Saxanas* the Kings of *Auxumia*, wherein he commands them to send *Frumentius* (whom *Athanasius* had ordained Bishop of *Auxumia*) to *Alexandria*, to *George* Bishop of that

City, that he might receive from him the Doctrine of the true Faith. Whence it appears, that *Frumentius* was at that time but newly ordain'd by *Athanasius*. Now this Epistle was written in the Year of Christ 356. *Baronius*, (in his Annotations on the *Roman Martyrology*), says that this *Frumentius* Bishop of *Auxumia* must be distinguished from the other *Frumentius* Bishop of the *Indians*. But I do assert, that he that was Bishop of *Auxumia*, and he that is styled the Bishop of the *Indians*, is one and the same *Frumentius*. For *Auxumia* is the Metropolis of *Æthiopia*. Now the *Æthiops* are by the ancients usually confounded with the *Indians*. So *Philostorgius* calls the *Æthiops* (who were the *Auxumites* neighbours) *Indians*. Also, the *Æthiops* who are now call'd *Abyssines*, call themselves *Indians*, and do acknowledge *Frumentius* to have been the Apostle of their Nation; as *Lucas Floddeus* attests in his Notes on *Baronius*'s *Martyrology*, which were lately publish'd at *Rome*. *Valef.*

the *Indians* Country, and there became a preacher of the Christian Religion; he founded many Oratories, and being vouchsafed [the assistance of] Divine Grace, he wrought many Miracles, and cured many Men's Bodies together with their Souls. These things *Rufinus* says he heard from *Adesius*'s own mouth, who was afterwards dignified with a Presbytership in the Church of Tyre.

## C H A P. XX.

After what manner the Iberians were converted to the Christian Religion.

IT is now a fit opportunity to relate after what manner the *Iberians* were at the same time converted to Christianity. A Woman who led a religious and chaste life, was, by the disposal of Divine Providence, taken captive by the *Iberians*. These *Iberians* dwell near the *Euxine Sea*; they are a colony of the *Iberians* in *Spain*. This captive woman therefore, living amongst the *Barbarians*, devoted herself to a Philosophick course of life. For together with the strictest and severest exercises of Chastity, she us'd herself to most tedious and lasting fasts, and to continued prayer. The *Barbarians* seeing this, were amaz'd at the strangeness and novelty of her actions. It happen'd, that \* the King's Son, being a very young child fell sick. The Queen, according to the custom of that Country, sent the child about to other women to be cured: if perchance by long experience they might know of any cure for the distemper. When the young child had been carried about by his nurse, and could find no cure from any of the women, he was at last brought to this captive Woman. She in the presence of many women, apply'd not any material remedy, for she had no knowledge of any such Medicines. But, having taken the child, she laid him upon her own womb, which was made of hair-cloth, and only spake these words: *Christ* (said she) who healed many, shall also cure this Child. Having added a prayer to these words, and invoked God's assistance, the child immediately recover'd, and from that time was very well. The report hereof was nois'd abroad among the *Barbarian* women, it came also to the Queen's ear; and the captive woman became more eminent. Not long after the Queen, being fallen into a distemper, sent for the captive woman. She having refus'd to go by reason of her modesty and bashful disposition, the Queen her self was convey'd to her. The captive woman does the same that she before had done to the child. And forthwith the sick Queen recover'd, and return'd her thanks to the woman. But she made her this answer, it is not I that do this, but *Christ*, who is the Son of that God, who made the world. She therefore exhorted the Queen to call upon



*Constant.* upon him, and to acknowledge the true God. The King of the *Iberians*, amazed at the suddenness of her recovery from the Disease, having enquired who it was that did these cures, preferred the captive Woman with Gifts. She answered, that she stood not in need of wealth, for piety was her riches. But that she should accept it as the greatest present, if he would acknowledge that God who was set forth and declared by her. With this answer she return'd his presents. The King treasured up her words in his breast. The next day this accident befel the King going out a hunting: There fell a mist and a thick darkness upon the tops of the mountains and forests where he was hunting, so that their sport was grown troublesome, and the way impassable. The King being in a very great strait, earnestly implored [the assistance of] those Gods whom he worshipped: But finding he was never the better, at last he bethought himself of the captive-womans God, and calls upon him to be his assistant. He had no sooner prayed, but the darkness caused by the mist was dispers'd. Admiring what was done, he return'd home with joy, and having told his Queen what had befallen him, he forthwith sent for the captive woman, and enquired of her who that God was, whom she worshipped. When the woman was come into his presence, she made the King of the *Iberians* to become a Preacher of Christ. For, having been perwaded by this devout woman to believe in Christ, he conveyed all the *Iberians* that were his Subjects; and when he had related to them all things concerning the cure of his wife and his child, and also what had befallen him in his hunting, he exhorted them to worship the God of the captive-woman. Thus therefore they both became Preachers of Christ, the King preach'd to the men, and the Queen to the women. Moreover, the King, informed by the captive woman of the fashion of those Churches amongst the *Romans*, commanded an Oratory to be built, and order'd a provision of all materials towards the building to be forthwith made. Therefore a Church was erected, and when they went about raising of the Pillars, Divine Providence attempts somewhat that might persuade the inhabitants of that Country [to embrace] the Christian Faith. For one of the Pillars continued immovable. No engine could be invented, that was able to stir it. But the ropes were broken, and the engines torn in pieces. The work-men therefore, desponding and quite out of heart, went away. Then was the captive womans Faith openly manifested. For she goes by night to the place without any bodies knowledge, and there stayed all night, spending the time in fervent prayer: and by God's Providence the Pillar was rais'd and stood fix'd in the air, higher than its basis, in such a manner that it did not in the least touch its basis. As soon as it was

and celebrated the praises of the captive-womans God. After this they believed [in Christ,] and raised up the rest of the Pillars with great alacrity of mind: and the whole building was in a short time perfectly finish'd. Afterwards an Embassy was sent from them to *Constantine* the Emperor, whereby they requested, that they might both in future be admitted to a confederacy with the *Romans*, and also have a Bishop and an holy Clergy sent to them. For they protested that they did sincerely believe in Christ.

*(b)* The This relation *Rufinus* says he had from *(b)* *Bacensius Florinus*, who had formerly been a Prince of *Iberia*: *rem.* and but afterwards coming over to the *Romans*, he *Asst.* M. was *(c)* made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*. At length he was advanced to the Office of a General, and did the Emperor *Theodosius* extraordinary good service, in the *(d)* War against *Maximus* the Tyrant. After this manner were the *Iberians* converted to the Christian Religion in the times of *Constantine*. *more truly, Bacurius, Zosimus* says, he was born in that *Armenia* which borders on *Iberia*, and that he was a man without all malice, or deceit, very expert in Military Affairs. But *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. and Book 2. Chap. 33. *Eccles. Hist.*) affirms he was a Prince of the *Iberi*; that he was a Person of great fidelity, very studious of Religion and Truth: First made a Captain within the limits of *Palestine*; afterwards *Comes* of the *Domesticks*; and lastly that he did *Theodosius* the Emperor great service in his War with *Eugenius*. Valef. See *Valefius's* notes on *Anm. Murcell.* pag. 320, &c.

*(c)* At this place *Socrates* mistook *Rufinus's* meaning. For *Rufinus* says, that *Bacurius* was a Captain, *Palestini* limits, of the *Palestine* limits; when he told him these things. But *Socrates* seems to have read in *Rufinus*, *Palestini militis duces*, that *Bacurius* was a Captain of the *Palestine* Militie. Valef.

*(d)* Here also *Socrates* is out. For *Bacurius* served not *Theodosius* in the War against *Maximus*, but in that against *Eugenius*: as *Rufinus* attests, Book 2. Chap. 33. *Eccles. Hist.* and *Zosimus*, Book 4. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Concerning Antonius the Monk.

IT would be superfluous for us to say any thing concerning *Antonius* the Monk, who at the same time lived in the Deserts of *Egypt*, [or to relate] what a man he was, how he openly strove with Devils, and detected all their stratagems and attempts; and how he wrought many miracles. For *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* has prevented us, having written a particular Book concerning his Life: Such a plenty of eminent Men was there, who lived at one and the same time, in the Reign of *Constantine*.

## CHAP. XXII.

Concerning Manes the Author of the Heresie of the Manichees, and whence he had his Original.

BUT it is usual for cockle to grow up amongst the good corn, for the envy [of the Devil] loves to lay snares for the righteous. Not long before *Constantine's* reign, there sprung up a kind of heathenish Christianity, together with the true Christian Religion, as heretofore false Prophets arose up together with the Prophets, and Pseudo-Apostles amongst the Apostles. For in those days one *Manicheus* attempted clandestinely to introduce the Opinion of *Empedocles* the Heathen Philosopher, into Christianity. This Man *See Ea. Eusebius Pamphilus* indeed has mention'd in the *7th* *Book* of his *Ecclesiastick History*, but has not accurately chap. 31.

*(1)* Instead of [ἡμετέροις τῶν ἀνδρῶν, well skilled in Architecture] I had rather read [ἀποστολῶν ἀνδρῶν, being very anxious.] I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote it thus. For in *Rufinus* (Book 1. Chap. 10. from whom *Socrates* borrowed this Relation) the Words are these, cum esse martirum & animum cum suis omnibus ingredientibus, &c. when behold the King, perplex'd in his mind, coming in the morning with all his attendants, &c. Valef.

ted, cried out that the King's Faith was true,

curately explained all things concerning him. Wherefore I judge it requisite to supply what he has omitted. For thereby it will be manifested, who this *Manicheus* was, whence he came, and how he arrived at so high a degree of audaciousness. One *Scythianus* a *Saracen*, married a captive Woman, a Native of the *Upper Thebais*. Upon her account he lived in *Aegypt*, and having been instructed in the Literature of the *Aegyptians*, he introduced the Opinion of *Empedocles* and *Pythagoras* into the Christian Religion: Asserting that there were two Natures, the one Good, the other Evil, (as *Empedocles* also did); the evil Nature he termed *Discord*; the good he called *Friendship*. One *Buddus*, heretofore named *Terebinthus*, was this *Scythianus*'s Scholar. This Man travelling into the Country of *Babylonia*, which is inhabited by the *Persians*, told many strange and prodigious things of himself, saying, that he was born of a Virgin, and educated in the Mountains. Afterwards he wrote four Books, one he entitled [the Book] of *Mysteries*; another, the *Gospel*; the third he called the *Thebais*, and the fourth *Heads*. But as he was counterfeiting the Performance of some mysterious sacred Rites, he was thrown down headlong by the Devil, and so died. The Woman, at whose House he sojourned, buried him. She having possessed her self of his Money, bought a Boy, about seven years old, by name *Cubrius*: This Boy she made free; and when he had bred him a Scholar, she died soon after, and left him all *Terebinthus*'s Estate, and the Books also which he had written, being instructed by *Scythianus*. *Cubrius*, now a Free-man, takes these Goods along with him, and travelling into *Persia*, changes his Name, calling himself *Manes*. Where he distributed *Buddus*'s, or *Terebinthus*'s Books, as his own genuine Works, amongst his seduced Followers. Upon these are the Subjects of those Books; in the Words they seemingly assert the Christian Religion, but [if] the Opinions [contained in them be attentively considered] they are [near a kin to] Gentilism. For *Manicheus*, being an impious Person, does incite [his Disciples] to worship a Plurality of Gods. He also teaches, that the (a) Sun is to be adored. Besides, he introduces Fate, and destroy man's Free-will. He apparently asserts a Transmutation of Bodies, following herein the Opinions of *Empedocles*, *Pythagoras*, and the *Aegyptians*: He denies that Christ existed in the flesh, saying, that he was a meer \* *Phantasm*. He does also reject the Law and the Prophets: And calls himself the *Paraclete*. All which Tenets, 'tis manifest, are wholly disagreeable to the Orthodox [Doctrine of the] Church. Moreover, in his Letters he has been so audacious as to stile himself an Apostle. But he met with a condign punishment for this impudent lie of his, [which befel him] upon this occasion. The Son of the King of *Persia* happened to fall sick; his

stone untuned, as the common saying is. Having heard of *Manicheus*, and supposing the wonders he did to the real and true, he sends for him, as if he had been an Apostle, hoping that he might preserve his Son's life. When he was come, in a fictitious and pretended manner he takes in hand to cure the King's Son. But the King, seeing that his Son died under his hands, clapt him in Prison, with a design forthwith to put him to death. He made his escape [out of Prison] into *Mesopotamia*, and saved himself: But when the King of *Persia* had intelligence of his abode in those Parts, he [caused him] to be brought from thence by force, and flead him alive: And having stuffed his skin with chaff, he hanged it up before the City Gates. These things, which we relate, are no forgeries of our own, (b) but (c) The we collected them out of a Book we read over, reading [intituled] *The Disputation of Archelaus, Bishop of Mesopotamia*, one of the Cities of *Mesopotamia*. For this *Archelaus* says, that he disputed with *Manicheus* face to face, and what we have written above concerning *Manicheus*'s Life, *Archelaus* himself does relate. Thus therefore does the envy [of the Devil.] as we said before, delight to entrap good Affairs when in their most flourishing aspect. But, for what reason the goodness of God should permit this to be done, (whether it be that he is desirous to have the true Opinion of the Church brought to the test and examined, and wholly to extirpate arrogancy, which usually grows up together with Faith, or for what other reason) is a question that cannot be solved without great difficulty and tediousness: Nor can it now be opportunely discussed by us. For, it is not our design to examine [the truth] of Opinions, or to make researches into the abstruse Accounts of Providence and the Judgment of God; but, according to our ability, to compose a narrative of the Affairs that have been transacted in the Churches. After what manner therefore the superstition of the *Manicheans* (c) sprang up a little before the times of *Constantine*, it has been sufficiently declared. Let us now return to the Series of those times, that are the proper subject of the History we design.

(a) It is manifest apparent that the *Manicheans* adored the Sun. *Libanius* relates the same concerning them, in Book 4. Epist. 140. wherein he commends the *Manicheans* that were in *Palestine* (but suppresses their name) to *Priscianus* the President of *Palestine*: *οι τον ηλιον τον δεσποτον της, &c.* i. e. Those men that worship the Sun without blood, and honour God with the second appellation, who chastize their belly, and account the day of their death to be gain; are found to be in many places, but are every where few in number. They injure no Man, but are mocked by some. I doubt not but by these Words *Libanius* means the *Manicheans*; for they cannot be agreeably attributed to any other Persons besides them. But he designedly omitted the mention of their name, because the name of the *Manicheans* was odious. Concerning the feigned facts of the *Manicheans*, see *Cyrill*, in his sixth *Cateches*. Valef.

\* That is, he had only the form and figure of a man; was imaginarily, not really such.

Father, desirous to save the life of his Son, left no

tests, in his Book de *Scriptor. Ecclesiast.* *Cyrill* of *Jerusalem* has mentioned this dispute, in his sixth *Catechism*. A fragment of this Work is in my hands, wherein is contained the History of the impious and perfidious *Manicheus*. But his disputation with *Archelaus* the Bishop, which was annexed to the close of this History, is wanting. In the room whereof is added *Archelaus*'s Epistle to *Diodorus* the Presbyter. I am beholden to the eminent *Emeritus Sigotius* for this monument, as also for many others. Valef. *Valefius* has published this Disputation of *Archelaus*'s in Latine, at the close of his Annotations upon *Socranus*, page 197, &c.

(c) In the Abat. M. S. the reading is *Crassus, sprang up* which is better than *Crassus, sprang up before*. After the same manner *Socrates* expresses himself in the beginning of this chapter. \* A metaphor taken from *Cockle*, which is wont to grow up with the Corn. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIII.

How *Eusebius* Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* Bishop of *Nice*, taking courage again, endeavoured to subvert the *Nicene Creed*, by plotting against *Athanasius*.

*EUSEBIUS* and *Theognis*, being returned from exile, recovered their own Churches, having (as we said before) extruded those that had been ordained [Bishops] in their Places: Moreover, they acquired great Interest and favour with the Emperor, who had an high esteem for



*Constant.* But how can it be, that *Cyrus* should accuse *Eusebius*, for being a *Sabellian*, who was himself a favourer of that Heresy? It is probable therefore that *Eusebius* was Deposed for some other Reasons. Moreover, at such time as *Eusebius* was Deposed, there was a very great Sedition raised in *Antioch*. And afterwards, [at the Conferences] about the Election of a Bishop, there was frequently kindled so great a flame [of Dissention,] that it wanted but little of destroying the whole City, the Populace being divided into two Factions: One Party of them contended vigorously for the Translation of *Eusebius Pamphilus* from *Cæsarea* in *Palestine* to [the See of] *Antioch*; the other Faction was very earnest to have *Eusebius* restored. The whole City in general favoured the one or the other Party [of the Christians.] The Military Forces also were drawn up in Battle array [on both sides] as it were against Enemies, in so much that they were just about making use of their Swords, had not God, and the fear of the Emperor repressed the Violence of the Multitude. For the Emperor by his Letters, (c) and *Eusebius* by his refusal of the Bishoprick, appeased the Tumult and Sedition. Upon which Account the Emperor admired him greatly, and writ a Letter to him, in which he commends his prudent resolution, calling him happy, because he was judged worthy to be Bishop not of one City, but almost of the whole World. It is recorded therefore that after this the See of *Antioch* was (d) vacant eight Years. But at length, by the diligence of those that plotted the subversion of the Nicene Faith, (e) *Euphronius* is ordained Bishop. Let thus much be related concerning the Synod convened at *Antioch* upon *Eusebius*'s Account. Soon after these things, *Eusebius* (who had long before left *Berytus*, and was now possessor of the Church of *Nicomedia*), made it his business, together with his confederates, to bring *Eusebius* again into *Alexandria*. But how they proceeded to effect this their Design, and after what manner the Emperor was persuaded to admit *Arius* and *Euzoïus* into his presence, we are now to relate.

(c) The meaning of this place is this. The Emperor, by his Letters written to *Antioch*, and *Eusebius*, by his refusing the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, appeased that tumult. Therefore these words [appeased the tumult and sedition] must in common belong to both the preceding clauses. *Valf.*

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when *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* had refused that See; *Paulinus* Bishop of *Tyre* was translated to that See, in the Year of Christ 329: As I before noted in the Tenth Book of *Eusebius*'s Ecclesiastical History, chap. 1. note (a.) Afterwards *Euphronius* succeeded *Paulinus*; or, as some will have it, *Eulalius*. After whom *Flavianus* was advanced to the See of *Antioch*, who (as *Arkanasius* attests in his second Apology against the *Arians*) was at the Synod of *Tyre*. *Valf.*

(c) *Socratus* says the same; and *Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (apud *Nicæam* in *Theodoro Oribodox. fidei*). Which is also confirm'd by *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, in his Encomium of *Eusebius Emisenus*, *Socratus* quotes his Words, in Book 2. Chap. 9. (Eccles. Hist.) But *Theodorus* (Book 1. Chap. 22. Eccles. Hist.) puts *Eulalius* between *Eusebius* and *Euphronius*, and says that he presided but a very short time. *Philostorgius* agrees with *Theodorus*. *Valf.*

## CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Presbyter, who made it his business to get *Arius* recalled.

THE Emperor *Constantine* had a sister whose name was *Constantia*. She had been married to *Licinius* who was heretofore colleague in the Empire with *Constantine*, but afterwards he became a Tyrant and was therefore put to death. She had a confidant, a Presbyter, one that

was a favourer of *Arianism*, who was reckoned amongst her Domesticks. This Man, prompted thereto by *Eusebius* and those of his Faction, did in his familiar Discourse with *Constantia* let fall some Words concerning *Arius*, saying, that the Synod had done him wrong, and that his sentiments were not such as Report represented them to be. *Constantia* having heard this was easily induced to give credit to the Presbyter. But she had not confidence to declare it to the Emperor. It happened that *Constantia* fell dangerously sick. The Emperor came daily to visit her in her sickness. But when she was brought into so dangerous a condition by her Dis temper, that she expected to die immediately, she recommends the Presbyter to the Emperor, declaring to him his industry, piety; and how well affected he was towards his Government: And immediately after she died. The Presbyter was [after this] made one of the Emperor's greatest Confidants. And having by degrees got a greater liberty of speaking, he relates to the Emperor the same things concerning *Arius*, that he before told his Sister; affirming that *Arius* had no other sentiments than what were agreeable to the Synod's determination: And that if [the Emperor] would admit him to his presence, he would give his consent to what the Synod had decreed: (a) Moreover, that he was falsely accused without the least of Reason. These Words of the Presbyter seemed strange to the Emperor. Thus therefore he answered [the Presbyter,] if *Arius* does consent to the Synod's determination, and has the same sentiments with that, I will both admit him to my presence, and also send him back to *Alexandria* with Reputation and Honor. Thus he answered, and immediately wrote to *Arius* after this manner.

*Charisius* read [the Emperor's Letter,] Moreover thus he was falsely accused without the least of reason. This story concerning the *Arian* Presbyter (whom *Constantia Augusta* recommended to her brother *Constantine*) *Socratus* borrowed out of *Rufinus*, book 1. chap. 11. Eccles. Hist. But I suspect the truth of it, for these reasons. First, because *Athenasius* (who does usually detect all the frauds of the *Arians*) has no where made mention of it. Secondly, in regard the name of this Presbyter is suppressed: For, if this Presbyter were in so great favour and authority with *Constantine*, (as *Rufinus* relates in the book and chapter now cited,) when the Emperor died, he should leave his Will, which he had written, in the hands of this Presbyter; doublets, he was worthy to have had his name mentioned. But, in my judgment, *Rufinus*'s authority is but small; for he wrote his History very carefully, not from the Records of Affairs transacted, but from fabulous stories, and relations ground barely on report.

## VICTOR CONSTANTINUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to Arius.

It has been sometime since made known to your Gravity, that you should repair to Our Court, in order to your being admitted to the enjoyment of Our presence. But we much admire, that you have not immediately performed this. Wherefore ascend forthwith a publick Chariot, and come with speed to Our Court: That having experienced Our benevolence and care, you may return to your own Country. God preserve you, beloved Brother. Dated before the fifth of the Kalends of December. This was the Emperor's Letter to *Arius*. Here I cannot but admire the Emperors care and zeal for Religion. For 'tis evident by this Letter, that he had before frequently exhorted *Arius* to a \* Recantation, in regard he reproves him, that after his frequent writing to him, *Arius* had not forthwith returned to the Truth. *Arius* therefore having received the Emperor's Letters, came soon after to *Constantinople*. There came along

\* Repetition of his error.

*Melitians*



metus was the Son of Constantine's Brother, he that some years after was made Cæsar by Constantine. But that is a great mistake. For Dalmatius the Censor was Constantine's Brother, and the Father of Dalmatius the Cæsar. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* confirms this, who writes thus concerning Constantine. Καὶ βασιλεύοντος τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Δαμασκίου τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως Constantine's Brother, and created Dalmatius (the Son of his Brother Dalmatius the Censor) Cæsar. Certainly, Dalmatius the Son of Dalmatius was (when these things were done) which are related by Athanasius) very young, and could not be as judge in so weighty an Affair. Besides, he lived at that time at Narbonne, and (together with Hanniballianus his brother) was an Hearer of Eusepius the Rhetorician. For from that City he was sent for by Constantine, and created Cæsar when very young (as Assegius affirms in his Book de Professor. Burdigal.) in the year of Christ 324. But that trial concerning the murder of Arsenius was before Dalmatius the Censor at Antioch, (as Athanasius attests,) in the year of Christ 332, according to Baronius's Opinion. Valef.

Constantine.

CHAP. XXVIII.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of Bishops should be convened at Tyre, upon account of the accusations brought against Athanasius.

THE Emperor had ordered a Synod of Bishops to meet, that they might be present at the Consecration of the Church which he had erected at Jerusalem. He therefore issued out an Order, that those Bishops [before they met there] should first be convened at Tyre, and by the by make researches into Athanasius's case: That so [all occasions of] contention being by this means wholly taken away, they might more peaceably perform the Solemnities of the Churches Dedication, and consecrate it unto God. (a) This was the thirtieth Year of Constantine's Empire. Moreover there were assembled at Tyre Bishops out of divers places, to the number of sixty, upon the summons of the monks of Diospolis, a Person that had born the Consecrated fullship Macarius the Presbyter was brought from Alexandria, bound in iron chains, under the custody of a guard of Soldiers. But Athanasius would not have come thither (not that he so much dreaded the accusations brought against him: For he was not conscious to himself that he was guilty of those things he was accused for: But he was afraid lest they should make any innovations there in opposition to what had by common consent been approved of at the Synod of Nice.) But yet he dreaded the Emperor's menacing Letters. For he had written to him, that if he would not come voluntarily and Al-riely, he should be brought by force. Therefore Athanasius also was present there, being necessitated to it. (b) This was the 28th year of Constantine's Empire. His 28th Year began (during the same Men's Consulates) on the 8th of the Calends of August, on which day Constantine celebrated his Tricennalia (i. e. the Festivals for his having arrived to the 30th Year of his Empire) as Marcus attests, (in East.) anticipating that Solemnity one whole Year. This anticipation of his Tricennalia has induced not only Socrates, but several others also, into a mistake. Valef.

CHAP. XXIX.

Concerning Arsenius, and his Hand which was reported to have been cut off.

MOREOVER, Divine Providence forced Arsenius to go to Tyre. For having neglected the commands which the Sycophants, whole hiring he was, had given him, he came in a disguise, to see what would be done there. It accidentally happened, that the Servants of (a) Archelaus (who was the Consulatus) heard some Persons in his Ecclesiastick History, says that this Archelaus was not the Consulatus (or President) of Phœnicia, but the Comes of the East. Valef.

an Inn say, that Arsenius (the Person reported to have been murdered) was there kept concealed in some [Citizens] house. When they had heard this, and had taken good notice of them that spoke these Words, they gave their Master an Account of what they had heard. He, without the least delay, immediately searched for the Man, and found him: And when he had found him, ordered he should be secured. And gives notice to Athanasius not to be in the least disturbed: For Arsenius was alive and present there. Arsenius being apprehended, denied that he was [Arsenius.] But Paul Bishop of Tyre, who had formerly known him, made it appear that he was the Person. Divine Providence having before hand disposed of these things after this manner, soon after Athanasius was summoned by the Synod. And when he had made his appearance, the Sycophants produced the hand, and enforced their Accusation [against him.] But he meant himself prudently. For he enquired of those that were present, and of his Accusers, whether any of them knew Arsenius. When a great many answered that they knew him very well, he caused Arsenius to be brought in before them, is the in- having his hands hid under his upper long Garment: Then he asked them again; is this the Man that hath lost his hand? Hereupon, they (ex- rendered- cepting those that knew whence the hand had been cut off) were astonished at the strangeness of the thing. For all the rest thought that Arsenius had really wanted a hand, and they expected that Athanasius would make his own Defence some other way. But he took Arsenius's Garment and turning it on one side, shews the Man's hand. Again, when some supposed that his other hand was wanting, he made a short stay, permitting them to continue dubious. Immediately after, without any further delay, he turned aside the other part [of his garment] and shewed Arsenius's other hand: After which he thus addressed himself to the company; Arsenius, as you see, is found to have two hands: As for the third, let my Accusers shew the place whence it was cut off.

Constantine

CHAP. XXX.

That Athanasius being found innocent, after his first Accusation, his Accusers made their escape by flight.

THESE Affairs concerning Arsenius having been thus transacted, they who had contrived this fraud, were reduced to a straight. But (a) In Archab, (who was also called John) Athanasius's Accuser, slipped away out of the Court of Judicature, and so made his escape in the tumult. Thus Athanasius cleared himself from this accusation, without making use of any exception. For he was confident, that the bare sight of Arsenius being alive would abash the Sycophants.

who is also called John. In the the Epistle of Alexander Bishop of Theſsalonica to Athanasius, he is also called Archab. Therefore, this Man had two Names, he was called Archab, by the Egyptians, which was his Country name: John was his Constantinick Name. He was a Bishop of the Meſſitan ſiſition at Memphis. Athanasius relates, that he was commanded by Constantine to agree with his Arch-Bishop. Athanasius means Constantine's Letter to John, which he gives an Account of, at Pag. 787. of his second Apology. Edit. Paris. Valef.

\* Παιδες. See Calvin. Lxxix. Juridic. in the Word Paragraphe.

## CHAP. XXXI.

That Athanasius fled to the Emperor, upon the Bishops not admitting of his Defence at his second Accusation.

BUT in his disproof of the false accusations brought against *Macarius*, he made use of legal exceptions. And first he excepted against *Eusebius* and his companions, as being enemies, alleging that no man ought to be judged by his adversaries. Afterwards he said, that it must be demonstrated, that *Severus* the Accuser had really procured the dignity of a Presbyter. For so it was written in the Libel of Accusation. But when the Judges would not allow of any of these exceptions, *Macarius's* cause was brought in. After that the Accusers were almost wearied out and quite faint, the further hearing of the cause was deferred till such time as some Persons should make a journey into *Marcote*, that they might make inquisition upon the place concerning all matters that were doubtful. But when *Athanasius* perceiv'd that those very persons were ordered to go, whom he had excepted against; (for *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Tecodrus*, *Macedonius*, *Valens*, and *Ursacius* were sent;) he cried out that their proceedings were treacherous and fraudulent. For it is unjust [said he] that *Macarius* the Presbyter should be kept in bonds, and that his Accuser, together with his Adversaries the Judges should go; and [that this was done] for this reason, [to wit] that the memorials of the Acts might be made up [in favour] of one side only. After *Athanasius* had spoke these words aloud, and made protestation before the whole Synod, and *Dionysius* the president, when he saw that no body took notice of him, he privately withdrew. Those therefore that were sent to *Marcote*, having registered the Acts in favour of one side only, as if those things had been most certainly true, (a) which the Accuser had deposed;

(a) This place is imperfect, as any one may perceive. It may be made perfect, if instead of [23. 10] we make this addition [*Eusebius* *his* *coram*], made their return to Tyre:] which we have followed in our Version. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXII.

That after Athanasius's departure, he was deposed by the Vote of the Synod.

A *Thanasius* being gone away, fled immediately to the Emperor. The Synod in the first place condemn'd him in his absence for deserting his cause. But when the Acts, which had been made up in *Marcote* arrived, they passed the sentence of deposition against him; loading him with reproaches in the (a) Libel of his deposition but mention'd not a word how shamefully the *Sycophants* had been vanquish'd in the accusation of the murder. *Arsenius* also, who was reported to have been murdered, was receiv'd by them.

(a) *Musen* and *Christophorus* render these words [*ἐν τῇ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου*] thus, *depositionis causa*, the causes of his deposition. But I suppose, that by these words is meant the Libel of his deposition, or the Synodical Epistle concerning the condemnation and deposition of *Athanasius*. *Socrates* uses the same term, in his second Book Chap. 1. If any one be desirous to peruse a copy of these Epistles, there is extant a Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Antioch*, concerning the deposition of *Paul of Samosata*; also, the Synodical Epistle of the Council of *Sardis*, concerning the deposition of *Gregorius*, *Alexandrinus*, *Valens*, *Ursacius*, and other *Arian* Prelates. Valef.

He had at first been a Bishop of the *Melitan* Confession. Herefore: But he subscrib'd *Athanasius's* deposition, as being at that time Bishop of the (b) *Hypellites*. And thus (which was very strange) he <sup>(b) In d. Athanasius</sup> that was reported to have been murdered by the reading is true, that *Athanasius*, being alive, deposed *Athanasius*. [*de-laudis*]

*ἡ πόλις, of the City of the Hypellites*,] as we noted before. *Stephanus* (*de Urbibus*) says *Hypellis* is a Town in *Egypt*; and that the inhabitants thereof are called *Hypellites*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXIII.

How the Synod, having left Tyre, came to Jerusalem, and after the Celebration of the Feast of Dedication of the New Jerusalem, readmitted *Arius* to Communion.

IN the interim the Emperors Letters arrived, commanding the Synod to give their speedy attendance at *New Jerusalem*. And immediately with all possible expedition they hastened from *Tyre* to *Jerusalem*. Where after they had finished the solemnities of the consecration of the places, they (a) readmitted *Arius* and his associates into the Church, saying, that they did it in obedience to the Emperors Letters, by which he had signified to them that he was fully satisfied as touching *Arius* and *Euzoius's* slaunder. Moreover, they wrote Letters to the Church of *Alexandria*, that all envy and hatred was now banish'd, and that the affairs of the Church were in a peaceable and sedate posture: and that *Arius*, in regard by his repentance he had acknowledged'd the truth, was in future to be receiv'd by them, and that deser-

lem Council is recorded; in which Epistle the Bishops who had been convened there for the Dedication of *Constantine's* Church, do testify, that they had received into Communion *the said Arius*, and his followers: Which they had done according to the Emperors command, who by his Letters had signified to them, that he himself knew that these Mens Faith was true and Orthodox, both from their own attestation by word of mouth, and also from the Libel of Faith which they presented to him. Which Libel *Constantine* had annex'd to his Letters. Now, he means that Libel of Faith, which *Arianus Euzoius* had presented to *Constantine*, mentioned by *Socrates* before, at the 26th chapter of this first Book; and by *Sophronius*, Book 2. Chap. 27. For when *Arianus* had presented a Libel of his Faith to *Constantine*, *Constantine*, believing his Doctrine to be agreeable to the *Nicene* Faith, would not himself give his judgment concerning this matter; but remitted him to the examination of the *Jerusalem* Council, as *Rufinus* and *Sophronius* do relate. *Athanasius* also (in his Book de Synodo) shews expressly, that *Arius* and his associates were received into communion by the *Jerusalem* Synod: his words are *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ Ἱερουσαλὴμ τὸν ἀρειανιστὴν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφεοὺς αὐτοῦ ἐδέξατο*, and after the banishment of *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, writing that they should admit to communion *Arius* and his followers, &c. But I suppose that *Arius*, his name sake, who had been condemn'd by *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria*, together with *Arius* his Ringleader. For *Arius* the Arch-Heretic died long before the *Jerusalem* Synod, as I have evidently prov'd in my second Book of Ecclesiastical Observations, chap. 1. [The Learned Reader will find three Books of Ecclesiastical Observations written by *Valefius*, and publish'd at the latter end of the second Vol. of his Greek Ecclesiastical Histories.] Therefore, that *Arius*, who together with *Euzoius*, presented a Libel of his Faith to *Constantine*, is a different Person from *Arius* the Arch-Heretic. Which may be demonstrated by another Argument. This *Arius* who presented a Libel to *Constantine* together with *Euzoius*, was not restored before the *Jerusalem* Synod, that is, before the year of Christ 335; nor joynd to the Catholic Church. For he requests of the Emperor in the foregoing Libel, that all alterations being taken away by his piety, he may be united to the Catholic Church. But *Arius* the Arch-Heretic was recalled from exile long before, and readmitted to communion, as the penitentiary Libel of *Eusebius* and *Theognus* do attest. For *Eusebius* and *Theognus* do say there expressly, that the Author of the whole controversy (to wit, *Arius*) having given satisfaction, was entirely restored. Further, *Eusebius* and *Theognus* sent that Libel to the Bishops in the year of Christ 328. as I shew'd before. Therefore *Arius* the Arch-Heretic must necessarily have been recalled at the beginning of the same Year. Valef.

vedly,



C H A P. XXXIV.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
the Bishops Assembled at Tyre.

they worship out of a dread towards Us. But  
(c) we, who seem to have a greater esteem for, (for  
We will not say, to defend) the holy mysteries of Allatius's  
his Church : We say, We do nothing else, but what M. S. and  
belongs to discord and hatred, and (to speak plain in Athana-  
ly) what tends to the destruction of mankind. But first, the  
as we said before, come all of you to Us speedily [reading of  
with a full assurance, thoue with our utmost vigour] in this place  
we will endeavour the accomplishing of this, [Name] &c. &c.  
ly that those things [comprehended] in the Law &c. &c.  
of God may most especially be prefer'd firm and seem to  
unshaken (on which no reproach or ill opinion can have a  
possibly be fixt,) to wit, by dissipating, breaking great &c.  
to pieces, and utterly destroying the Enemies of the — the holy  
Law, who under the covert of [Christ's] holy mysteries  
Name introduce various and different sorts of Blasphemy.

read this passage thus also, as appears from his Version : where, instead of [*We, who seem, &c.*] it is [*Ye, who seem, &c.*] which is confirmed by the *Florent.* M. S. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXXV.

*That, when the Synod came not to the Emperor, the Eusebians accused Athanasius, as if he had threatened, that he would prohibit the carriage of that Corn, with which Alexandria furnish'd Constantinople. Whereupon the Emperor, being incens'd, banish'd Athanasius, confining him to the Gallia's.*

THIS Letter put those present at the Synod into a great perplexity of mind. Wherefore most of them returned to their own Cities. But *Eusebius*, *Theognis*, *Maris*, *Patrophilus*, *Ursacius* and *Valens*, going to *Constantinople*, would not suffer any further enquiry to be made concerning breaking the Cup, overturning the [Communion] Table, and the murdering of *Arsenius*: but they proceeded to another calumny, having informed the Emperor, that *Arbanasius* had threatened to prohibit the sending of the Corn, which was usually convey'd from *Alexandria* to *Constantinople*: And that these words were said by *Arbanasius* in the hearing of *Adamantius*, *Anubion*,<sup>(a)</sup> *Arbatbion* and *Peter*, all Bishops. For a calumny hath a greater force and prevalency, when the false Accuser is a person of repute and credit. The Emperor thus circled *Arbesion*. But it must be read with a Diphthong, thus: *Arbatian*. For 'tis a Greek name derived from *Arbat*; of which name there was a Consul in *Constantius's* reign, as I have observed in my Notes on *Amm. Marcellin.* Valef.

cum Yented

(1) In Athanasius's second Apology against the Arians (where the Epistle of Confession<sup>1</sup> is recorded) the reading is: *ἑστὴν ἡμεῖς, together with some others*.<sup>2</sup> But the reading we follow, to wit, *ἑστὴν ἡμεῖς τῶν μετὰ τῶν ἐπισκόπων*, *with some Presbyters*,<sup>3</sup> is better; which is confirmed by Epiphanius, *Schismaticus*. Vale!

cern who he was, had not  
 some of Our [Servants] upon Our enquiry told  
 Us (as it was meet) both who he was, and what  
 injuries he had suffered. At that time We nei-  
 ther spake to, nor had any discourse with him.  
 But when he requested that he might be heard,  
 and We had refused that, and in a manner ordered  
 he should be removed from our presence; with a  
 greater confidence he said, that he desired nothing  
 else but your appearance here, that (being necessi-  
 tated thereto) he might in Our presence make a  
 complaint of his sufferings. Wherefore in regard  
 this seemed reasonable to Us, and a matter befitting  
 Our times, We willingly gave order for the writing

*Constant.* cum vented and inehed, punifheth *Athanasius* with banifhment, ordering him to inhabit the *Gallia's*. There are thofe that fay this was done by the Emperor, with a defign thereby to procure a general Union in the Church, in regard *Athanasius* had wholly refufed to communicate with *Arius* and his followers. But he lived [in exile] at *Triers* a City of *Gallia*.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning *Marcellus* [Bifhop] of *Ancyra*, and *Asterius* the *Sophifta*.

THE Bifhops that were convened at *Constantinople* did alfo depofe *Marcellus* Bifhop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the left, upon this Account. There was one *Asterius*, a Profeflor of Rhetorick in *Cappadocia*, who left the teaching of that Art, and owned himfelf a Profeflor of the Chriftian Religion. He alfo took in hand to write Books (which are extant to this Day) wherein he afferted *Arius's* Opinion, faying, that Chrift is the Power of God in the fame fence that the Locuft and Palmer-worm are in *Moses* laid to be the Power of God, and other fuch like [Blafphemies] as thefe. This *Asterius* was continually in company with the Bifhops, and with thofe Bifhops moft epecially that were not difaffected to *Arianifm*: Moreover, he came frequently to Synods, being very defirous to creep into the Bifhoprick of fome City. But he got not fo much as a Presbyter-fhip, becaufe he had facrificed in the time of Perfection. He went up and down to the Cities of

(a) *Athanasius* (in his Book *De Synodis*) fays that this *Asterius* fat in the Church amongft thofe that were of the Clergy, and recited his Books in publick Valef.

(b) In the *Allat*, M. S. the reading is [*advocatus*, to write againft him.] So *Epiphanius* fcholaft. feems to have read.

*Paul* of *Samofata* did. convened at *Jerufalem*. no notice of *Asterius*, in the Catalogue of the Presbyters. But they re-

quired of *Marcellus*, as being a Prieft, an Account of the Book (c) written by him. And when they found *Marcellus's* that he held *Paul* of *Samofata's* Principles, they commanded him to alter his Opinion. He, altham'd titied, [of what he had done,] promifed to burn his Book. But the convention of Bifhops being haftily diffolved, upon the Emperor's fummoning of them to *Constantinople*; when the *Eusebians* came to *Constantinople*, *Marcellus's* Cafe was again difcuffed. And *Hilarius* informs us, in the fragments of his book, *De Synodis*. Valef.

upon *Marcellus's* refufal to burn his impious and unhappy Book according to his promife, the Bifhops there affembled depofed him, and fent *Basilus* in his room to *Ancyra*. Moreover, *Eusebius* wrote three Books by way of Answer and Confutation of this Book, [of *Marcellus's*], in which he manifefly laid open and reproved his falfe Opinion. But *Marcellus* afterwards recovered his Bifhoprick in the Synod of *Sardis*, faying, that his Book was not rightly understood, and therefore he was judged to favour *Paul* of *Samofata's* Doctrine. But we will fpeak of this in its proper place.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

*How, after Athanasius was exiled, Arius, being sent for from Alexandria by the Emperor, raised Disturbances againft Alexander Bishop of Constantinople.*

WHILE thefe things were tranfacted, the thirtieth Year of *Constantine's* Reign was completed. (a) *Arius* and his followers being returned to *Alexandria*, caufed a general difturbance in that City again. For the populace of *Alexandria* were very much troubled both at *Arius* and his Complices's return, and alfo at the exile of their Bifhop *Athanasius*. But when the Emperor underftood the

perverfenefs of *Arius's* mind, he ordered him to be fent for again to *Constantinople*, thereto give an Account of the difturbances he had endeavour'd to rekindle. *Alexander*, who had fome time before that fucceeded *Metropolitan*, did then prefide over the Church of *Constantinople*. The conflict this Man had with *Arius* at that time, was a fufficient Proof of his Piety and Acceptablenefs to God. For upon *Arius's* arrival there, both the People were divided into two Factions, and there alfo arife an univerfal commotion all the City over: Some of them affirming, that the *Niceene Creed* ought to continue unshaken and without any alteration; and others pertinaciously afferting that *Arius's* Opinion was conforant to Reason; *Alexander* was hereupon reduced to a great ftraight. And more epecially, becaufe *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* had forely threatened him, faying, that he would forthwith caufe him to be depofed, unlefs he would admit *Arius* and his followers to Communion. But *Alexander* was not fo follicitous about his own Depofition, as he was fearful of the enervating of the Doctrine of Faith, which they earnestly endeavour'd to fubvert. For looking upon himfelf as the Keeper and Patron of the Determinations made by the [*Niceene*] Synod, he made it wholly his bufinefs to prevent the wrefling and depravation of thofe Canons. Being therefore reduced to thofe extremities, he entirely bid farewell to [the aliftances of] Logic, and made God his Refuge. He devoted himfelf to continual Fasts, and omitted no form or manner of Praying. Now, he made this refolution within his own mind, and what he had refolved he fecretly perform'd. Having fhut up himfelf alone in the Church which is called *Irene*, he went to the Altar, laid himfelf prostrate on the Ground under the (b) Holy Table, and poured forth his Prayers [to God] with tears: he continued doing this for many Nights and Days together. Moreover, he asked of God, and received [what he had defired.] His Petition was this; [That if *Arius's* Opinion] were true, he might not fee the Day appointed for the Difquifition thereof: But, if that Faith which he profefled were true, that *Arius* (in regard he was the Author of all thefe mifchiefs) fhould miftly fuffer condign punifhment for his impiety.

under the altar. *Severmen* tells the fame ftory; Book 2. Chap. 28. Valef.

over the City, nay I may say over the whole World. But the Emperor did more zealously adhere to Christianity, and said that the *Nicene* Faith was now truly confirmed by God himself. He was also very glad, both at what had happened, and also upon the account of his three

## CHAPTER XXXIX.

(b) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*, Book 1. *Euseb.* Chap. 1. But this story seems to me very improbable. I cannot believe that the Emperor *Constantine*, who then had many Bishops about him, (so *Eusebius* says expressly,) as also *Grandeus Perion*, (for his name is always concealed) to whom he might commit the keeping of his Will, when he died. Wherefore, I had rather follow *Philostorgius* here, who says, that *Constantine* delivered his Will to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, by whom he had been baptized a little before. *Val.*

## CHAPTER. XL.

*Concerning Constantine the Emperor's Funeral.*

They that were about the Emperor, put his Corps in a Coffin of Gold, convey'd it to *Constantinople*, and placed it [on a Bed of State] on high in the Palace; and there they paid their honorary respects to it, and set a guard about it, as when he was alive. This course they continued, till one of his Sons came. But when

**Constan-**

*Constant.* *Constantinus* arrived out of the Eastern parts, he was honour'd with an Imperial Sepulture, and deposited in the Church called *The Apostles*; which he himself had erected for this reason, that the Emperors and Prelates (a) might not be far inferior to the Reliques of the Apostles. The Emperor *Constantine* liv'd to the age of sixty five years: he reigned one and thirty years: and died in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus*, upon the twenty second

(a) *Museus* and *Christophorus* have rendered this place thus, *Licinius* and *Titianus*, upon the twenty second *toros & Antistetes reliquiis apostolorum destinarentur*, that the Emperors and Prelates might not be deprived of the Apostles' reliques. But I cannot approve of this Version. For *Constantine* had deposited no reliques of the Apostles in that Church. I would therefore rather translate it thus, that the Emperors and Prelates there to be buried, might not be far inferior to the Apostles' Reliques; but might be affected with the same degree of honour with them. Which interpretation *Eusebius* confirms, in Book 4. Chap. 40. Concerning the Life of *Constantine* Valel.

day of *May*: which was the (b) second year of *Constantine*. the two hundredth seventy eighth *Olympiad*. Now, this Book contains in it the space of thirty one years.

(b) *Socrates* mistakes here. For in the consulate of *Felicianus* and *Titianus* (which was the year of Christ 337) on the eleventh of the *Calends* of *June* (i. e. on the 22d of *May*) the fourth year of the 278th *Olympiad* was current. Which may be demonstrated by most evident reasons. But *Socrates* seems to have made use of a corrupt Copy of *Eusebius's* *Chronicle*, wherein the year of the *Olympiad* was erroneously set. But, at this place of *Socrates*, we ought rather to read *The third Year*. For *Socrates* says, that this first Book of his *History* contains the space of One and thirty years. For he begins from the beginning of *Constantine's* Reign, who, as he says, reigned One and thirty years. The beginning of his Reign he places on the first year of the 271 *Olympiad*, as we saw before. Now from this year to the second year of the 278th *Olympiad* there are but thirty years, including therein the two terms. Wherefore, there must necessarily be a mistake in this place of *Socrates*. Valel.

## OF THE

OF

*SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.*

**R**ufinus (he that wrote an *Eccelesiastick History* in the Latin tongue,) has erred concerning [the notation of] the times. For he supposes, that what was done against *Arthanasius*, hapned after the death of *Constantine* the Emperor. He was also ignorant of his banishment into the *Gallia's*, and of several other things. We having at first follow'd *Rufinus* [as our Author,] wrote the first and second Book of our History according to his authority. But from the third to the seventh Book we have made a collection of some passages, partly out of *Rufinus*, and partly out of various other Authors, and related others from those which do yet survive; and so have compleated our work. But when we had afterwards procured *Arthanasius's* Books, wherein he laments his own calamitous sufferings, and how he was banish'd by the calumny of the *Eusebian* faction; we thought it more expedient to credit him (who had suffer'd these hardships) and those who had been present at the transacting of these matters; rather than such as have followed conjectures [in their relations] thereof, and for that reason have been mistaken. Besides, having gotten [several] Letters of persons at that time very eminent, to our utmost ability we have diligently traced out the truth. Upon which account we have been necessitated \*entirely to omit to dictate again the first and second Book [of this Work,] making use [nevertheless] of those passages, in the relation whereof *Rufinus* hath not forsaken the truth. Moreover, notice is to be taken, that in our former Edition we had not inserted *Arius's* Libel of Deposition, nor the Emperor's Letters; but had only set forth a bare relation of the affairs transacted, that we might not dull our Readers by a prolix and tedious Narration. But in regard that this also was to be done in favour to you

stance, who had a little before been the cause of *Arius's* being recalled from banishment. But, how this was effected, we must relate. That Presbyter [we have mention'd] presented *Constantine's* last will and commands, which he had received from the Emperor at his death, to the Emperor's Son *Constantius*. He having found that written in the Will which he was very

 $\gamma_2$ 

desirous

Constantinus.

desirous of ; (for by the Will the Empire of the East was committed to him) had an honorary respect for the Presbyter, allow'd him a great liberty of speaking, and order'd he should freely and with confidence come into the Palace. This liberty therefore being allowed [the Presbyter,] made him in a short time well known both to the Emperess, and also to her Eunuchs. The principal person of the Emperor's Bed-chamber at that time was an Eunuch, whose name was *Eusebius*. The Presbyter perswaded this person to embrace *Arius's* opinion. After which, the rest of the Eunuchs were prevailed with to be of the same opinion. Moreover, the Emperor's Wife also, by the perswasion of the Eunuchs and this Presbyter, became a favourer of *Arius's* Tenets. Nor long after, this question came to [the hearing of] the Emperor himself. And by degrees it was spread abroad, first a-

### CHAPTER. III.

How Athanasius, confiding in the Letter of Constantine the Younger, returned to Alexandria.

CONSTANTINUS CÆSAR,  
to the People of the Catholick Church  
of the *Alexandrians*.

Constan.  
ins.

It has not, we suppose, (a) escaped the knowledge of your Sacred Mind, that Athanasius an Interpreter of the venerable Law, was therefore sent into the Gallia's for a time, left (in regard the Barbarity of his blood-devouring Enemies and Adversaries continually menaced his Sacred Head with imminent danger,) he should undergo incurably Mischief through the perverseness of wicked Men. In order therefore to his frustrating of this [Barbarity,] he was snatch'd out of the jaws of those perijans that designed his ruin; and enjoyed to live under our Disfrict, in such a manner that, in that City wherein he was ordered to make his residence, he should abound with all manner of Necessaries; although his most eximious Virtue, having put in confidence in the Divine Assistance, seems as nothing the Troubler of a rougher Fortune. Wherefore, although our Lord and Father Constantinus Augustus of blessed memory, had determined to return this Bishop to his own \* See, \* Place. and [revert him] to your most Amiable Piety: Yet in regard, being prevented by human chance, he died before the accomplishment of his desire; We being his Successor, thought it agreeable to fulfil the mind of that Emperor of sacred memory. [Moreover,] how great a reverence and respect he has procured from us, you shall know from himself, as soon as he shall come into your presence. Nor is it a wonder that We have done any thing in favour to him: for both the representation of your Love, and also the aspect of so great a Personage moved and excited Our Mind hereto. May the Divine Providence preserve you, dearst Brethren.

in the year of Christ 338, to wit, the year after Constantine's death; y who perceiving the forefaid Prelate to be pressed on every side by the Calumnies of his Adversaries, had for a time banished him into the Gallia's. But I do maintain, that Athanasius was restored in the year of Christ 377, when Felixianus and Titinius were Consul, in that very year wherein Constantine died : which I can make evident, as I suppose, by a most demonstrable argument. For Athanasius (in his second Apology against the Arians, pag. 805.) relates, that he was released from his banishment, and returned to his Country in Constantine the younger, who also wrote a Letter in his behalf to the Populate and Clergy of the Alexandrian Church. This Letter [is Socrates does here,] Athanasius thus recites : the interpretation of it, this; *Constantinus Cæsar, in the People of the Catholic Church of Alexandria.* The subscription of this Letter thus ended, *I have written this Epistle to thee, O my dear Son, in the name of our Father, &c.* In the beginning of this Letter, does stand what I say, to wit, that Athanasius was released from his exile soon after the death of Constantine the Great, in the year of Christ 317. For if he had been restored to the year following, then Constantine the younger would not have called himself Cæsar, but Augustus. Nor would Athanasius have been restored by Constantine the younger, but by Constantius, to whom was allotted the Eastern part of the Empire. Wherefore, in regard Constantine Riles himself only Cæsar in that Letter, and since Athanasius conceits, that he was restored by Constantine the younger, 'tis apparent, that that was done, before the Sons of Constantine the elder were to the Soldiers proclaimed Augusti. For, upon Constantine's Death, there was a certain Interregnum ; and the Roman World continued without an Emperor almost three Months, till the Brethren (who under the name of Cæsars Governed divers Provinces) had met together, in order to their making a division of the whole Roman Empire. Constantine died on the eleventh of the Calends of June, and on that very year there were three Augusti proclaimed, to wit, Constantinus, Constansius and Constans, on the fifth of the Ides of September ; (as it is recorded in the Old Fasti, which Jacobus Sivegnandus published under the false name of Iulianus. This is that which Eufræsius writes in his fourth Book of Constantine's Life, chap. 71. to wit, that Constantine retained his Empire after his death, and that all Rescripts and Edicts bore his name, as if he had been veray live. For this reason therefore Constantine the younger Riles himself Cæsar only, in his Letter to the Alexandrians, in regard he was not yet crowned Augustus. For the Letter was dated on the sixth of the Calends of July. But he was crowned Augustus (to wit, with his brethren) on the fifth of the Ides of September. Moreover, at that time (whilst the Brothers were titled Cæsars only) Constantinus Junior was the chief in Authority, because he was the eldest Brother. See Valerius's first Book of Ecclesiastical Monitions on Socrates and Sozomen. Chap. i.

Upon

*Constantianus* Upon the confidence of this Letter *Athenasius* comes to *Alexandria*, and the people of *Alexandria* most willingly received him. But as many as were followers of *Arius's* Opinion, entered into a combination and conspired against him. Hereupon continual Seditions arose, which gave an occasion to the *Eusebian* faction of accusing him before the Emperor, because upon his own inclination and award (without the determination of a general Council of Bishops) he had return'd and taken possession of the [*Alexandrian*] Church. And they made for great a proficiency in their calumnies, that the Emperor, being incensed, expelled him out of *Alexandria*. But, how that was effected, I will a little after this relate.

## C H A P. IV.

*That upon Eusebius Pamphilus's Death, Acacius succeeded in the Bishoprick of Cæsarea.*

**D**URING this interval of time, *Eusebius* (who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, and had the surname of *Pamphilus*) departed this life, and *Acacius* his Scholar succeeded him in that Bishoprick. This *Acacius* published many other Books, and also wrote [particularly] concerning the Life of his Master [*Eusebius*].

## C H A P. V.

*Concerning the Death of Constantine the Younger.*

**N**OT long after this, the Emperor *Constantius's* Brother, (who bore the same name with his Father,) *Constantine the Younger*, invading those parts [of the Empire] that belonged to his younger brother *Constantine*, and ingaging with his Soldiers, is slain by them, in the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proculus*.

## C H A P. VI.

*How Alexander Bishop of Constantinople, at his Death, proposed Paulus and Macedonius to be elected into his Bishoprick.*

**A**T the very same time, the City *Constantinople* was involv'd in another tumult (which follow'd on the neck of those [disturbances] we have before related,) raised upon this account. (*a*) *Alexander*, who presided over the Churches in that City, [a Prelate] that

here, (and all those that follow him,) in placing the death of *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* on the Consulate of *Acindynus* and *Proculus*, in the year of Christ 340. In the second Book of my Ecclesiastick Observations upon *Socrates* and *Sozomen* [the Learned Reader will meet with *Valesius's* Ecclesiastick Observations upon *Socrates* and *Sozomen*, at the close of *Valesius's* second Volume of the *Greek Ecclesiastick Histories*; he may find the matter discussed at the first Chapter of the second Book of those Observations.] I have by most evident arguments demonstrated, that *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* died in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and that *Paul* succeeded him, during the Reign of the said *Constantine*. *Baronius*, who places *Alexander's* death on the year of Christ 340, does manifestly contradict himself. For he says, that the Synod of the Bishops of *Egypt* (which was summoned to confute the Calumnies brought against *Athenasius* by the *Eusebian* Faction,) was convened in the year of Christ 339. But those Bishops do expressly assert, in their Synodick Epistle, that at that very time *Eusebius* had left *Nicomedia*, and had leapt into the *Constantinopolitan* See. This needeth to quote the words of that Epistle here, in regard they are produced by *Baronius* himself, at the year of Christ 340. Now, if *Eusebius* had gotten the See of *Constantinople* in the year of Christ 339, *Alexander* must necessarily be supposed to have been dead before this year. *Valef.*

had courageously opposed *Arius*, departed out of this life, after he had spent twenty three years in that Bishoprick, and had lived ninety eight years compleat, having ordained no body [to succeed] in his place. But he commanded those to whom the power of electing belong'd, to make choice of one of those two whom he should name. And if they were desirous of having one that should be both skilful in teaching, and also of an approved piety and uprightness of life, [he advised them] to make choice of *Paulus*, one that he had ordained Presbyter; a person that was a young man indeed in respect of his age, but old in understanding and prudence. But if they would rather have one commendable for an external shew of piety only, they might elect (*b*) *Macedonius*, who had long since been made a Deacon of that Church, and was now grown aged. Hereupon there hapned a great contest concerning the Ordination of a Bishop, which very much disturbed that Church. For the people were divided into two \* Factions; the one side adhered to the *Arian* Opinion; the other embraced the determinations made at the *Nicene* Synod. And as long as *Alexander* continued alive, the † *Homosousian* party prevailed; † That is, the *Arians* disagreeing and contending daily at those that amongst themselves concerning their own Opinion. But after *Alexander's* death, the success of Christ to be of the of the peoples contest was dubious. Therefore, the *Homosousian* party proposed *Paulus* to be ordained Bishop. But those that embraced *Arianism*, were very earnest to have *Macedonius* elected. And in the Church called (*c*) *Irene* (*c*) There (which is near that Church now named *The were two Great Church*, and the Church of *Sophia*,) *Paulus* is ordained Bishop; in which [Election] the Suffrage of *Alexander*, then dead, seem'd to have prevailed.

(b) This Person was afterwards promoted to the degree of Presbyter under *Paul* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and accused his own Bishop, as *Athenasius* relates, in his Epistle ad Solitar. Valef.

the Old, the other the New *Irene*; as it is recorded in the Life of *Paul* the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop, which *Plinius* relates in his *Bibliotheca*. Moreover, the Old Church called *Irene* was contiguous to the Great Church, which was afterwards named *Sophia*; nor had it separate Clergy-men; but the Clergy of the Great Church by turns ministered in that Church. The Emperor *Justinian* informs us of this, in the third Novel. In the old description of *Constantinople*, which is prefixt before the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, this is called the Old Church, and 'tis plac'd in the second Ward of the City, together with the Great Church. The Church *Irene* (so wit, *The New Irene*;) is recounted in the seventh Ward of that City. *Socrates* hath made mention of *The Old Irene*, in his first Book, Chap. 37. It is termed the Church of *Saint Irene*, after the same manner that the Church *Sophia* is called *Saint Sophia*; not that there was a Virgin, or Martyr, called by that name. *Valef.*

## C H A P. VII.

*How the Emperor Constantius ejected Paulus, who had been ordained Bishop: and, having sent for Eusebius from Nicomedia, entrusted him with the Bishoprick of Constantinople.*

**B**UT the Emperor, arriving not long after at *Constantinople*, was highly incensed at this Ordination [of *Paulus*]. And having convened a Council of Bishops that embraced *Arius's* Opinion, he vacated *Paulus's* [Bishoprick]. And he translated *Eusebius* (*a*) from *Nicomedia*, and constituted him Bishop of *Constantinople*. (a) The

When the Emperor had performed these things, he went to *Antioch*. here, after this manner: 'Εὐσεβίου δὲ ἐν τῇ νικομηδείᾳ καὶ περιεργάζοντος αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ἀφ' ἧς αὐτὸς ἀνέβη; ἰ. e. and having through *Eusebius's* own ambition removed him from *Nicomedia*, he constituted him Bishop of the Great City [*Constantinople*]. *Valef.*

Constantinus.

## CHAP. VIII.

How Eusebius assembled another Synod at Antioch of Syria, and caused another Form of Faith to be published.

**B**UT Eusebius could by no means be at quiet: but (as the common saying is) moved every stone, that he might effect what he had designed. Therefore, he procures a Synod to be assembled at Antioch in Syria, under a pretence of dedicating a Church, which [Constantine] the

\* That is, he means Constantinus, and Constanti, Sons to the Emperor Constantine the Great; who had a little before this been proclaimed Augusti. Constantine, the other Son of Constantine the Great, was now dead. See Chap. 5. or this Book.

Father of the \* Augusti had begun to build: (after whose death, Constantinus his son finish'd it, in the tenth year after its foundation was laid:) but in reality, that he might subvert and destroy the Homoiousian

Faith. At this Synod there met ninety Bishops, [who came] out of divers Cities. But Macarius Bishop of Jerusalem, who had succeeded Macarius, was not present at that Synod, (a) having consider'd with himself that he had been before induced by fraud to subscribe Athanasius's Deposition. Neither was Julius Bishop of Rome the Great present there: Nor did he send any body to supply his place. Altho' the Ecclesiastick Canon doth order, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of Rome's opinion. This Synod therefore is convened at Antioch (the Emperor Constantinus himself being there present,) in the (b) Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus. This was the (c) fifth year from the death of Constantine the Father of the Augusti. At that time (d) Placitus, Successor to Euphronius presided over the Churches in Antioch. The Eusebians therefore made it their principal business to calumniate Athanasius, [saying,] in the first place, that he had done contrary to that Canon, which they had then constituted, because he had recover'd his Episcopal Dignity without the consent of a general Synod of Bishops. For, returning from his Exile, he had upon his own arbitrement and award rush'd into the Church: [Secondly,] that a tumult being raised at its entrance, (e) many had lost their lives in that sedition; and that some persons had been scourged by Athanasius, and others brought before the seats of Judicature. Moreover, they produced what had been done against Athanasius in the City of Tyre.

In regard of his sorrow for doing this, he refused afterwards to be present at the Council of Antioch; as Sozomen relates, in his third Book, Chap. 6. near the end. Valef.

(b) Athanasius (in his Book de Synodis) set forth the time of this Council by these Notes: *ἡμῶν δὲ ἐκ κοινῆς ὁμοθυμαδόν, &c.* Those Bishops that met at the Dedication were ninety in number; [they were convened] in the Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, in the tenth Indiction, the most impious Constantine being there present. Valef.

(c) In the Consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, on the eleventh of the Calends of June was completed the fourth year from Constantine's death. The Synod of Antioch therefore was convened after this day, it is true which Sozomen here says, to wit, that it was convened in the fifth year after Constantine's Death. Valef.

(d) In Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version, this persons name is truer written, thus, Flacillus. Nor is he otherwise called in Pope Julius's Epistle to the Bishops convened in this Synod of Antioch. This person had been present before, at the Council of Tyre, and had with the Arians conspired against Athanasius, as the Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops to Dionysius the Comes doth inform us, which Epistle Athanasius has recorded, in his second defence against the Arians. Eusebius of Casarea dedicated the Books he wrote against Marcellus to this same Flacillus. But instead of Flacillus, he is almost every where called Placitus: only in the following chapter, the *Atellan* M. S. terms him Flacillus. Valef.

(e) These Calumnies of the Eusebians are incomparably well refuted by the Egyptian Bishops, in their Synodick Epistle, which Athanasius records, in his second defence against the Arians. Valef.

## CHAP. IX.

Concerning Eusebius Emifenus.

Constantinus.

**A**FTER the framing of these Calumnies, they propos'd one to be made Bishop of Alexandria, and in the first place [they named] Eusebius Emifenus. Who this person was, Georgius of Laodicea, one that was present at this Synod, informs us. For he says (in the Book he wrote concerning his Life) that this Eusebius was descended from noble Personages of Edessa in Mesopotamia: and that from his Childhood he (a) learned the sacred Scriptures: that he was afterwards instructed in the Grecian Literature by a Master who then lived at Edessa; and in fine, that he had the sacred Scriptures interpreted to him by Patrophilus and Eusebius; the latter of which persons presided over the Church in Casarea, and the former over that in Scythopolis. After this, when he came to Antioch, it hapned that Eusebius, being accused by Cyrus of Beroa, was deposed, as being an assertor of Sabellius's opinion. Wherefore Eusebius afterwards lived with Euphronius, Eusebius's Successor. Afterwards, that he might avoid being made a Bishop, he betook himself to Alexandria, and their studied Philosophy. Returning from thence to Antioch, he conversed with Flacillus, Euphronius's Successor, and was at length promoted to the See of Alexandria by Eusebius Bishop of Constantinople. But he went thither no more, because Athanasius was so much beloved by the people of Alexandria. He was therefore sent to Emisa. But when the Inhabitants of that City raised a Sedition at his Ordination, (for he was reproach'd, as being a person studious of, and excresc'd in the Mathematics,) he fled from thence, and went to Laodicea, to Gregorius, who hath related so many passages concerning him. When this Georgius had brought him to Antioch, he procur'd him to be sent back again to Emisa by Flacillus and Narcissus. But he afterwards underwent another accusation; for being an adherent to Sabellius's Principles. Georgius writes at large concerning his \* Ordination: \* Or, &c. And in fine adds, that the Emperor, in his Ex-station, petition against the Barbarians, took him along with him, and that miracles were wrought by him. But hitherto we have recorded what Georgius hath related concerning Eusebius Emifenus.

(a) Sozomen (in his third book, chap. 6.) explains this Passage in Sozomen; where he speaks thus concerning Eusebius Emifenus: *Ἐκ τῶν δὲ ἐκ παλαιῶν ἑβραίων ἀναμαθῶν λόγους, &c.* i. e. from his childhood (according to the custom of his own Country) he learned the sacred Scriptures by heart. Therefore the Boys of Edessa got by heart the books of sacred Scripture, according to the usage of their Ancestors. Indeed, Ecclesiastick Writers do assert, that the Edessians were most ardent lovers of the Christian Religion. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

That the Bishops convened at Antioch upon Eusebius Emifenus's refusal [of the Bishoprick] of Alexandria, ordained Gregorius, and altered the Expressions of the Nicene Faith.

**B**UT when Eusebius, who had been chosen Bishop of Alexandria at Antioch, was afraid to go thither, they then propos'd Gregorius to be ordained Bishop of Alexandria. And having done this, they alter'd the \* Creed, \* Or, the finding Faith.



finding fault indeed with nothing [that had been determined] at Nice; (a) but in reality [their design was] to subvert and destroy the Homousian Faith, by their continual assembling of Synods, and by their publishing sometimes one, sometimes another form of the Creed; that so by degrees [all persons] might be (b) perverted to the Arian Opinion. Moreover, how these things were done [by them,] we will manifest in the procedure of our History. But the Epistle they publish'd concerning the Faith runs thus.

(a) How these words are to be understood, I have added in the second Book of my Exposition, which Objections, Chap. 2. must not be supposed, that the Arch-Heretic Arian himself admitted and entertained in the Jerusalem Synod, but his Followers only. For Arius himself was dead long before. Should any one maintain, that these Words of the Bishops of the Antiochian Council are to be understood of Arius himself, then I will answer, that the Jerusalem Synod is not meant here, but some other more ancient Synod, which admitted Arius to communion: for the Eusebian party had done that before the Synod of Jerusalem, as Athanasius attests, in his Book de Synodis, not far from the beginning. Valef.

We have neither been Arius's Followers: (for how should we that are Bishops be the Followers of a Presbyter?) Nor have we embraced any other Faith, than what was from the Beginning set forth. But, being made Inquirers into, and Examiners of his Faith, we have (c) admitted and entertained, rather than followed him. And this you will understand from what shall be said. For we have learned from the Beginning to believe in one supreme God, the Maker and Preserver of all things, vertized as well intelligible as sensible. And in one only begotten Son of God, subsisting before all ages, existing together with the Father that begat him; by whom all things visible and invisible were made: who in the last days, according to the Father's good pleasure, descended, and assumed flesh from the Holy Virgin; and when he had completely fulfilled all his Father's will, he suffered and arose, and not ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of the Father: and he shall come to judge the Quick and Dead, and continues a King and God ever. We believe also in the Holy Ghost. And (if Arius him-it be requisite to add this) we also believe the Resurrection of the Flesh, and the Life everlasting.

Having written these things in their first Epistle, they sent them to [the Bishops] throughout every City. But, when they had continued sometime at Antioch, condemning as it were this [their former] Epistle, they again publish another, in these very words.

#### Another Exposition [of Faith.]

Agreeable to Evangelick and Apostolick tradition, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Framers and Maker of all things. And in one Lord Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, God, by whom all things were made: begotten of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Whole of Whole, Only of Only, Perfect of Perfect, King of King, Lord of Lord: the Living Word, the Wisdom, the Life, the True Light, the Way of Truth, the Resurrection, the Shepherd, the Gate: immutable and inconvertible: the most express Image of the Father's Deity. \* Substance, Power, Council, and Glory: the First begotten of every Creature. † Who was in the Beginning with God, God the Word, according as 'tis said in the Gospel: And the Word was God, by whom all things were made, and in whom all things have subsisted. Who in the last days came down from Heaven, and was born of the Virgin according to

the Scriptures. And was made Man, the Mediator of God and Men, the Apostle of our Faith, and the Prince of Life, as he himself says, \* For I came down from heaven, not to do mine own will, but the will of him that sent me. Who suffered for us, and rose again for us the third day, and ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory and power, to judge the Quick and Dead. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, who is given to Believers in order to their Consolation, Sanctification, and Perfection: according as our Lord Jesus Christ commanded his Disciples, saying, † Go ye, and make disciples of all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: to wit, of the Father being truly the Father, and of the Son being truly the Son, and of the Holy Ghost being truly the Holy Ghost: which terms are not simply or insignificantly \* made use of, but they do accurately manifest the proper and peculiar Person, Glory, and Order of each of those that are named. So that they are three in person, but in consent one. (d) We therefore holding this Faith, in the presence of God and of Christ, do anathematize all manner of heretical and ill Opinions, And if any one shall teach (contrary to the sound holding and true Faith of the Scriptures,) saying, that there is, or was, a time, or an age, (e) before the Son of God [was begotten;] let him be Anathema. And if any one says, that the Son is a Creature, as Synodus one of the Creatives, or that he is a \* Branch (where as one of the Branches; and [shall not be bold] every one of the foresaid Points according as the sacred Scriptures have set them forth: Or if any one teaches or preaches any other thing than what we have received, let him be Anathema. For we do truly, and (f) clearly believe and follow all things delivered by the Prophets and Apostles in the sacred Scriptures, and holding

from the beginning to the end: which ought not to have been omitted. Hilarius (in his Book de Synodis) has translated this form of the Creed into Latin; in which Version of his, these Words occur. Valef.

(c) I corrected this place by the assistance of the Florentine M. S. wherein it is written thus [αὐτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, before the Son of God.] The Verb [γενεσθαι, was begotten] which preceded, is to be understood here. In Athanasius's Book de Synodis, the reading is [αὐτὸν τὸν ὑποσπιναι, before he was begotten.] But our reading pleases us better, because it comes nearer the sense of the Arians: who asserted that the Son of God was made. Valef.

(f) In the Alas. M. S. the reading is [καὶ ἐκ φόβου, and with fear:] 'Tis so also in Athanasius, and in Hilarius's Version. Valef.

Such were the Expositions of the Faith, [published] by those at that time convened at Antioch: to which also Gregorius (altho' he had not then made his Entry into Alexandria, yet) subscribed as a Bishop of that City. The Synod at that time assembled in Antioch, having done these things, and made some other Canons, was dissolved. The state of the publick affairs in the Empire hapned to be disturb'd at the very same time also. A nation (they are called The Frangi) made an incursion into the Roman Territories in Gallia. At the same time also, there were terrible earthquakes in the East: (g) especially at Antioch, which City was shaken thereby [continually] for the space of one whole year.

free from this earth-quake. For so 'tis recorded in those incomparable Fasti Consulares, (which Sirmundus has published under the name of Latin.) in these words: Marcellinus & Probinus Cons. His consilium pugna fuit est cum gente Francorum a Constante Augusto in Gallia. Et ipso anno terra motus fuit ad orientem per totum unum præter Antiochiam: i. e. in the consulate of Marcellinus and Probinus, there was a fight between the Nation of the Frangi and Constant Augustus in the Gallia's. And in the same year there was an earthquake in the East throughout the whole year, except at Antioch. Valef.

Constantinus.

## C H A P. XI.

That, upon Gregorius's arrival at Alexandria [guarded] with a Military force, Athanasius fled.

(a) In this place So- crates mistakes, who confounds what was done at Georgius's installation with that things trans-acted at Gregorius's arrival. In deed Syri- anus brought Georgius to Alexandria, as Athanasius attests, in his Epistle Ad Solitar, and in his Apologetic to Constantine the Emperor, and in his Apology concerning his own escape, when Syri- anus pursued him. But these things hapned a long while after this, to wit, in the year of Christ 356. Gregorius, concerning whom So- crates speaks here, was brought to Alexandria by Balanus the Captain, and Philagrius Prefect of Egypt, as Athanasius relates, in his Epistle ad Solitar. But Athanasius departed from Alexandria before their arrival, and went to Rome, whether he had been invited by Pope Julius's Letters. Valef.

(b) So- crates borrowed this out of Athanasius's Apology concerning his own escape, about the close of it. Where Athanasius's Words are these: *το εβδημητηριον, ες ου λαλ τινες επανηλθον προς δεσποτικας συνου- zas, i. e. it was seven night, and some of the people lay in the Church all night, a communion being expected.* But in his Apologetic to the Emperor Constantine, he shews manifestly that Syrianus made this irruption in the night, and not in the evening, as So- crates here says. Valef.

(c) Our So- crates does mistake here also. For Eusebius of Nicomedia did not send Embassadors to Pope Julius, to excite him against Athanasius, after the Council at Antioch, but a long time before. But when the Presbyters sent by Athanasius had confuted Eusebius's Em- bassadors in all points before Julius, at length Eusebius's Messengers referred the decision of the whole matter to Julius. Julius therefore, according to the request of the Embassadors, wrote Letters, both to Athanasius, and also to Eusebius and the rest of Athanasius's adversaries, by which he invited them to an Ecclesiastick judicature at Rome. But this was done before the Council at Antioch, as Athanasius informs us, (in his second Apologetic against the Arians,) and Julius Bishop of Rome, (in his Epistle to the Bishops convened in the Council at Antioch.) This Epistle of Julius's Athanasius has inserted at the 797th page of his works. Edit. Paris. 1627. Moreover, So- crates's relation here may be refuted also by these arguments. For, if these things had been done after the Council at Antioch, not only Eusebius, but the whole Synod would have sent an Embassy, and Letters, to Julius. Besides, it would have been altogether ridiculous and unseemly, after the matter was determined in a Council, and put in execution, (Athanasius being now expelled, and Gregorius put into his See,) to write to Julius, that he would be judge, and remove the Controversie in order to its being discut'd before him; as if the matter were still wholly undetermined. So- crates (Book 3. Chap. 7.) has followed So- crates's mistake in this relation. Valef.

## C H A P. XII.

How, after Eusebius's Death, the People of Constantinople restored Paulus to his See again. And that the Arians made choice of Macedonius.

BUT Eusebius could never understand what Julius had determined concerning Athanasius. For having survived the Synod some small time, he died. Wherefore the people of Constantinople introduced Paulus into the Church again. But at the same time the Arians ordain Macedonius, in the (a) Church dedicated to Paul. And this was done by those, who formerly had been assiduous to Eusebius that disturber of all things, but were then his successors in power and authority. These are their names, Theognis of Nice, Maris of Chalcedon, Theodorus of Heraclea in Thracia, Ursacius of Singidunum in the Upper Mysia, Valens of Mursa in the Upper Pannonia. Indeed, Ursacius and Valens changing their Opinions afterwards, delivered their penitentiary Libel to Julius the Bishop; and having consented to the Homousian Opinion, were admitted to Communion. But at that time they were hot maintainers of the Arian Religion, and \* framed no rival commotions against the Churches. One whereof was that made by Macedonius in the City of Constantinople. For from this intestine War amongst the Chris- tians there hapned continual Seditions in the City, and many persons, oppressed by the violence of what was done, lost their lives.

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Slaughter of Hermogenes the Lieutenant-General, and how Paulus was for that reason turned out of the Church again.

BUT, what was done came to the hearing of Constantine the Emperor, who then made his residence at Antioch. Therefore he orders Hermogenes the Lieutenant-General, (whom he had sent into the Coasts of Thracia,) that he should incidently pass through [Constantinople,] and turn Paulus out of that Church. He arriving at Constantinople, disturbed the whole City, by endeavouring to cast out the Bishop by force. For there immediately followed a Sedition amongst the people, and all persons were ready to defend [the Bishop.] But when Hermogenes with much earnestness endeavour'd to expel Paulus by his Military forces, the Populace being exasperated (as in such like cases it usually happens,) made a more inconsiderate and rash attack against him. In the first place they set fire to his House on fire: then, having (a) drawn him about by the heels, they killed him. These things were done in the Consulate of the Two Aetius, Constantine being then the third, and Constantine the large second time Consul. At the same time, Constantine, having vanquish'd the nation of the Franks, made them enter into a league with the Romans. But the Emperor Constantine being informed of Her-

Books of his History which are lost. But he has by the by mentioned it in his 14th Book, pag. 23. Edit. Paris. 1656. Libanus means this tumult in his Oration, entitled *Begetis*, and says it was a most violent Sedition. It hapned in the third Consulate of Constantine, and in Constantine's second; which was the year of Christ 342. as it is recorded in Eusebius's Hist. Valef. See Valefius's Annotat. on Anon. Marcellinus, page 47.

hermogenes's

Constantinus.





by the Crowd. After such brave exploits as these, *Macedonius*, as if he had done no mischief at all, but were clear and guiltless of what had happened, was seated in the Episcopal Chair by the Prefect, rather than by the Ecclesiastical Canon. Thus therefore did *Macedonius* and the *Arians* take possession of Churches by so great and numerous slaughters of men. At the same time also, the Emperor built (d) *The Great Church*, which is now called *Sophia*. It was joyed to that Church named *Irene*, which, being before a little one, the Emperor's Father had very much beautified and enlarged. And both of them are to be seen at this present time, encompassed within one and the same wall, and called by the name of one Church.

(d) This Great Church was consecrated by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, (the fact being that he had been Bishop of *Nicomedia*) if we may credit *Cedrenus*. For at the ninth year of *Constantine* he writes thus: *ἡ ἀντιοχειακήσαν τὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγαλὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐπὶ καὶ αὐτοῦ*, &c. i. e. And *Eusebius* consecrated the Church of God, called the Great Church, which was finished by *Constantine*, according to the order of *Constantine* the Great in his Will. And he brought the reliques of the holy Martyr *Pamphilus*, and those of his Companions, *Theodulus*, *Porphyrus*, and *Paulus*, from *Antioch*, and deposited them therein. But *Cedrenus* mistakes in his notation of the time. For if this Consecration were performed by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, it must be placed on the third or fourth year of *Constantine*, at which time *Eusebius* governed the See of *Constantinople*. The same *Cedrenus* relates, that this Church, being afterwards ruined, and re-edified by *Constantine*, was consecrated by *Eudoxius*. Valef.

## C H A P. XVII.

That *Athanasius*, being afraid of the Emperor's Menaces, returned to Rome again.

AT the same time, there was another false accusation patcht together against *Athanasius* by the *Arians*, who invented this occasion for it. The \* Father of the *Augusti* had heretofore given a yearly allowance of Bread-corn to the Church of *Alexandria* for the relief of those that were indigent. It was reported by the *Arians*, that *Athanasius* had usually sold this Bread-corn for money, and had converted the money to his own gain. The Emperor therefore, having given credit to this report, threaten'd *Athanasius* with death. He, being made sensible of the Emperor's menaces, made his escape, and absconded. But when *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* understood what the *Arians* had done against *Athanasius*, having also received *Eusebius*'s Letter who was now dead, he (a) invites *Athanasius* to come to him; being informed of the place where he lay concealed. At the same time arrived the (b) Letter, which those [Bishops] that before that had been

convened at *Antioch*, wrote to him. Another *Constantine* (c) Letter also was sent to him by the Bishops in *Egypt*, informing him, that those things objected against *Athanasius* were false. These Letters so directly contradicting one another, having been sent to *Julius*, he returned an answer to those [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*, wherein he (d) blamed them, first for the bitterness of their Letter: then [he told them] they had done contrary to the Canons, because they had not called him to the Synod; it being commanded by the Ecclesiastick Rule, that the Churches ought not to make Sanctions contrary to the Bishop of *Rome*'s sentiment. [He complained] also, that they had clandestinely adulterated the Faith. And moreover, that what was heretofore done at *Tyre*, had been fraudulently and corruptly transacted, in regard the Memorials of the Acts done at *Marone* had been made up of one side only. Further, that what had been objected concerning *Arsenius*'s murder, was apparently demonstrated to have been a false accusation. These, and such like passages as these, *Julius* wrote at large to the [Bishops] convened at *Antioch*. Moreover, we had inserted here the Letters to *Julius*, and his answer also; had not the prolixity thereof hindered that design of ours. But *Sabinus*, a follower of the *Macedonian* Heresie, whom we have mention'd before, has not put *Julius*'s Letters into his Collection [of the Acts] of Synods. Although, he has not left out that [Epistle] written from those [convened] at *Antioch* to *Julius*. But this is usually done by *Sabinus*. For, such Letters as either make no mention at all of, or reject the term *Homoiousus*, those [Epistles, I say,] he carefully inserts: but the contrary hereto he voluntarily and on set purpose omits. Thus much concerning these things. Not long after this, *Paulus* pretending a journey to *Corinth*, arrived in *Italy*. Both the [\* Bishops] therefore make their condition known to the Emperor of those

(d) I read [ἐκκλησία, he blamed] not [ἐκκλησία, he sent] Sir *Henry Savil* hath mended this place, in the Margin of his Copy, and made it agreeable to our reading. In the *Alat.* M.S. this place is written thus: *ἐπεὶ αὐτοὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἰσχυρίσθαι τῆς ἀπορίας ἐπιστολῆς*, i. e. in the first place he found fault with the bitterness of their Epistle. This Letter of *Julius*'s is still extant, preserved for us by *Athanasius*, in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*: pag. 739, &c. Edit. *in prin.* In that Letter *Julius* reprehends the Intemperance and Pride, which the Eastern Bishops had used in their Letters to him. But, that which *Socrates* here adds (to wit, that *Julius* complained, because they had not invited him to the Synod: and that it was the Ecclesiastick rule, that nothing should be determined in the Church without the Bishop of *Rome*'s consent:) is not to be found in that Letter. Indeed, *Julius* complains in that Epistle, because the Eastern Bishops (upon their receipt of his Letter, wherein he invited them to the Synod at *Rome*,) disregarding this his invitation, had ordained *Gregorius* Bishop in *Athanasius*'s See. But he says not one word concerning this Ecclesiastick Rule or Canon. And yet *Sozomen* (Chap. 2. Book 10. *Eccles. History*) says the same that *Socrates* does here Valef.

(a) *Socrates* does here confess and repeats the same things twice, as if they had been done again. For he says that *Athanasius* fled to *Rome* twice. The same is asserted by *Baronius* (in his *Annals*) by *Petavius* (in his *Rationarium Temporum*), and by *Blondellus* in his *Book de primatu*. But we have sufficiently refuted this mistake, in our first *Book of Ecclesiastick Observations*, Chap. 6. *Socrates* makes the same mistake, in his asserting that *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* came twice to *Rome*. Moreover, *Julius* received *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*'s Letter, before that Council of *Antioch*, which was held at the Consecration of the New *Jerusalem*, as we remarked before. And at the same time he invited *Athanasius* and his adversaries to *Rome*, in order to the discussion of their cause, as 'tis manifest from *Athanasius*'s relation. Valef.

(b) The Bishops who had been convened at *Antioch* at the Consecration, having received *Julius*'s Letter written to *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, (in which he invited him and the rest of the *Eusebians* to *Rome*, in order to the having their cause discussed there on a set day, whereon a Council was there to be held:) detained *Julius*'s Messengers (*Epistimus* and *Philoxenus*) beyond the day appointed. Then, after they had held their Synod, they dismissed the Messengers, and gave them a Letter to *Julius*. Upon receipt whereof he wrote back that famous Letter, which *Athanasius* hath inserted, in his second *Apology* against the *Arians*; pag. 739, &c. Edit. *Paris*, 1627. Valef.

\* That is, *Athanasius* and *Paulus*.

Con-  
fession.

C H A P. XVIII.

*How the Emperor of the Western parts requested of his Brother, that such persons might be sent, as could give an account of [the Deposition of] Athanasius and Paulus. And, that they who were sent published another Form of the Creed.*

**B**UT the Emperor of the Western parts, being inform'd of their sufferings, (as I have par-  
ticipated with them. And he sends a Letter to his Brother, signifying his desire to have three Bishops sent to him, who might give an account of Paulus's and Athanasius's Deposition. (a) The persons sent were Narcissus the Cilician, Theodorus the Thracian, Maris the Chalcedonian, and Stephens the Syrian. Who being arrived, would Edition, is in no wife admit of a Congress with Athana-  
[ ]<sup>1</sup> But, having suppress'd the Creed pub-  
lish'd at Antioch, and patch'd up another Form, they presented it to the Emperor Constant; the  
But I sup- words whereof were these.

should be thus [ ]<sup>2</sup> *καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ ἰδιωματικὸν, understanding their sufferings, sympathized, with them :* for the word ἰδιωματικὸν has the same import with συμπάσχειν to suffer with. But the reading may be [ ]<sup>3</sup> *συνάβη* was very much troubled at :] which Emendation is the best. Valef.

(b) Some few months after the Synod at Antioch, which was held at the Dedication, the Eastern Bishops made another form of the Creed, and sent it to Constant Augustus, and to the Western Bishops, by Narcissus, Theodorus, Maris, and Mucun, as it had been dictated by the Synod at Antioch. So Athanasius attests in his Book de Synod. Arimin. and Seleuc. This therefore hapned in the year of Christ 342. Socrates does evidently agree with Athanasius. For he says, that those Messengers sent by the Eastern Bishops suppress'd that form of the Creed compos'd by the Antiochian Synod : and instead thereof produced another, which themselves had made. Valef.

## [ Another Exposition of the Faith. ]

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, \* Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. And in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who was begotten of the Father before all Worlds. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in Heaven and Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wisdom : and the Power, and the Life, and the True Light. Who in the last days was for our sakes made Man, and was born of the Holy Virgin. He was crucified and died : and was buried, and arose from the dead on the third day : and ascended into the Heavens, and was seated at the right hand of the Father, and shall come at the end of World, to judge the Quick and Dead, and shall render to every person according to his works ; whose Kingdom being perpetual, shall continue unto infinite ages. For He shall sit at the right hand of the Father, not only in this present World, but in that also which is to come. And [ we believe ] in the Holy Ghost ; that is, in the † Paraclete : whom [ Christ ] having promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into the Heavens, he sent him, || That he might teach them and bring all things to their remembrance. By whom also those Souls who have sincerely believed in him, shall be sanctified. But those who say that the Son [existed] of things which are not, or of another substance, and not of God ; and that there was a time when he was not, these persons the Catholic Church hath determined to be Aliens [ from it. ]*

\* Ephes.  
3. 15.† Or Com-  
forter.|| See John  
14. 26.

Having delivered these things, and exhibi-  
ted many other to the Emperor, they depart-  
ed without doing any thing further. More-  
over, whilst there was hitherto an insep-  
arable Communion between the Western and  
Eastern [ Bishops, ] another Herefie sprang  
up at Sirmium, which is a City of Illyricum.  
For Photinus, (who presided over the Churches  
there,) a person born in Galatia the Less, a  
Disciple of that \* Marcellus who had been de-  
posed, following his Master's steps, asserted  
the Son [of God] to be a meer Man. But we  
will speak concerning these things in their  
due place. See 2o.  
Book 1.  
Chap. 36.

## C H A P. XIX.

## Concerning the large Exposition [ of the Faith. ]

(a) **T**H E space of three years being com-  
pletely pass'd after these things, the  
Eastern Bishops having again assembled a Sy-  
nod, and compos'd another [ Form of ] Faith,  
send it to those in Italy, by Eudoxius at that time  
Bishop of Germanicia, Martyrius and Macedonius  
who was Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia. This is the  
[ Form of the ] Creed, being written a great  
deal more at large, and containing many  
more additions than those Forms published  
before, was set forth in these very words.

(b) *Afterwards, repenting as it were [of what they had done,] they again assemble a Synod of their own party, three years after. And they send Eudoxius, Martyrius, and Macedonius of Cilicia, and some other persons with them, into the parts of Italy ; who carried along with them a prolix [ form of ] faith, &c. Baronius (in his Annals) says, that this second Council of Antioch (wherein that prolix form of faith was promulg'd) was convened in the year of Christ 344. And he thinks that he proves, this from Athanasius and Socrates. But, in my judgment, he is much mistaken. For first, the expression of Athanasius [ ]<sup>1</sup> *μετὰ τρεῖς ἔτη*, after three years signifies the fourth year, not the third. For it denotes, that years were now past. In this sense also Socrates understood the passage in Athanasius ; in regard he says [ ]<sup>2</sup> *τρεῖς ἔτη ὡς τὸ πάλαι* pass'd after these things. Since therefore that Synod of Antioch which had been convened at the Consecration, was held in the year of Christ 341 ; this second Antiochian Synod ought more truly to be placed on the year of Christ 345. Secondly, Athanasius does not say, that the second Antiochian Synod (wherein the large form of Faith was compos'd,) was assembled three years after that Synod at the Consecration had been convened there : but he says, it was assembled three years after Narcissus, Theodorus, Maris, and Mucun had brought that new form of Faith to Constant Augustus, pretending it to have been compos'd at Antioch. Now, he says that this was done some few Months after the Antiochian Synod held at the Consecration. From whence that which I have said is made apparent ; to wit, that that Council (in which the large form of Faith had been compos'd,) was convened in the year of Christ 345 ; not in the year 344, as Baronius would have it. Valef.*

*We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Creator and Maker of all things, \* Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named. 3. 15  
And in his only begotten Son Jesus Christ, our Lord ; begotten of the Father before all ages. God of God. Light of Light. By whom all things in the Heavens and in Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, the Wisdom, the Power, the Life, and the True Light. Who in the last days was for our sakes made Man, and was born of the holy Virgin : He was crucified, and died, and was buried, and rose again from the dead on the third day, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father. He shall come at the end of the world to judge the Quick and the Dead, and shall render to every man according to his works. Whose Kingdom being perpetual,*

perpetual, shall continue unto infinite Ages. For he  
sitteth at the right hand of the Father, not only  
in this present World, but in that also which is to  
come. We believe likewise in the Holy Ghost, that  
is, in the \* Prælate. Whom [Christ] having  
promised to the Apostles, after his ascent into Hea-  
ven he sent him † That he might teach them  
and bring all things to their remembrance. By  
whom also those Souls that sincerely believe in him  
are justified. But those who assert that the Son  
[existed] of things which are not, or of ano-  
ther substance, and not of God, and that there  
was a Time or Age when he was not, the Holy Ca-  
tholic Church hath determined to be aliens [from  
it.] In like manner also, those that affirm there  
are three Gods, or that Christ is not God before  
[all] Ages, or that he is not Christ, or the Son  
of God, or that the same Person is the Father, Son,  
and Holy Ghost, or that the Son is not begotten, or  
† that the Father begat not the Son of his own  
Will and Pleasure; [these Persons] the Holy and  
Catholic Church Anathematizes. For neither is  
it safe to assert, that the Son [existed] of things  
which are not: in regard this is no where declared  
concerning him in the divinely inspired Scriptures.  
Nor have we learned, [that he had his essence]  
from any other pre-existing substance besides the  
Father, but that he was truly and genuinely be-  
gotten of the Father only. For the Divine Word  
teacheth, that there is one unbegotten [Principle  
which is] without beginning, [to wit] the Fa-  
ther of Christ. Nor must they (who without  
Authority of Scripture do dangerously assert this  
[proposition], there was a time when he was not)  
preconceive in their minds then any foregoing in-  
terval of time, but God only who begat him with-  
out time. For both times and Ages were made by

(c) In Robert Stephen's Edition  
of Socrates (Vol. 197. Edit. Paris,  
1554.) the words [Ἐκ αὐ-  
τοῦ πατρὸς, ἡ τὴν αὐτοῦ φύσιν  
τὴν καὶ αὐτὴν οὐσίαν] are  
Nor must it be thought, that the  
Son is without an Original, or un-  
begotten as the Father is] are  
wanting. The said Robert Ste-  
phen's Edition does offer some-  
thing from this Copy of the Creed  
here. Athanasius has inserted this  
whole Creed, in his book de Synod.  
Amin. & Seleuc. pag. 896. &c.  
Edit. Paris 1627. Athanasius's  
copy and this in Valerius's Edition  
of Socrates do agree: whom we  
have followed in our Version.

\* 1. Cor. begat him. \* For the Head of Christ is God. Nor  
11. 3. although we acknowledge three things and Per-  
sons, [to wit,] of the Father, and of the Son, and  
of the Holy Ghost, according to the Scriptures;  
do we therefore make three Gods. For we know, that  
there is one only God, perfect of himself, un-  
begotten, incorrupt, and invisible, [that is,]  
the God and Father of the only begotten, who of  
himself only hath his own existence, and who only  
does abundantly and freely give existence to all  
other things. But, although we do assert that there  
is One God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,  
who only is unbegotten; we do not therefore deny  
Christ to be God before Ages, as the Followers of  
\* Paul of Samosata do, who asserts that after his  
incarnation he was by a promotion deified, whereas  
by Nature he was a mere Man. For we know  
that he (although he hath been made subject unto  
the Father and unto God, yet nevertheless) was be-  
gotten of God, and is by nature true and perfect God,

and was not afterwards made God of \* Man: But Constan-  
was for our sakes made Man of God, and that he  
hath never ceased to be God. Moreover, we a-  
dominate and anathematize those who falsely say, of  
style him the bare and meer word of God, [and men: but  
affirm] that he has no real existence, but hath his Valerius's  
Essence in another: One while [terming him] as ex homine,  
it were that Word called by some (d) The Word of Man,  
outwardly utter'd by the  
mouth; at another, as it  
were the mental or internal  
Word: Being of Opinion,  
that before Ages he was not  
Christ, nor the Son of God,  
nor the Mediator, nor the  
Image of God: but that 'e) he  
was made Christ, and the Son  
of God, from such time as he  
took our flesh from the Virgin  
four hundred years ago. For  
from that time they assert  
Christ to have had the begin-  
ning of his Kingdom, and that  
it shall have an end after  
the Consummation and the  
Judgment. Such manner of  
Persons as these are the fol-  
lowers of Marcellus and Pho-  
tinus the Ancyro-Galati-  
ans: who reject the Eternal  
existence and deity of Christ,  
and his endless Kingdom,  
in like manner as do .f) the  
Jews, upon a pretence of  
seeming to constitute a mo-  
narchy. For we understand  
him to be, not barely The  
word of God outwardly ut-  
tered by the mouth, or his  
mental or internal Word,  
but the Living God the Word,  
and subsisting of himself; and  
the Son of God, and Christ:  
who existed with his Father  
and was conversant with him  
before Ages, not by fore know-  
ledge only, and ministered un-  
to him at the Creation of all  
things whether visible or invisible: But is the  
Word of God really subsisting, and is the God of God.  
For it is he to whom the Father said, \* Let us  
make man in our Image, after our likeness: Who  
in his own Person appeared to the Fathers, gave  
the Law, and spake by the Prophets; and being at  
last made Man, he manifested his Father to all  
men, and reigns unto perpetual Ages. For Christ  
hath attained no new dignity: But we believe him  
to have been perfect from the beginning, and in  
all things like unto his Father. We also deservedly  
expel out of the Church those who affirm, that the  
Father, Son, and Holy Ghost are the same Person,  
impiously supposing the three names to mean one and  
the same Thing and Person; because by an incar-  
nation they make the incomprehensible and im-  
passible Father subject to be comprehended, and to  
suffer. Of which sort [of Hereticks] are those  
termed amongst the Romans (g) Patropassians, but

(d) Instead of [δὲ τὸ θεογενὲς  
λογόσωπον] it should be [δὲ τὸν  
μεγέθειον, &c. and αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς  
δοῦναι] as it is in the *Allat. M.S.* and  
in *Athanasius*, in his book de Syno-  
dis, By [ἄλλος ὁμοούσιος] Philo-  
sophers mean, That word which is  
uttered by the mouth. Hilarius  
calls it *Verbum prolatum*. To which  
is opposed [ὁ ἁπλοῦς λόγος  
ἀλλος] which modern Philo-  
sophers do term the word of the  
mind, *Valf.*

(e) By these words the Eastern  
Bishops mean, the Heretic of  
*Marcellus Ancyranus*, who asserted  
that Christ's Kingdom began  
from his Nativity, about four  
hundred years before that time;  
making use of a certain number  
for an uncertain. The *Synodical*  
Epistle of the Eastern Bishops at  
*Serdica* informs us hereof; which  
Epistle *Hilarius* has inserted, in  
his fragments. For these are their  
words in that Letter. *Exstitit*  
namque temporibus nostris *Marcel-  
lius*, &c. l. c. For there hath  
risen up in our days one *Marcel-  
lus* of Galatia, the most execrable  
pest of all Hereticks, who with a  
sacrilegious mind, and impious  
mouth, and a wicked Argument,  
will needs set bounds to the per-  
petual, eternal, and timeless  
Kingdom of our Lord Christ, say-  
ing, that he began his reign 400  
Years since, and shall end it at  
the Dissolution of this present  
World. *Valf.*

(f) We made good this place,  
by adding the Word [*ἡ οὐσία*,  
the *Essens*:] which is not in  
*Robert Stephen's* Edit. but it oc-  
curs in *Athanasius*, and in the  
*Allat. M.S. Valf.*

(g) The  
Heretic of  
the *Patropassians* (or *Patripassians*)  
was very ancient, and far diffused.  
*Tertullian* (*Adv. Prax.* cap. 1, and 2.) chargeth this Heretic upon  
*Praxeas*. The same was maintained by *Hermogenes*, whence they  
were termed *Hermogenians*. After whom *Noetus* maintained the  
same, who (says *Ephraem*) lived 130 Years before his time: (See  
*Ephraem*, *Heret.* 57.) From *Noetus* they had the name of *Noetians*;  
and from *Sabellus*, *Noetus's* Disciple, they were called *Sabellians*.  
After whom succeeded *Priscillianus* in the same Heretic; from him  
they

\* See Eu-  
sch. Eccl.  
Hist. book  
7. chap. 27.  
&c.





Label, he adds these Words, *Hæc Epistola post biennium missa est, quæ hæcque Phorini à Romanis damnata est, i. e. This Letter was sent ten years after the Romans had condemned Phorinus's Heresie.* Since therefore *Ursinus* and *Valens* wrote that Letter in the year of Christ 349, as *Petrus* attests; the *Milaine Council* must needs have been celebrated on the third year before that; that is, on the year of Christ 346. For that expression [ *post biennium, two years after* ] imports thus much, to wit, on the third year after that; which *Petrus* did not consider. *Valef.*

*Constan-  
tius.* Empire, ] both because (b) they were unskilled in the Greek language, and also in regard they understood not these things, admitted not of them; saying, that the *Nicene Creed* was sufficient, and that there was no necessity of making any further disquisitions. But

(b) *Baronius* does deservedly blame *Socrates* here, for his saying that the reason why the Western Bishops rejected this Creed was, because they understood not the Greek Tongue. As if there were not then many in Italy who were well skilled in the Greek Language. Moreover, *Theodosius* the Great has with good reason found fault with this cause of their refusal. For, instead of *Socrates's* Words here, he has substituted these; *Id est quod quidam non intellexerunt, quia non sciebant, quia non intellexerunt, quia non intellexerunt, quia non intellexerunt.* *Valef.*

amongst the Populace. ] *Paulus* and *Athanasius* requested that another Synod might be convened, that both their cause, and also the matters offaith might be determined by an \* *Oecumenical Synod*: and they made it apparent, that they had been deposed for no other reason but this, that the Faith might be subverted. Another *Oecumenical Synod* therefore is summoned [to meet] at *Serdica* (which is a City of *Illyria*), by the determination of the two Emperors; the one of them requesting this by his Letters, and the other (to wit, the Emperor of the East) readily complying with him. (c) It was then the eleventh year from the death of the Father of the *Augusti*: *Rufinus* and *Ensebius* were Consuls, at such time as the Synod at *Serdica* was assembled. About three hundred Bishops of the Western parts met there, as (d) *Athanasius* attests. But from the Eastern parts *Sabinus* says there came but seventy, amongst which number *Ischyrius*, Bishop of *Marone* was recounted, whom they who had depos'd *Athanasius*, Ordained Bishop of that Country. Some of them pretended infirmity of body; others (e) complained of the shortness of the time that was set, in the year laying the blame thereof upon *Julius* Bishop of

(c) From the Consulate of *Rufinus* and *Ensebius*, which was in the year of Christ 357, it follows, that the Council at *Serdica* was convened in the eleventh year after *Constantine's* death, it must of necessity have been assembled after the twenty second day of May. *Valef.*

(d) *Athanasius* does not say, that about three hundred Bishops of the Western Church met at the Council of *Serdica*. He only says this, that as well those who were present at the Council of *Serdica*, as those who subscribed the Synodick Epistle afterwards sent to them; as also those who before the Council at *Serdica* had written Synodick Epistles in his behalf, out of *Phrygia*, *Asia*, and *Illyria*, were in all three hundred and forty. This passage of *Athanasius's* occurs in his second defence against the *Arians*, pag. 768; Edit. Paris. 1627. Moreover, the same *Athanasius* (in his Epistle ad *Soltur*, pag. 818.) does expressly attest, that the Bishops, who met at the Council of *Serdica*, as well those out of the Western as the Eastern parts, were no more than 170. His words are these: *οὐκ ὀλίγοις τοῖσι, &c. There met therefore, both from the East and from the West, at the City of *Serdica*, 170 Bishops, neither more nor less.* In the *Mcgenius* Edit. after the Canon of the Synod of *Serdica*, there is this note; *† Subscriptum, &c. i. e. and all the Bishops of divers Provinces and Cities subscribed, being in number 121.* *Valef.*

(e) In this place *Socrates* seems to have been mistaken, in referring those things to the Council of *Serdica*, which belong to the Roman Synod at *Rome*. For when *Julius* had invited the Eastern Bishops to a Synod at *Rome*, that *Athanasius's* case might there be inquired into; the Eastern Bishops refused to come thither, pretending amongst other reasons, the narrowness of the time set; as *Julius* informs us in his Epistle to the said Eastern Bishops, recorded by *Athanasius*, pag. 744. Indeed *Socrates's* following words, to wit [ *although there had passed*

a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned; and during which space *Athanasius* made his abode at *Rome*, &c. ] do manifestly confirm what I have said. For *Athanasius*, invited by *Julius's* Letters, came to *Rome*; where he abode a whole year, and six months expecting his Adversaries, and the Synod which had been summoned at *Rome*. *Julius* attests this, in his forequoted Epistle. pag. 748. *Valef.*

*Rome*: altho' there had passed a year and six months, after such time as the Synod had been summoned, and during which space *Athanasius* made his abode at *Rome*, expecting the meeting of the Synod. When therefore they were all convened at *Serdica*, the Eastern Bishops refused to come into the presence of the Western, saying, that they would not enter into discourse with them, unless they would banish *Athanasius* and *Paulus* from the convention. But when *Protagenes* Bishop of *Serdica*, and *Hegsius* Bishop of *Corduba* (which is a City in *Spain*, as we said before) would by no means suffer

(f) *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to be absent [ from the Synod, the Eastern Bishops ] went away immediately. And returning to *Philippopolis*, a City of *Thracia*, they made up a Synod apart by themselves. Wherein they openly antinomized the term *Homousios*; and having (g) inserted the (b) *Anomoeian* opinion into their Epistles, they sent them about to all places. But the Bishops at *Serdica* in the first place condemned them for deserting [ the Council. ] Afterwards they diverted *Athanasius's* Accusers of their dignities. And having confirmed that form of the Creed published at *Nice*, and rejected the term

\* *Anomoeios*, they made a more manifest publication of [ the term ] † *Homousios*; concerning which they wrote Letters, and ( as the others did ) sent them about to all places. Moreover, both parties were of opinion, that they had done what was right and true; the Eastern Bishops [ thought so, ] because the Western [ Prelates ] had approved of and entertained those persons whom they had deposed: and the Western Bishops [ were of that Opinion, ] because they who had deposed these persons, fled away before their cause had been † discussed, and because \* they were the prefer-  
+ *Abi-  
vers* and defenders of the *Nicene Faith*, and those † these had been so audacious as to adulterate (f) in the it. They therefore restored (i) *Paulus* and *Athanasius* to their Sees; as also *Macellus* [ Bishop ] the Coun- of *Amyra* [ a City ] in *Gallia* the less. He of *Serdica* had been deposed a long time before, as we said, which have made mention in our foregoing || book: occurs in *Theodosius*

B. 2. c. 8. *Eccles. Hist.* ] there is not the least mention of *Paulus*. *Valef.* || See *Socrates*, book, 1. chap. 36. *Eccles. Hist.*

Z. 2 but

Constantinus.

† *Alas* *renew the combat with the sentence which, &c.*• These three Books (the Title whereof is *De Ecclesiastica* *Historia* *adversus Marcellum*) of Eusebius's are at this day extant. There are prefix before them two Books, entitled *ἡ ἐκκλησιαστική*, that is, *Against Marcellus*; wherein he reproves his design, malice, and envy. Eusebius accepts (in the close of his second Book against Marcellus) that he wrote these Books by the order of those Bishops, who had condemned Marcellus in the Constantinian Synod. Further, it is uncertain whether or no *Socrates* had ever seen those two former Books against Marcellus, in regard he has made no mention of them. Valef.

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## C H A P. XXI.

## An Apology for Eusebius Pamphilus.

But in regard some have attempted to reproach this person, (I mean Eusebius Pamphilus) as if he were an Assertor of Arius's Opinion in the books he hath publish'd; I judge it not unreasonable to say something concerning him. In the first place therefore, he was present at, and consented to, the Nicene Synod, which determin'd that the Son was consubstantial with the Father.

Moreover, in his third Book concerning the Life of Constantine, he says word for word thus: But the Emperor incited them all to an unity of mind, until he had at that time reduced them all to be of the same mind and sent to have the same sentiments in relation to all those points, concerning which they had before disagreed.

In so much that at Nice they did all perfectly agree in the [points] of Faith. Since therefore Eusebius, making mention of the Nicene Synod, does lay, that all things about which they disagreed were compell'd, and that they were all brought to be of one and the same mind and opinion; how can any Persons judge him to be a maintainer of Arius's Opinion? The Arius's also themselves are mistaken, in their supposing him to be a favourer of their Tenets. But some body will perhaps say, that in his writings he seems to *Arianize*, in regard he always says † *By Christ*. To whom we answer, that Ecclesiastical Writers have frequently made use of this Expression, and many other such like, which do signify the dispensation of our Saviour's Humanity. And before all these [Writers] the Apostle Paul hath made use of these very expressions; and he was never

\* That is, to assert Arius's Opinion.

† *Socrates* means those *Doctrines*, that occur at the end

of Eusebius's Sermons; which Eusebius doth always put into this form: *Gloria to be the unborn Father by his only begotten Son*, &c. This may plainly be seen in those Tracts of Eusebius's, which Jacobus Sirmondus hath published. For example, in the end of his first Book against Sabellius, these are his words: *Gloria uni non nato Deo*, &c. i.e. *Gloria to be the unborn God, by the one only begotten God the Son of God, in one holy spirit, both now, and always, and bringing all ages of ages.* Amen. And so concerning the rest. Also, in the Oratio Eusebius made at the Consecration of the Church at Tyre, (which occurs at the tenth book of his Ecclesiastical History, chap. 4.) we meet with the same clause, at the close of that Speech; *ᾧ δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ δόξα*, &c. by whom he glory to him. For so we have worded that Place, agreeable to three of our M. S. S. Further, 'tis manifestly known, that the Arius's attributed this preposition [*per quem*, by whom] to the Son, upon this design, that they might make him subject to the Father. See Theodoret upon the first chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians. Valef.

thought to be the Teacher of a perverse opinion. Moreover, in regard Arius has been so audacious, as to stile the Son a Creature like unto one of those other [Creatures made by God;] hear what Eusebius saith (in his first book against Marcellus,) concerning this; these are his very words: *He only, and no other, hath been declared to be, and is, the only begotten Son of God; upon which account they are deservedly to be reprehended, who have audaciously stiled him a Creature, made of nothing like the rest of the Creatures.* For how should he be a Son? How should he be God's only begotten, who is entitled to the very same Nature with the rest of the Creatures; (a) and would be one of those common Creatures, in regard he (like them) is made a partaker of a Creation from nothing? But the sacred Oracles do not instruct us after this manner concerning him. Then, after the interposition of some few words, he continues. *Whoever therefore doth determine that the Son is made of things which are not, and that he is a (b) Creature produced out of nothing, that person hath forgotten, that he becometh upon him a name only, but in reality he denies him to be a Son. For he that is made of nothing, cannot truly be the Son of God, nor can any thing else which is made [be his Son.] But the true Son of God, in regard he is begotten of him as of a Father, ought deservedly to be stiled the only begotten and beloved of the Father. And therefore he must be God. For what can the offspring of God be else, but most exactly like to him that hath begotten him? A King indeed builds a City, but he begets not a City; but he is said to beget, not to build, a Son. And an Artificer may be said to be the Framers, not the Father, of that which he hath made. But he can in no wise be stiled the Framers of the Son who is begotten by him. So also, the suprem God is the Father of his Son: but he is justly to be called the Maker and Framers of the world. And although this saying may be once found \* somewhere in the Scripture, The Lord created me the beginning &c. 22. and of his ways in order to his works, yet we ought what was duly to inspect the meaning of those words, (which I remark will explain afterwards;) and not (as Marcellus doth) subvert a principal point [asserted by] the Church upon account of one word. These of us and many other such like expressions Eusebius Pamphilus utters, in his First Book against Marcellus. And in his Third Book [of that work,] the same Author, declaring in what sense the term Creature is to be taken, says thus. *These things therefore having been after this manner proved and confirmed, the consequence is (agreeable to all things explained by us before,) that these words also, The Lord created me, the beginning of his ways in order to his works, must have been spoken [concerning the same person.] But, although he says he was created, yet he must not be so understood, as if he should say, that he had arrived to what he is from things which are not, and that he also was made**

Constantinus.

(a) Before these words there is a whole line wanting, (which from the First Book of Eusebius de Ecclesiastica Theologia, Chap. 9.) is thus to be made up; *αὐτὸν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ ἀντίστοιχον ἑαυτοῦ κτλ.* &c. For by this means he would be their brother, rather than the Son of God; and would be one of those common Creatures, &c. Valef.

(b) Instead of [*γεννητός*], the reading should be [*ἐκγονήτος*], produced [as Eusebius words it, at the place before cited.] It should also be [*ἑκγονήτος*] not [*γεννητός*]. But these two words, although they are distinguished but by one Letter, yet do very much differ in their significations. For the term [*γεννητός*] signifies that which is born or begotten; but [*ἑκγονήτος*] imports that which is made. Valef.

See Procr. de Trinitate, c. 22. and what was remarked concerning that Text, in chap. 19. of this book. Valef.

*Constantinus.* of nothing in the same manner with the other Creatures which some have perversely supposed : but [he speaks this] as being a Person subsisting, living, pre-existing, and being before the Foundation of the whole World; having been constituted the Ruler of the Universe by his Lord and Father: The term Created being in that place used instead of Ordained or Constituted. Indeed, the Apostle hath in express Words styled the Rulers and Governors

\* 1 Pet. 2. 13, 14. Where the expression in the Original is *ord-on ar-Spuryt Alton*; which may be rendered thus, to every human Creature.

† Amos 4. 12, 13. Euseb. quotes this Text in the Words of the *Separingins*: But omits the Word [*ayb*, 1: ] We have rendered them according to his quotation; which is very different from the Hebrew, and from our English Version.

such a sense as to signify, That which hath been made when as before it was not. For God did not then Create his Spirit, when he declared his

† Eccles. 1. Christ to all Men by him. || For there is no new thing under the Sun. But [the Spirit] was, and did subsist before. But he was sent at such time as the Apostles were gathered together, when

\* Acts 2. (like thunder) \* There came a sound from heaven, as a rushing mighty wind: And they were filled with the holy Ghost. And thus they declared God's Christ amongst all Men, agreeable to that Prophecy, which saith. † For behold he that

† Amos 4. firmeth the thunder, and createth the Spirit, and declareth his Christ unto men: The term Createth being made use of, instead of Sendeth, or Constituteth: And the Word Thunder in another manner signifying the Preaching of the Gospel. And he that saith, \* Create in me

\* Psal. 51. a clean heart, O God, [said not that, as if he had had no heart before: but he prayed, that his mind might be made perfectly pure within him. After the

\* Ephes. 2. same manner this is spoken, || For to make in himself of twain one new Man, instead of to conjoin. Consider also, whether or no this saying be of the same sort, || Put on that new man, which

† Ephes. 4. after God is created: and this, † Therefore if any man [be] in Christ, [he is] a new Creature: and whatever other [expressions] of this sort may be found by him that diligently searcheth the divinely inspired Scripture. You need not wonder

\* 1 Cor. 17. therefore, because in this place \* The Lord created me the beginning of his ways, the term Created [is used] metaphorically: instead of Ordained or Constituted. After this manner Eusebius discourses in his Books against Mar-

\* 1 Pet. 8. cellinus. We have produced his words here, upon their account, who have attempted causelessly to rail at and revile this Person. Nor can they demonstrate, that Eusebius doth attribute a beginning of Effluence to the Son of God, although they may find him frequently making use of the expression of dispensation: especially, because he was a great Emulator and Admirer of Origen's Writings, wherein such as are able to understand Origen's Books, will find [this] every where [asserted, to wit,] that the Son is begotten of the Father. Thus much we have said by the by, upon their account who have attempted to reproach Eusebius.

## C H A P. XXII.

*Constantinus.*

That the Synod of Serdica restored Paulus and Athanasius to their Sees; and that upon the Eastern Emperors refusal, to admit them, the Emperor of the West threatened him with War.

BUT the [Bishops,] as well those convened at Serdica, as they who made up a particular Synod by themselves at Philippopolis [a City] of Thracia, having perform'd whatsoever each party thought requisite to be done, return'd to their own Cities. [Thence forward] therefore the Western Church was severed from the Eastern: and the boundary of communion between them, was the mountain call'd (a) *Succi*, which parts the *Illyrians* from the *Thracians*. As far as that mountain there was a promiscuous communion, altho' their Faith was different. But they (b) communicated not with those who lived beyond it. Such was the confusion of the Churches Affairs at that time. Soon after this, the Emperor of the Western Parts acquainted his Brother Constantius with what had been done at Serdica, and entreats him to restore Paulus and Athanasius to their own Sees. But when Constantius made demurs to what he had writ, then, the Emperor of the Western Parts in answer to their Letter gave him his choice, [to wit,] that he should either admit Paulus and Athanasius to their own former Dignities, and restore their Churches to them; or else (if he did not of the one or the other) he must look upon him to be his Enemy, and expect a War.

Am. Marcellinus describes in his twenty first book, pag. 189. Edit. Paris. 1635. Philostorgius mentions the same heights, (in book 3. Eccles. Hist.) and calls them *Succi*, i. e. *Succi*; being situated between Dacia and Thracia. He describes them thus: *Σιδου δις εναι περυσιν ορειν, &c.* i. e. They are straight passages of vast mountains, which are crowded together on each side into one place, in such a manner that they seem to embrace one another. He means to the mountains, *Hemus* and *Rhodope*, which arising from different places, make an angle in that place, and do as it were kiss one another. Which gave the Ancients an occasion of feigning *Hemus* to be a young man, and *Rhodope* a maid, and that beretofore they fell in love with one another. You may meet with the story in Ovid *Metamorph.* book 6. at the beginning. *Busbequius* (in 1. Epist. Legat. Turc.) says that the Turks do now call this narrow passage *Capi derum*, i. e. the Gate of narrowness. Valef.

(b) These words must have a favourable sense put upon them; and are not to be understood, as if Socrates should have said, that after the Synod of Serdica the Western Bishops held no communion with the Eastern. For in the Synod of *Sirmium* (which was convened by the Western Bishops against *Photinus*, two years after the Synod at Serdica) the Western Bishops sent their determinations to the Eastern upon account of preserving a communion. And the Eastern Bishops wrote back to them, as *Athanasius* informs us, in his *Fragments*. Thus therefore Socrates's words here must be understood: to wit, after the Synod at Serdica the Western Bishops did not readily and rashly, but with a great deal of cautiousness communicate with the Eastern. Valef.

The (c) Letter he wrote to his Brother was this. (c) *Conf.*

Paulus and Athanasius are indeed here with Us. Letter to But upon enquiry we find that they are Persecuted upon his Brother's account of their piety. If therefore you will promise to restore them to their Sees, and punish those which have causelessly injur'd them, We will send the heretico-Men to you. But if You shall refuse to do as We ded by So have said, know for certain, that We Our self will create, in come thither, and restore them to their own Sees when you will or no.

Am. Marcellinus makes no mention of this Letter: and Paulus's name (which is extant in it) doth upon good grounds render it suspicious. For at that time Paulus enjoy'd his Bishoprick: neither was he present at the Synod of Serdica; nor restor'd by the determination thereof; as we shew'd before. Wherefore, if this Letter of Constantius be genuine, Z 3

It must necessarily have been written before the Council of Serdica. Lastly, *Constantius's* first Letter to *Athanasius* (which *Socrates* has inserted in the following Chapter) evidently shews this to be a forged Letter. For *Constantius* in that Epistle saith, that by a Letter written to his Brother he hath requested him to give *Athanasius* leave to return to his See. *Valf.*

*Constantius.*

### C H A P. XXIII.

That *Constantius*, being afraid of his Brothers menaces, by his Letters ordered *Athanasius* to appear, and send him to Alexandria.

**T**HE Emperor of the East understanding these things, was reduced to a very great freight. And having forthwith sent for most of the Eastern Bishops, he made them acquainted with the option his brother had proposed to him, and enquired of them what was to be done. They made answer, that it was better [for him] to grant *Athanasius* the Churches, than to undertake a Civil War. Wherefore the Emperor, being necessitated thereto, summoned *Athanasius* to appear before him. At that very interim the Western Emperor sends *Paulus* to *Constantinople*, accompanied with two Bishops and other honorary Provisions, having fortified him both with his own Letters, and also with those from the Synod. But whilst *Athanasius* was yet fearful, and in doubt whether he should go to *Constantius* or not: (For he was afraid of the treacherous attempts of the Sycophants :) the Eastern Emperor invited him [to his Court] not only once, but a second and a third time; as it is evident from his Letters, the Contents whereof, being translated out of the Latin Tongue [into the Greek,] are these.

*Constantius's* Epistle to *Athanasius*.

### CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the Bishop.

(a) This, and the two following Letters, are in *Athanasius's* second de-up and down in desert and impassible places. And hence, pag. although We have too long deferred the acquainting thee, you by Letters with the purpose of Our mind, expecting you would of your own accord have come to Us, and requested a Remedy for your troubles: Yet because peradventure fear hath hindered that purpose of your mind, We have therefore sent to your Gravity, Letters filled with indulgence, that you should hasten to make your sudden appearance in Our presence without fear; whereby you might enjoy your desire, and, having made experiment of Our humanity, be restored to your own habitation. For upon this account we made a request for you to Our Lord and Brother *Constantius Victor Augustus*, that He would grant you the liberty of coming, to the end that being restored to your Country by both Our consents, you should have this pledge and assurance of Our favour.

Another Epistle to *Athanasius*.

### CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the Bishop.

Although we have made it sufficiently known to you by Our former Letter, that you might securely

come to Our Court, in regard We are earnestly *Constantius*, desirous to send you to your own habitation: yet We have now (b) sent this Letter to your Gravity. Wherefore We entreat you to take a publick Chariot, and hasten to Us without any mistrust instead of or sea, that you may enjoy what you desire.

reading is [ἐὸν ἐλθεῖν] desired. *Valf.* (b) In *Athanasius*, it is [ἐπεὶ ἀναβὰς] not [ἐπὶ ἀναβὰς] manifested. *Valf.*

Another Letter to the same Person.

### CONSTANTIUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS, to *Athanasius* the Bishop.

Whilst we made Our residence at Edessa, (your Presbyters being present there,) We were pleased, by sending a Presbyter to you, to hasten your coming to Our Court, to the end that after you were come into Our Presence, you might go immediately to Alexandria. But, in regard a considerable space of time is now past, since your receipt of Our Letter, and you have not yet come; We therefore took care to put you in mind by this, that you should now hasten to make your sudden appearance in Our Presence, that so you may be restored to your own Country; and obtain your desire. And that you might be most fully certified hereof, We have sent *Achetas* the Deacon, from whom you may understand both the purpose of Our mind, and also that you shall readily obtain what you desire.

*Athanasius* having received these Letters at *Aquileia*, (for (c) there he abode after his departure from *Serdica*,) hastened immediately to (d) Rome. And having shown the Letters to *Julius* the Bishop, he caused great joy in the Roman Church. For they supposed, that the Emperor of the East had now given his assent to their Faith, in regard he invited *Athanasius* to come to him. But *Julius* wrote this Epistle to the Clergy and Laity in Alexandria concerning *Athanasius*.

written to him by *Constantius Augustus*. Afterwards, he left *Naxos*, and went to *Aquileia*, as he himself attests, in his *Apologick* to *Constantius*, pag. 676. *Valf.*

(d) *Athanasius* relates the reason of this journey of his to Rome in his second defence against the *Arians*; to wit, that he might take his leave of *Julius* the Bishop, and that *Romanus* Church, by whom he had been so kindly entertained. For that is the meaning of these words: *Ἐὸς δὲ τῆς ἐκείνης, ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν ἠρώμεθα* i.e. But I, upon receipt of these Letters, went to Rome, to bid the Roman Church and the Bishop farewell. For the term [ἀναβὰς] signifies valde dicere, to take leave of, or to bid farewell: As we have observed and prov'd in our *Annot. on Eusebius's* Life of *Constantine*; Book 3. Chap. 21. *Valf.*

The Epistle of *Julius* Bishop of Rome, to those of Alexandria.

*Julius* (e) to the Bishops and Presbyters, and Deacons, and to the Laity inhabiting *Alexandria*, his beloved Brethren, health in the Lord.

(e) In the *Alta. MS.* and in *Athanasius* (in his second Apology against the *Arians*) these words [the Bishops and] are wanting. Instead hereof *Epiphanius Scholasticus* seems to have read [Julius the Bishop to the Presbyters, &c.] which reading *Corisopborus* hath followed. *Valf.*

I also rejoice with you, beloved Brethren, because you now see before your Eyes the fruit of your Faith. For that this is truly so, any one may see in our Brother and Fellow Bishop *Athanasius*: Whom God hath restored to you, upon account both of his purity of Life, and also of your prayers. Hence it is apparent, that you have continually offered up to God Prayers which were pure and full of Charity. For, being mindful of the Celestial promise, and (f) of the course of Life tending thereto, which you have been instructed in by the Doctrine of our forbearing it.

[The] foreſaid Brother ; you certainly knew, and (according to that true Faith which is implanted in you) were apprehenſive of this, that your Biſhop could not be perpetually ſeparated from you, whom you have carried in your pious Minds, as being continually preſent. Wherefore, I need not make uſe of many words in this my Letter to you. For your Faith hath prevented whatever could have been ſaid by me : And by the Grace of Chriſt thoſe things have been fulfilled, which you in common prayed for and deſired. I rejoyce therefore with you, (for I will ſay it again,) becauſe you have preſerved your Souls inexpuſtable in [ your defending of ] the Faith. Nor do I any whit leſs rejoyce with my Brother Athanaſius, becauſe although he hath undergone many ſharp afflictions, yet he was not one hour unmindful of your Love, and your Deſire. For although he ſeemed to have been withdrawn from you for a time, yet he was continually converſant with you in Spirit. And I am of opinion, Beloved, that all the trials and troubles which have happened to him, are not inglorious. For both your, and his Faith hath thereby been made known, and approved amongſt all Men. For, had not ſo many and great afflictions beſet him, who would have believed, either that you ſhould have had ſo great a reſpect and love for ſo eminent a Biſhop, or that he ſhould have been adorned with ſuch excellent Virtues, by reaſon of which he is in no wiſe to be deſpended of his hope in the heavens ? He hath therefore obtained a teſtimony of conſeſſion every way glorious, both in this, and in the World to come. For after his many and various ſufferings both by Land and Sea, he hath trodden under foot all the treacheries of the Arian Herſe ; and after his having been frequently aſſaulted and brought into danger through envy, he hath deſpiſed death, being guarded by Almighty God, and our Lord Jeſus Chriſt : hoping that he ſhould not only avoid his Enemies Plots, but alſo be reſtored in order to your conſolation, bringing back to you greater Trophies by reaſon of your being conſcious [ of having done what was juſt and good ] Upon which account he hath been rewarded glorious even as far as the ends of the whole Earth, being approved for his [ integrity of ] Life, unſhakenly perſiſting in the defence of his reſolution of Mind, and Celeſtial Doctrine, and evidently declared by your conſtant and perpetual judgment, to be entirely beloved by you. He returns therefore to you now far more bright and glorious, than when he departed from you. For, if the fire tries and refines precious Metals, I mean Gold and Silver, what can be ſaid of ſo eminent a Perſonage according to his worth, who having vanquiſhed the fire of ſo great afflictions, and ſo many

trials, is now reſtored to you, having been g ) declared innocent, not by our determination only, but by that of the whole Synod ? Receive therefore (Beloved Brethren) with all Divine Glory M.S. and Joy your Biſhop Athanaſius, (h) together with all thoſe who have been his Fellow-ſufferers. And rejoyce, in that you enjoy your deſires, who have been nourished and quenched the thirſt of your paſſions. For, hungering ( if I may ſo ſpeak, ) and thirſting after your Piety, with your comfortable writings. For you were a conſolation to him during his abode in ſtrange Countries : And you have cheriſhed him with your moſt faithful Souls and Minds, (b) in the which he was perſecuted, and aſſaulted with trea-

ditions. Indeed, I rejoyce already, whiſt I conſider and foreſee in my mind the joy of every one of you at his return, and the moſt pious meetings [which will be given him] by the Populace, and the glorious Solemnity of thoſe which will be aſſembled, and what manner of day that will be, wherein our brother ſhall make his return : When foreſaid Calamities ſhall have an end, and his precious and wiſdſd for return ſhall unite all Perſons in an alacrity of mind [ except by ] the higheſt degree of Joy. Such a Joy as this does, as to the greateſt part of it, reach even as far as us, to whom Heaven, (tis manifeſt) hath granted this favour, that we ſhould be able to come to the Knowledge of ſo eminent a Perſonage. It is fit therefore, that we ſhould cloſe this Letter with a Prayer. May God Almighty, and his Son our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt afford you this perpetual Grace, rendering you the reward of your admirable Faith, which you have demonſtrated towards your Biſhop by a Glorious Teſtimony : That better things may await you and your Poſterity both in this, and in the World to come, which \* Eye hath not ſeen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom Glory be to Almighty God for ever and ever, Amen. I wiſh you good health, beloved Brethren.

Athanaſius conſiding in theſe Letters, went into the Eaſt. The Emperor Conſtantine received him not then with an incenſed mind. But upon the ſuggeſtion of the Arians, he attempted to circumvent him, And ſpeaks to him thus. You have indeed recovered your See by the Synods determination, and our conſent. But, in regard there are ſome of the people in Alexandria, who do (i) reſuſe to hold communion with you, ſuffer them to have one Church in the City. To which requeſt Athanaſius immediately made this return, and ſays, It is in your power, O Emperor, to command and do what you will. I alſo aſk and requeſt this favour of you, which I deſire you would grant me. When the Emperor had readily promiſed him to grant it, Athanaſius forthwith added, that he deſired to receive the ſame favour, that the Emperor had required ſhould be granted him : For he alſo requeſted that throughout every City one Church might be allowed to thoſe who reſuſed to communicate with the Arians. When the Arians underſtood that Athanaſius's opinion would k. incommode [their party,] they made anſwer that that buſineſs was to be deſerred till another time : But they permitted the Emperor to do what pleaſed him. Wherefore, the Emperor reſtored Athanaſius, Paulus and Marcellus to their own Sees : As alſo, Aſclepas of Gaza, and Lucius of Adria-nople. For they alſo had been received by the Synod of Serdica ; Aſclepas [ was received ] upon his exhibiting the Acts, whereby it was manifeſt, that Euſebius Pamphilus (together with many others) having taken cognizance of his cauſe, had reſtored him to his dignity, and Lucius, becauſe thoſe that accuſed him were ſled. Therefore, the Emperors Edicts were ſent to their Cities, giving order that they ſhould be readily admitted. Upon Baſilius's being turn'd out of Ancyra, and Marcellus's entrance into that City, there was no trivial diſturbance made, which gave thoſe that were his Adverſaries an occaſion of reproaching him. But the Gaſtates willingly received Aſclepas. In Conſtantinople, Macedonius did for ſome ſmall time give place to Paſcalius, and convened aſſemblies by himſelf ſeparately, in a private Church of that City.

Constantinus.

City. But, in behalf of Athanasius, the Emperor wrote to the Bishops, to the Clergy, and to the Laity, that they should willingly receive him. Moreover, he gave orders by other Letters, that what had been enacted against him in the Courts of Judicature, should be abrogated. The contents of his Letters concerning both these Particulars are these.

Constantinus's Letter, in behalf of Athanasius.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
the Bishops and Presbyters of the Catholic Church.

The most Reverend Bishop Athanasius hath not been deserted by the Grace of God. But although he was for a short time subjected to human trial, yet he hath received a just sentence from Divine Providence which inspects all things: having been restored, by the will of God, and our determination, both to his own Country, and Church, over which by Divine permission he presided. It was meet, that what is agreeable hereto should be performed by our Clemency. That so, all things which have heretofore been determined against those who have held communion with him, should now wholly be forgotten, and that all suspicion [entertained] against him should in future cease, and that the immunity, which those Clergymen that are with him did heretofore enjoy, should (as it is meet) be confirmed to them. Moreover, We thought it equitable to make this addition to Our Indulgence in favour of him, that all Persons belonging to the sacred order of the Clergy might understand, that security is granted to all those that have adhered to him, whether they be Bishops, or Clerks: And a firm Union with him shall be a sufficient testimony of every one's good resolution of mind. For, what Persons soever (making use of a better judgment, and becoming followers of a sounder Opinion,) shall embrace his Communion. We have ordered, that all such shall enjoy that indulgence (according to the

\* Likeness.

\* Pattern of the preceding providence) which We have now granted agreeable to the will of God.

Another Letter sent to the Alexandrians.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS, to  
the to the Populace of the Catholic Church in Alexandria.

In regard We make (1) your good Government Our aim in all things, and knowing that you have for some time been deprived of an Episcopal Providence, We have thought good to send back to you a gain Athanasius the Bishop, a Person well known to all Men for his sanctity of Life and moral honesty. When you shall have received this Person according to your usual manner, and as it is meet; and shall constitute him your assistant in your Prayers to God; make it your business to preserve continually a Concord and Peace, visiting your selves, and grateful to Us, according to the Sanction of the Church. For it is disagreeable to reason, that there should be any dissension or faction raised amongst you, contrary to the felicity of Our times. Our desires and wishes are, that you may be wholly freed from this mischief. And we exhort you to persist continually in your usual Prayers to God, making use of him your Prelate and your assistant, as was said before. That so this resolution

of yours being conveyed to the ears of all Men, even those Gentiles as yet enslaved in the erroneous Worship of Idols, may with the greatest alacrity hasten to the knowledge of the sacred Religion, (most dear Alexandrians!) We therefore again exhort you to persist in what hath been said before. Do you willingly receive your Bishop, sent to you by God's Decree and Our determination, and look upon him as worthy to be embraced (n) with your own Souls and Minds. For that doth both become you, and is also manifestly agreeable to Our Clemency. And that all manner of (o) disturbance and occasion of Sedition may be taken from such as are endow'd with malevolent and fustious minds, We who have by Our Letters given order to the Judges, amongst you, that they should render all those liable to undergo the Penalty of the Laws, whom upon inquiry they shall find to have been Seditious, Taking therefore into your consideration these two main things, both God's and Our determination, and also of the care we have taken about your agreement, and the punishment [we have commanded to be inflicted] upon those that are disorder'd; make it your chief business to have a diligent regard to whatever doth become and agree with the Sanctions of the sacred Religion, and with all reverence to honor the \* foresaid [Prelate,] that so you together with him may offer up Prayers to the Supreme God and Father, both for your selves, and also for the good Government and Concord of Mankind in general.

An Epistle concerning the abrogating what had been enacted against Athanasius.

VICTOR CONSTANTIUS  
AUGUSTUS, to Nestorius. And in the same Copy, to the Presidents of (p) Augustanica, Thebais, and Lybia.

If any thing be found to have been heretofore done to the detriment and injury of those who communicate with Athanasius the Bishop, Our Will is, that that be now wholly abrogated. For Our Pleasure is, that those of his Clergy should again have the name of same immunity, which they formerly had. And We command, that this Order of Ours be kept: That (Athanasius the Bishop having been restored to his Church,) they who communicate with him may have the same Privilege which they always had, for and which the other Clergymen now have: Whereby their Affairs being thus settled, they also may rejoice.

it written in many both Greek and Latin MSS. Others call'd it Augustonica, to wit, from Augustus's Victory. In the subscriptions of the Bishops, who approved of Ascius's draught of the Creed, (which the Reader will meet with at the 40th Chapter of this second Book,) whose names Epiphanius has recorded, (in Heref. Semarian.) we read amongst others; ΠΡΟΒΕΒΑΤΟ ΕΥΧΕΙΝΟΝ ΣΥΝΟΙΟΝ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ, i. e. Ptolemus Bishop of Thmus [a City] of Augustonica. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIV.

That Athanasius, passing through Jerusalem in his return to Alexandria, was received into Communion by Maximus, and convened a Synod of Bishops which confirmed the Nicene Faith.

Athanasius the Bishop being fortified with these Letters, passed thorow Syria, and came into Palestine. And arriving at Jerusalem, he made known to Maximus the Bishop, both what

Con-  
stanti-  
nus.

what had been done in the Synod of *Serdica*, and also that *Constantinus* the Emperor had consented to their determination: and he makes it his business to have a Synod of Bishops convened in that City. *Maximus* without any delay sent for some of the Bishops in *Syria* and *Palestine*: and having constituted a Synod, he also restored to *Athanasius* communion, and his [former] dignity.

† This Epistle of the *Jerusalem* Synod is extant in *Athanasius's* second defence against the *Arians*; together with the names of those Bishops who subscribed to that Synod. But we may here be the by take notice of the Bishop of *Jerusalem's* Authority, who (although he was no *Alexandrian* see) summoned the neighbouring Bishops to a Synod, without the Permission of the Bishop of *Cæsarea*.

*Valef.*

been done before,) he gave his Suffrage for *Athanasius*, and restored to him communion and his dignity. *Ursacius* and *Valens* (who had before been hot maintainers of *Arianism*), understanding these things, having at that time rejected their former industry [in asserting that Opinion] went to *Rome*. And presented a penitentiary Libel to *Julius* the Bishop, after which they embraced the *Homousian* Faith. And having written Letters to *Athanasius*, they professed they would in future hold communion with him. *Ursacius* therefore and *Valens* were at that time in such a manner vanquish'd by *Athanasius's* prosperous Success, that (as I said) they gave their consent to the *Homousian* Faith. But *Athanasius* pass'd thro' *Pelusion* in his Journey to *Alexandria*. And he admonish'd all the Cities through which he pass'd, to have an aversion for the *Arians*, and to embrace those that professed the *Homousian* Faith. He ordain'd also in some of the Churches. Which gave beginning to another accusation against him, \* because he attempted to ordain in other [Bishops] Dioceses. Such was the posture of *Athanasius's* Affairs at that Time.

\* *Socrates* speaks here concerning the Ordinations performed by *Athanasius* in *Egypt*. For he says that was done after he arriv'd at *Pelusion*; which is the first City of *Egypt* to those that come out of *Syria*. If this be so, that Opinion can no ways be maintained, which some now a days assert, to wit, that all Ordinations (as well of Bishops as of Presbyters) throughout *Egypt* belonged to the Bishop of *Alexandria*: But we have sufficiently refuted this Opinion in our Third Book of Ecclesiastical Observations, published at the close of our Annotations on *Socrates* and *Sozomen*. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXV.

Concerning the Tyrants *Magentius* and *Verano*.

BUT in the interim a disturbance in no wise trivial seiz'd the publick affairs of the Empire. It is necessary that we should give a summary account only concerning it, by running over the chief heads thereof. When the \* Builder of the City of *Constantinople* was dead, his three Sons succeed'd him in the Empire, as we have mentioned in our First Book. (a) But you must know, that together with them reigned their

\* *Constantine* the Great.

(a) The emblem on this place, (which is very corrupt in *Roberts Stephens's Edition*) we owe to the *Allat*. M. S. where the reading is *ἵστω δὲ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος τῶν ἀνδρῶν αὐτῶν, ὁ ὅπως διακρίνεται ὁμοῦντος τοῦ ἰδίου καὶ τοῦ ἑτέρου*. i. e. But you must know, that together with them reigned their Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of the same name with his own

Father.] See *Socras*. Book 1. chap. 27. note (g.) The *Florent*. and *Sfortius* M. S. S. alter not the *Vulgar* reading here. But the reading of the *Allat*. M. S. is evidently confirm'd by *Epiphinius Scholasticus's* Version. Only he calls *Dalmatius*, *Constantinus's* Cousin-german by the Mother's side. But *Dalmatius* was *Constantinus's* Cousin-german by the Father's side; for he was son to *Dalmatius*, *Constantine's* the Great's Brother. *Valef.*

Cousin-german, whose name was *Dalmatius* of *Constantine's* the same name with his own Father. After he had been Colleague with them in the Empire some small time, the Soldiers slew him; *Constantinus* neither

(b) *Europius* relates the fame: *Dalmatius* *Cæsar* (says he,) *Haud multo post oppressus est factione Militari, Constantino patri suo finem potius quam salutem: i. e.* Not long after, *Dalmatius* *Cæsar* was slain by a faction of the Soldiers, *Constantinus* his Cousin-german by the Father's side suffering, rather than commanding, *H. Valef.*

\* See *Socras*. Book 2. Chap. 5.

the *Persian* War was rais'd against the *Romans*, wherein *Constantinus* performed no Action that was fortunate. For, there hapning an † Engage- ment by night about the limits of the *Romans* and *Persians*, the latter seem'd then for some little time to have been Conquerors. At

the same time, the posture of the *Christians* affairs was little less sedate: but upon *Athanasius's* account, and by reason of the term *Homousius*, there was a War throughout the Churches. During this state of Affairs, there arose a Tyrant in the Western Parts [of the Empire,] one *Magentius*. Who by treachery slew *Constantine* the Emperor of the Western Parts, residing at that time in the *Gallia's*. After which there was a mighty Civil War kindled. For the Tyrant *Magentius* conquer'd all *Italy*, he also reduc'd *Africa* and *Lybia* under his own Dominion; and had possession even of the *Gallia's*. In *Illyricum* likewise at the City *Sirmium*, another Tyrant was \* set up by the Soldiers; his name *Verano*. † Or *erept* More-  
over, *Rome* was involv'd in a disturbance. For † *Constantine* had a Sisters Son, by name *Nepotianus*, who being guarded by a Party of the *Gladiators*, had by violence seiz'd upon the Greek the Empire. This *Nepotianus* was slain by *Magentius's* Forces. But *Magentius* himself invaded the rest of the Western Provinces, and made all Places desolate.

† In the reading is *Constantinus* had a Sister's Son, &c.] But it must be [Constantine had &c.] For *Nepotianus* was Son to *Europia* *Constantine's* Sister; as *Vistor* tells us, in his Epitome: and, as we are inform'd by *Europius*, *Epiphinius Scholasticus's* reading agrees with our emendation; but he mistakes in calling *Nepotianus* [fratrem *Constantini*. i. e. *Constantine's* Brother's Son,] in regard he was, his Sisters Son. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XXVI.

How, after the death of [Constantine] the Western Emperor, Paulus and Athanasius were Ejected out of their own Sees again. And, that Paulus, after his being carried into banishment, was slain. But Athanasius made his escape by flight.

A Conflux of all these mischiefs hapned almost at one and the same time. For these things were done on the fourth year after the Synod

Constantinus. Synod at *Serdica* in the (a) Consulate of *Sergius* and \* *Nigrinianus*. Upon the relation hereof, the whole Roman Empire seemed to be devolved upon *Constantinus* only: who being proclaimed (b) *Emperator* in the Eastern parts, was wholly intent in making preparations against the Tyrants. In the interim, *Athanasius*'s adversaries, supposing they had gotten every seasonable opportunity, did again frame monstrous false accusations against him, he having not yet entered *Alexandria*: they inform the Emperor *Constantinus*, that he would subvert all *Egypt* and *Libya*. That which made the greatest addition to their calumny was that *Athanasius* had Ordained in other [Bishops] Dioceses, *Athanasius* arriving at *Alexandria* during this troublesome posture of affairs, assembled a Synod of Bishops in *Egypt*. Who by an unanimous consent made the same determinations with those convened at *Serdica*, and with that Synod assembled at *Jerusalem* by *Maximus*. But the Emperor, who had long before embraced the *Arian* opinion, wholly altered all things which he had a little before decreed. And in the first place, he gave order, that *Paulus* the Bishop of *Constantinople* should be banished, who was strangled by those that carried him into banishment, at (c) *Cucusus* in *Cappadocia*. *Marcellus* also being ejected, *Basilus* was again put into possession of the Church of *Antioch*. *Lucius* of *Adrianople* was bound in iron chains, and died in *Prison*. Moreover, what was reported concerning *Athanasius* made doubtless so prevalent an impression upon the Emperor, that he fell into an unmeasurable rage, and gave order that he should be slain whenever he could be found: and together with him, (d) *Theodotus* and *Olympius*, Prelates of Churches in *Thracia*. But *Athanasius* was not ignorant of what Orders the Emperor had given. But, having been made sensible thereof before-hand, he betook himself to flight again, and so avoided the Emperor's menaces. The *Arians* calumniated him for this his escape, especially *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neroniades* a City of *Cilicia*, *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, and (e) *Leontius* who then presided over the Church at *Antioch*. This *Leontius*, when he was a Presbyter, was divested of that dignity, because he lived continually with a woman whose name was *Eustolium*, and endeavouring to conceal the suspicion of this unclean converse with her, he cut off his own genitals; after which he was conversant with her, late of

*Sergius* and *Nigrinianus* Confess his Confessions Constantinus efficit *Gillius* a Magnentio *Constantinus* efficit *Magnentius* die 19. Kal. Februar. Et *Vetrano* apud *Sirmium* Kal. Martii. Et anno, *G. Nepotianus* Rome tertio Novus Janus. Et pagina magna fuit cum Romanis *Constantinus* i. e. *Sergius* and *Nigrinius* being Consuls, *Constantinus* was set up on the 19th of the Kalends of February. And *Vetrano* at *Sirmium* on the Kalends of March. On the same year, *Nepotianus* also at Rome on the third of the Nones of June. And there was a great battle between the Romans and *Magnentius*. The time is recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*; but there, the passages are placed on the Consulate of *Timonius* and *Caecilianus*, when as it happened on the year following. Which was the year of *Christi*, 350. *Valef*.

(b) *Constantinus* was long before Emperor of the E. R. But when *Constantinus* was dead, who governed the Western Empire; he was by the soldiers killed Emperor of the whole Roman world. *Valef*.

(c) In the *Flavert*. *M. S.* 114. *Tomas* name is written with a doubtless so prevalent an impression upon the Emperor, that he fell into an unmeasurable rage, and gave order that he should be slain whenever he could be found: and together with him, (d) *Theodotus* and *Olympius*, Prelates of Churches in *Thracia*. But *Athanasius* was not ignorant of what Orders the Emperor had given. But, having been made sensible thereof before-hand, he betook himself to flight again, and so avoided the Emperor's menaces. The *Arians* calumniated him for this his escape, especially *Narcissus* Bishop of *Neroniades* a City of *Cilicia*, *Georgius* of *Laodicea*, and (e) *Leontius* who then presided over the Church at *Antioch*. This *Leontius*, when he was a Presbyter, was divested of that dignity, because he lived continually with a woman whose name was *Eustolium*, and endeavouring to conceal the suspicion of this unclean converse with her, he cut off his own genitals; after which he was conversant with her, late of

(d) *Olympius* was Bishop of *Antioch* a City of *Thracia*; *Theodotus* was Bishop of *Trjanople*, as *Athanasius* attests; (in *Egypt*, ad *Solitar*.) He mentions the same Bishop, in his *Apologetic* de *Eugenis*, pag. 703. But these passages are preposterously related by *Socrates*. For they were not done before the *Magnentian* war, as *Socrates* says, but when that war was ended, in the year of *Christi* 350; as *Eusebius* hath truly remarked. *Valef*.

(e) This person has a great Elogue given him in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, after which he was conversant with her, late of

*Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*: which commendation was taken out of some *Semi-Arian* writer. *Athanasius* doth every where speak sharply concerning this *Leontius*. His crafty disposition is incomparably well described by *Theodoret*; book 2. chap. 24. *Eccles. Histor. Valef*.

with a greater confidence and liberty, in regard he wanted those things upon account whereof he had fallen into that suspicion. But by the Decree and Diligence of the Emperor *Constantinus* he was promoted to the Bishoprick of the *Antiochian* Church after *Stephanus*, who had before succeeded *Flaccillus*. Thus far concerning this Person.

## CHAP. XXVII.

That *Macedonius*, having got possession of the See [of *Constantinople*,] did much mischief to those that in opinion dissented from him.

Moreover, at that time *Macedonius* was put into the possession of the Churches in *Constantinople*, *Paulus* being dispatch'd in the forementioned manner. And having procured a very great interest in the Emperor, he raised a war amongst the *Christians*, not inferior to that waged by the Tyrants at the same time. For, having by his persuasions induced the Emperor to countenance him with his assistance in destroying of the Churches, he procur'd whatever wicked acts he had a mind to do, to be establish'd by Law. From that time therefore an Edict was publicly propos'd throughout every City. And a military force appointed to see the Emperors Decrees put in execution. Those who asserted the *Homousian* Faith were driven not only out of the Churches, but from the Cities also. At first indeed they made it their business to expel them only. But afterwards, the mischief growing worse and worse, they betook themselves to a forcing of them to communicate with them, being very little solicitous about the Churches. And this forcible constraint was nothing inferior to that heretofore made use of by them, who necessitated the *Christians* to worship Idols. For they made use of all manner of scourgings, various tortures, and proscriptions of their goods. Many were punish'd with exile. Some died under their tortures, others were murdered, during their being led away to banishment. These things were done throughout all the Eastern Cities, but more especially at *Constantinople*. This intestine Persecution therefore, being but small before, was much increased by *Macedonius*, after he had gotten the Bishoprick. But the Cities of *Acchoa* and *Illyricum*, and the Western parts of the Empire, continued as yet undisturbed, in regard they both mutually agreed, and also retained the Rule of Faith delivered by the *Nicene* Synod.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

Concerning what was done at *Alexandria* by *Georgius* the *Arian*; from *Athanasius*'s own Relation.

BUT what [Villanies] *Georgius* during the same time committed at *Alexandria*, you may understand from *Athanasius*'s own relation, who was present at, and a sufferer in those [miseries.] For, in his *Apologetic* concerning his own flight, he speaks word for word thus, concerning what had been done there. For they came from thence to *Alexandria*, making search for me again, that they might murder me. And what hapned then was worse than that they had done before. For on a sudden the Soldiers surrounded



Constan-  
tius.Constan-  
tius.

surrounded the Church, and instead of going to prayers, there hapned a fight. After this, Georgius (sent by them out of Cappadocia, (arriving in Leht, increased those mischiefs which he had learnt from them. For after Easter-week, the Virgins were cast into Prison: The Bishops, bound in chains, were led away by the Soldiers: The Houses of Orphans and Widows were plunder'd, and the stock of Bread-corn [was pillaged:] they broke into Houses. And the Christians were carried out [to burial] in the night. The Houses were seal'd up: And the Brethren of those that were Clergy-men, were in danger upon their Brethrens Account. These things were horrid: but those afterwards committed were much more horrid. For the week after the Holy Pentecost, the People, after they had fasted, went out to the Cemetery to pray, because they all abominated Georgius's Communion. But that Villanous wretch understanding this, infligated Sebastianus the Captain, who was a Manichean, against them. He with a company of Soldiers, carrying Armour, naked Swords, Bows, and Darts, made a violent attack upon the People on the very Lords Day. And finding some few at their Prayers (for most of them were gone away by reason of the time of the day;) he did such exploits as became the Arians to have performed amongst them. For having kindled a fire, he set the Virgins close to it, forced them to say that they professed the Arian Fith. But when he perceived they were not to be vanquish'd, and that they despised the fire, he afterwards stript them, and beat them on the face in such a manner, that for a time they could scarce be known. And having seized forty men, he beat them after a new and unusual manner. For he forthwith cut Rods from off Palm-trees, which yet had their prickles on them, and steal'd their backs after such manner, that some of them by reason of the prickles that stuck in their flesh, were forced to make frequent use of Chirurgeons: others of them, not able to endure [the pain,] died. Immediately he took all the rest, that were left, and together with them a Virgin, and (a) banish'd them into Oasis the Great. Moreover, they would not at first suffer the bodies of those that were dead to be given to their relations: but casting them forth unburied, they hid them as they thought good, that they might seem not to know of so barbarous a cruelty. And this these madmen did, having a blindness upon their minds. For, in as much as the Relations of those that were dead, rejoiced upon account of their confession, but mourned because their Bodies lay unburied: their impiety and barbarity was so much the more plainly detected and divulged. Soon after this, they carried away into banishment out of Egypt and both the Libya's these Bishops, Ammonius, Thmuis, Cajus, Philo, Hermes, Plinius, Psenofrits, Nilammon, Agatho, Anagaphus, Ammonius, Marcus, Dracontius, Adelphius, another Ammonius, another Marcus, and Athenodorus: and these Presbyters, Hierax, and Diofcorus. And they treated them so cruelly in their conveying them into banishment, that some of them died in the Journey, and others in the very place of their exile. They

(a) In Athanasius the reading is [they were banished.] But in the Florant. and Sforian MSS. the reading (which I live better) is [they were banished.] To show, that this is to be read thus of Sebastianus the Captain of Egypt, who then a pious Marcus in a detestable manner. Moreover, all these things are (as I have said) related in a prepositional manner by Socrates: in regard they were done in the Year of Christ, 356. c. 15. g.

(b) The reading is the same in Athanasius. But in Theodoret (book 2. chap. 14. where this passage of Athanasius's is inserted) the reading is. [They murdered.]

was their earnest desire, according as Ahab did, wholly, if possible, to destroy the truth. Thus much Athanasius hath related in his own words concerning the Villanies committed by Georgius at Alexandria. But the Emperor march'd his Army into Illyricum. For the necessity of the publick affairs required his presence there; more especially, because Vetrano was proclaimed Emperor there by the Soldiers. Being come to Sirmium, he made a League with Vetrano, after which he discourt'd with him, and brought Affairs to such a pass, that those Soldiers, who had proclaimed Vetrano, revolted from him to Constantius's side. Having therefore deserted Vetrano, they cry'd out that only Constantius was Augustus, King and Emperor. No mention was made of Vetrano in their acclamation. Vetrano, becoming sensible immediately that he was betrayed, laid himself prostrate at the feet of the Emperor. Constantius took his Imperial Crown and Purple from him, and treated him kindly, exhorting him to lead a more sedate and quiet life in the habit of a private person. For [he told him] that a life void of disquietude was much more suitable for a man of his years, than to have a name full of care and sollicitude. Such was the conclusion of Vetrano's Affairs. But the Emperor ordered, that he should be allowed an ample revenue out of the publick tribute. After wards he wrote frequently to the Emperor whilst he made his residence at Prusa in Bithynia, declaring to him, that he had been the Author of the greatest happiness to him, in that he had freed him from cares, and the troubles that accompany a Crown: and said, that he himself did not do well, because he would not enjoy that happiness which he had bestow'd upon him. Thus far concerning these things. At the same time the Emperor Constantius, having created Gallus, his Father's Brother's Son, Caesar, and giving him his own name, sent him to Antioch of Syria, designing that he should guard the Eastern parts. Whilst he was making his entry into Antioch, the Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East. For a Pillar in the form of a Cross appearing in the heavens, struck the beholders with a great amazement. The rest of his chief Commanders he sent against Magnentius, of Sergius at the head of a very great Army. In the interim, he himself made his residence at Sirmium, expecting the issue of affairs.

†The same is recorded in the Acts of the Martyrs of the East, after the manner of the Consulate of Magnentius, of Sergius and Nigrinus, in these words: His Cons.

Levatus est Constantius Cæsar Id. Martij, & apparuit in Oriente Signum Salvatoris die 2. Kal. Februar. Luna 28. &c. During these mens consules, Constantius [Gallus] was created Cæsar on the Ides of March, and the Sign of our Saviour appeared in the East, on the 13th of the Kalends of February, on the 28th. of the Moon. But the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle says, this Sign was seen in the East, on the Nones of May about the day of Pentecost. To whom agrees Cyrilus, Theophylactus and Cedrenus. And Socrates seems to confirm the time in this place. For he saith, that this Sign appeared in the East, when Gallus Cæsar entered Antioch. Now Gallus was created Cæsar on the Ides of March: (besides Martin) the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle doth affirm. Vale.

## C H A P. XXIX

Concerning Photinus the Arch-Heretic.

Moreover, at that time Photinus who presided over the Church in that City, did more openly divulge that opinion which he had from Sirmium, invented. Wherefore, when there arose a disturbance occasioned thereby, the Emperor order'd, that

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tius.

that a (a) Synod of Bishops should be convened at *Sirmium*. Therefore, there met together in that City, of the Eastern [Bishops,] (b) *Marcus* of *Arcthusa*, (c) *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, whom the *Arian* party (having removed *Gregorius*, as we said \* before) put into his See; also *Basilus*, (who presided over the Church at *Ancyra*, *Marcellus* having been ejected,) *Pancratius* [Bishop] of *Pelencium*, and (d) *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*. Of the Western Bishops, [there met there] *Valens* [Bishop] of *Mursa*, and *Hofius* Bishop of *Corinth* *duba* in Spain (a Person eminently famous at that time) was present against his Will. These [Prelates] being convened at *Sirmium*, after the Consultation of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, (in it to have which year, by reason of the tumults caused by the Wars, no Consul publish'd the solemn (e) Shows and Plays usually exhibited at their entrance upon their Consulate, and having upon the examination found, that *Photinus* asserted the Opinion of *Sabellius* the *Libyan* and *Paul* of *Samosata*; they immediately deposed him. And this determination of theirs was by all Men, both then and afterwards, approved of as good and equitable. (f) But those [Bishops] who staid behind [at *Sirmium*] did that which was not grateful to all Men.

Yitii War, there were no Consuls in the East; but in the Western parts *Magnentius* Angustus as Consul with *Gaisio*. *Baronius* (in his *Ecclesiastick Annals* asserts, that that Synod was convened in the year of *Annals*, 357. when *Constantinus* Angustus was the Ninth time Consul, and *Julianus* Cæsar the Second time. But *Dionysius Petrus* (in *Frit* in his *Antiquariorum* on *Epiphanius*, and Secondly in his *disputatione de duplici Synodo Sirmiacensi*), doth by most evident arguments demonstrate, that the year of that Synod is truly assigned by *Socrates*, after the Consultation of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, which was the year of *Christ* 351. I know *Isidorus Sirmionensis* hath written two books, wherein he has endeavoured to maintain *Baronius*'s opinion against *Dionysius Petrus*, but in regard he himself did not publish those books, that is an evidence sufficient, that at length he acknowledged his own opinion to be false. Valef.

(b) The Bishops here named by *Socrates*, sat not in that Synod of *Sirmium*, which was convened against *Photinus*, after the Consultation of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, in the year of *Christ* 351; but in that other Synod which was convened there when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, in the year of *Christ* 352, a little before the Council of *Ariminum*; which latter Synod at *Sirmium* did also first that draught of the Creed, which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*; before which the Consuls names were prefixt. And this is evidently made out by *Geminus*, in his *Epistle* to *Valens*, which is recorded in *Hilarius*'s *Fragmentis*; and by *Epiphanius*, in *Hæres. Semiarum*. In the former *Sirmium* Synod, assembled against *Photinus*, the Eastern Bishops only were present this is attested by *Hilarius*, in his book de *Synodis*, and by *Vigilius* Bishop of *Tapsis* in his *Fifth Book* against *Eutyches*. Valef.

(c) *Georgius* was not at this time (viz. after the Consultation of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*) Bishop of *Alexandria*. For he was created Bishop there in the eighth Consulate of *Constantinus* Angustus, and in the Fifth Consulate of *Julianus* Cæsar, which was in the year of *Christ* 356. Wherefore, he could not sit in the former *Sirmium* Synod, which deposed *Photinus* in the year of *Christ* 351. The same must be said of *Eusebius* also who at that time lived under *Magnentius*'s jurisdiction: nor was he as yet banished to *Sirmium*. Valef.

(d) *Theodorus* continued to be Bishop of *Heraclea* in *Thracia* in the year of *Christ* 356, as it is manifest from *Athanasius*'s *Circular Epistle* to the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Libya*, pag. 290: which Epistle *Athanasius* wrote in the year of *Christ* 356, after *Georgius*'s entrance into the See of *Alexandria*. Wherefore, *Hypatianus* must necessarily have been made Bishop of *Heraclea* after the year 356. *Sepmen* hath made mention of the same *Hypatianus*, book 6. chap. 7. *Eccles. Hist.* Valef.

(e) *Socrates* here means by *Γαλατίας*, the *Ludi Circenses*, which the Consuls, exhibited at their entrance upon their Consulate: which by the Latines is termed *Consulatum dare*. Some Consuls, besides the *Ludi Circenses*, entertained the people with *Scenical* Plays, and with hunting of wild beasts in the *Amphitheatre*. Valef.

(f) At this place we follow the *Syriac* M. S. in which Copy this passage is more fully express, thus: Οἱ δὲ ἐπιστολὰς ἐν ὁμοῦ ἐκείνῳ ἔαρον ἢ ἐκείνῳ ἢ ἑ. c. But those [Bishops] who staid behind, &c. Incomparably well in my Judgment. Indeed, that draught of the Creed, which was publish'd in the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus*, is approved of by *Hilarius*, (in his *Book de Synodis*), as being Catholic: But *Athanasius* (in his *Book de Synodis Arimini* & *Seleucia*) condemns and rejects it, in the same manner with the other Creeds

composed by the *Arians*. Nor do *Hilarius* and *Athanasius* disagree with one another concerning this one form of the Creed, but about other draughts of it also; for example, about the *Antiochian* draught. For *Hilarius* confesseth, that the Eastern Bishops had good reason to compile new forms of the Creed, when new *Hæreses* arose against the Church. But *Athanasius* doth maintain, that those new draughts of the Creed were craftily compiled by the *Arians* with a design to destroy the *Nicene Creed*. Further, at this place of *Socrates*, instead of [ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρεσκεία,] that which was not best for all Othen] I had rather read [ὡς αὐτῶν ἡ ἀρεσκεία,] that which was not grateful to all Men.] And so I have render'd it. Valef.

Confan-  
tius.

## C H A P. XXX.

Concerning the [forms of the] Creed published at *Sirmium*, in the presence of the Emperor *Constantinus*.

FOR, as if they would condemn what they had heretofore determined concerning the Faith, they again composed, ratified, and published other \* draughts of the Creed: (a) one whereof was dictated in the *Greek* Tongue by *Marcus* of *Arcthusa*: (b) two more were drawn up in the *Latin* Tongue, which neither agreed one with the other (either in the expressions, or in the composure,) nor yet with that *Greek* one, in which the Bishop of *Arcthusa* dictated. Moreover, the one of those Creeds drawn up in *Latin*, I will here subjoin to that composed by *Marcus*: in the other (which they afterwards recited at (c) *Sirmium*), we will set at it's proper place, where we shall declare what was done at *Ariminum*. But you must know that they were both translated into the *Greek* Language. The Draught of the Creed dictated by *Marcus*, runs thus.

\* Or, other  
explanations  
concerning the  
Faith.

(c) *Socrates*  
(and with  
him *Sepmen*,  
men,) is  
doubtless  
mistaken.  
First, be-  
cause he  
supposeth  
that there  
were three  
forms of  
the Creed  
drawn up  
in the syn-  
od of *Sirmium*

against *Photinus*; whereas there was one form only composed in that Synod: which (besides *Socrates*) is recorded by *Athanasius*, pag. 500. and by *Hilarius*, in his *Book de Synodis* 238. *Edis. Paris.* 1631. Secondly, in regard he asserts, that that form of the Creed, which was publish'd in the *Greek* Tongue at the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus*, was dictated by *Marcus* of *Arcthusa*. *Marcus* of *Arcthusa* did not dictate that Form I have mention'd. But another; before which the Consuls Names were prefixt, and which was afterwards recited at *Ariminum*, as *Nikolaus Faber* hath already observed (in the Preface he wrote to *Hilarius*'s *Fragmentis*) from *Geminus*'s *Epistle*. We must therefore distinguish between the three Synods of *Sirmium*, each of which publish'd their Form of the Creed. The first was convened against *Photinus*, in the year of *Christ* 351. The second was assembled in the Year of our Lord 357: wherein the Blasphemy of *Helius* and *Potamian* was compell'd. The third was celebrat'd when *Eusebius* and *Hypatius* were Consuls, in the Year of *Christ* 359; wherein that Creed was drawn up, which *Marcus* of *Arcthusa* dictated. Valef.

(b) Instead of [ἄλλα ἢ ἑτέρα] the reading must be [ἄλλα ἢ,] the other two, or two more: as it is in the *Altit. M.S.* For *Socrates* here recounts three draughts of the Creed composed at *Sirmium*; the two latter whereof he saith were written at first in *Latin*, and afterwards translated into *Greek*. Which in my judgment is not true. I grant indeed, that that Creed, which by *Hilarius* is termed *Helius*'s Blasphemy, was at first published in *Latin*. But the other which had the Consuls name prefixt before it, was undoubtedly at first dictated in the *Greek* Tongue. For he that dictated it, (viz. *Marcus* of *Arcthusa*) and the rest of the Bishops then assembled were almost all *Grecians*. Lastly, the Subscriptions of the Bishop, who subscrib'd this form, are extant in *Greek*, in *Epiphanius* (in *Hæres. Semiarum*) Valef.

(c) Without doubt it must be [*Ariminum*], not [*Sirmium*]; which reading *Epiphanius* *Scolasticus* followed, as appears from his Version. See chap. 37. of this second Book.

We believe in one God the Father Almighty, the Creator and Framer of all things: \* Of whom \* Ephes 3: the whole Family in Heaven and Earth is made: and in his only begotten Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, born of the Father before all Worlds, God of God, Light of Light, by whom all things, which are in the Heaven, and which are upon the Earth, visible and invisible, were made. Who is the Word, and the Wisdom, and the true Light, and the Life. Who in the last days was for our sakes incarnate.

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Constantina.

ning, the beginning of all things. Furthermore, we, making an accurate explanation of [their] sentiments [who profess] the Christian Religion, do assert, that if any one [shall not affirm Christ] Jesus to have been the Son of God before ages, and to have, ministered to the Father as the framing of all things, but [shall say] that he was called the Son and Christ from such time only as he was born of Mary, and that he then received the beginning of his Deity; let him be Anathema, like [Paul] of Samolara.

(k) Athanasius has the same Words in his Synodus Antiochensis: where, at the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius (&) and the rest. It is manifest that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord (&) and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it must not be asserted that there are two Gods, because the Lord himself hath said, "I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. Therefore he is God even of

(k) Another [Draught of the] Creed published at Sirmium in the Latin tongue, and rendered into Greek.

In regard thereto seemeth to have been some difference concerning the Faith, all things were diligently inquired into and discussed at Sirmium, in the where, at the presence of Valens, Ursacius, Germinius (&) and the rest. It is manifest that there is one God the Father Almighty, according as it is declared over the whole world: and his one only begotten Son Jesus Christ our Lord (&) and God and Saviour, begotten of his Father before ages. But it must not be asserted that there are two Gods, because the Lord himself hath said, "I go unto my Father, and your Father, and to my God, and your God. Therefore he is God even of

Constantina. Having rejected all these things, as if they had invented better, they promulge another Creed, which they wrote at Sirmium in Latin, but it was translated into Greek. But *Epiphanius* recording this. Creed in his Book de Synodis, prefixes this title before it: Exemplum Blasphemie, &c. A Copy of the Blasphemy composed at Sirmium by Housus and Potamius. Which title *Epiphanius* made himself, and deservedly calls this Creed Blasphemy. Who this Potamius, here joined with *Epiphanius*, was, *Marcellinus Presbyter* informs us in the Supplicatory Libel which he presented to the Emperor Theodosius. Where, amongst the corruptors of the Divine and Apostolical Faith, after *Arianus*, he in the first place names this person: His Words are these: Potamius Odyssiponensis Episcopus, &c. i. e. Potamius Bishop of Lisbon was at first a Defender of the Catholic Faith, but afterwards induced by the reward of a Farm belonging to the Emperor's Revenue (which he was very desirous of,) he corrupted the Faith. Housus of Corduba amongst the Churches in Spain detested him, and expelled him as being an impious Heretic. But even Housus himself, summoned before the Emperor Constantius by the complaint of this Potamius, and verified with oaths, was fearful (being old and sick) of banishment, or imprisonment, and so yielded to the impious. Valef.

(l) These three words [*ὁ υἱος γεννητός*, and there] occur not in the Latin Copy of this Draught of the Creed. But they are extant in *Athanasius*, and in all our M. S. Copies. Hence 'tis manifest that many Bishops were at that time convened at Sirmium. Indeed *Placidius Bishop of Angoulême* [in France], in the Epistle he wrote against this Draught of the Creed, does expressly affirm that it was published in a Synod of Bishops. The same is sufficiently confirmed by *Athanasius*, in the foregoing place. Lastly, in regard *Hilarinus* (in his forecited Book) does assert, that this Creed, after it had been dictated at Sirmium, was forthwith sent to all the Eastern and Western Bishops to be approved by them; he evidently shews it to have been dictated in a Synod. Nor can the Draught of a Creed be any where dictated but in a Synod of Bishops. Further, that *Germinius* here mentioned, was Bishop of *Sirmium*, put into *Potamius*'s Sent upon his being ejected in the year of Christ 351. *Atianus* (in his "revelation to *Hilarinus*'s Fragments," says that this *Germinius* had before been Bishop of *Cyricum*; which I do not believe. That place in *Athanasius* (in his Epist. ad Solitar. pag. 860; where he reproves the Emperor Constantius, because, contrary to the Ecclesiastical Canons, he would send obdurate fellows, born in remote Countries, to be Bishops in the Cities;) deceived that Learned Man: *Athanasius*'s words there are these: ὅτι οὐ γινώσκοντες ἀλλὰ κατὰ πόλεις ἐκπέμψεν ἐν ἀλλοτρίοις, &c. So be sent *Gregorius* from Cappadocia to Alexandria. And *Germinius* was by him sent from the City *Cyricum* to Sirmium. From Laodicea he sent *Cerapion* to Nicomedia. From these Words of *Athanasius* it cannot be concluded, that *Germinius* had been Bishop of *Cyricum* before. Otherwise the same must be said concerning *Gregorius* and *Cerapion*, that the latter had been before Bishop of Laodicea, and the former in Cappadocia, which, in regard 'tis evidently false in these two, cannot be said of *Germinius*. This *Germinius* was preferred to the Episcopate of Sirmium by the *Arians*, because he was a most eager defender of their opinion. This we are informed of by *Athanasius*, in his circular Letter to the Bishops of Egypt and Libya, pag. 290. Valef.

(m) In the *Atian*, and *Sforian* M. S. and in *Epiphanius*'s Version these Words [*ὁ υἱος γεννητός* and *ὁ υἱος*] occur; in *Athanasius* and *Hilarinus* they are wanting. Valef.

all, as the Apostle also hath taught, † Is he the Confession of the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also: Seeing it is one God who shall justify the Circumcision by Faith. Moreover, all other things agree, nor have they any ambiguity. But whereas very many are disturbed about that term which in Latin is called \* Substantia; and in Greek Ousia; (that is, that it may be more accurately understood, the word † Homousion or \* Homousion,) these terms ought in † That is, no wife to be mentioned, nor disavowed of publicly in the face of the Church, for this reason, and upon this account, or Eusebius, because there is nothing recorded concerning them in the Divine Scriptures, and in regard these things of like substance are above the reach of human knowledge and mind, hence, of man; nor can any one declare the Son's generation, according as it is written, || And who shall declare his generation? For 'tis manifest that only by the Father knows how he begat the Son; and again, that the Son [only knows] how he was begotten of the Father. It cannot be doubtful to any man that the Father is greater in honour, dignity, and divinity; and that he is greater in that very name of a Father: the Son himself attesting, † The Father who sent me is greater than I. † See John 14. man is ignorant that this is Catholic [Doctrine], that there are two persons of the Father and of the Son, and that the Father is the greater: but that the Son is made subject, together with all other things which the Father hath subjected to himself. That the Father hath no beginning, and is invisible, immortal, and impassible: but that the Son was born of the Father, God of God, Light of Light. And that no man knows his generation, (as was said before,) but only the Father. That the Son himself our Lord and God, took flesh, or a body, that is [was made] man, according as the Angel evangelized. And according as all the Scriptures do teach, and especially the Apostle himself, the Teacher of the Gentiles, Christ received Humanity of the Virgin Mary, by which he suffered. This is the principal Head of the whole Faith, and its Confirmation, that the Trinity must be always preserved according as we read in the Gospel: † Go ye and disciple all nations, † baptizing them in the name of the Father, † and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The number of the Trinity is entire and perfect. But the Paraclete, the Holy Ghost, was sent by the Son, and he came according to promise, that he might [sanctify and (n) teach the Apostles and all Believers. (n) In Athanasius this is also said: that he restore him his Bishoprick, in case by altering his mind he would anathematize the opinion which Valens had invented, and consent to their sentiments. \* See Chap. 15. note (k).

They attempted to persuade *Photinus* to give his \* consent to, and subscribe these things, even after his deposition, promising that they would restore him his Bishoprick, in case by altering his mind he would anathematize the opinion which Valens had invented, and consent to their sentiments. \* See Chap. 15. note (k). But he accepted not of that proposition, but challeng'd them to disprove. A day therefore being set, by the Emperor's own appointment, the Bishops there present met, and also not a few of the (a) Senatorian Order, whom the Emperor commanded to be present at the disproof. (a) Epiphanius (in Hist.)

*Photinus* relates, that *Photinus*, after he had been condemned and deposed in the Synod of Sirmium, (for so the reading must be, not in the Synod of Serdica,) went to Constantinople, and requested that he might dispute concerning the Faith before Judges by him nominated: and that *Constantinus* enjoyed *Basilius* Bishop of *Anagrus* to undertake the disputation against *Photinus*, and gave leave, that *Thalassius*, *Dionysius*, *Cerealis*, and *Taurus*, who were *Contra*, should be Judges or Auditors of that disputation. Amongst these *Thalassius* was the chief person in favour and authority with the Emperor (as *Zosimus* tells us in his second Book.) And was first Praefect of the Praetorium into the East together with *Gallus Caesar*, in the year of Christ 351. He died in the year of our Lord 353, in the sixth Consulship of *Constantinus Augustus*, and in the second of *Gallus Caesar*, as *Ammonius* relates Book 14. Therefore the Synod of Sirmium, and the dispo-

tion of *Basilus* against *Photinus* cannot fall on the year of Christ 357, as *Baronius* asserts, Besides, *Epiphanius* says further, that in *Basilus's* disputation against *Photinus*, *Callistratus* was a *Notary*, who had before been *Notary* to *Rufinus* *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium*. Now, *Rufinus* was *Præfekt* of the *Prætorium* in the *Gallia's*, in the sixth Consulate of *Constantinus Augustus*, and in the second of *Galus Cæsar*, as *Ann. Marcellinus* tells us Book 14. But, two years before he had been *Præfekt* of *Syricum*. Now, in the year of Christ 357, *Amastius*, not *Rufinus*, bore the *Præfecture* of the *Prætorium* in *Syricum*. Further, it may be evidently concluded from *Germinius's* being made *Bishop*, that the Synod of *Sirmium* against *Photinus* (wherein *Photinus* was ejected out of his *Bishoprick*), was not held in the year of Christ 357. For, *Germinius* was *Bishop* of *Sirmium*, before *Georgius* intruded himself into the See of *Alexandria* upon *Athanasius's* Ejection, as *Athanasius* relates in the Circular Letter he wrote to the *Bishops* of *Egypt* and *Libya*, at such time as *Georgius* was in possession of the *Alexandrian* See. Moreover, *Georgius* came upon the See of *Alexandria* in the beginning of the year 356, as it is evident from the protestation of the *Alexandrians*, which is extant at the close of *Athanasius's* Epistle ad *Solitar*. Seeing therefore *Germinius* was *Bishop* of *Sirmium* before the year of our Lord 356, *Photinus* aliu (whom *Germinius* succeeded) must necessarily have been deposed before this year. *Athanasius* (in Epist. ad *Solitar*, pag. 866, where he recounts the Ordinations of extraneous Persons, made by *Constantinus*;) does in the first place mention *Georgius's* Ordination; then, *Germinius's* and *Cæcrops's*; afterwards *Alexandria's*; and at last *Georgius's*. Amongst these Persons, *Georgius* was made *Bishop* of *Alexandria* in the year of Christ 341. *Germinius* succeeded *Photinus* in the Episcopate of *Sirmium* in the year 351. After he had been sent for by *Constantinus* then residing at *Sirmium*, as *Athanasius* relates in the fore-quoted place; which the *Exile* Translator has rendered ill. On the same year *Cæcrops* was made *Bishop* of *Nicomedia*, as it may be concluded from the forecited passage in *Athanasius*. Lastly, *Alexandria* was preferred to the *Bishoprick* of *Millain* in the year of our Lord 355; and on the very following *Georgius* thrust himself into the See of *Alexandria*. Valef.

In their presence, *Basilus*, who at that time presided over the Church at *Ancyra*, opposed *Photinus*, the *Notaries* taking their words in writing. There was a very great contest on both sides during their dispute; wherein *Photinus* being vanquish'd, was condemned. Spending the residue of his life in exile, he wrote a (p) Book in † both Languages, for he was not unskill'd in the *Latin* tongue. He wrote also against all Heresies, asserting his own Opinion only. Let thus much be said concerning *Photinus*. Moreover, you must know, that the *Bishops* convened at *Sirmium* were afterwards (q) displeas'd with that Draught of the Creed publish'd by them in *Latin*. For it seem'd to them, after its publication, to contain many contradictions. Wherefore they earnestly endeavour'd to get it out of their hands who had transcribed it. But, in regard many hid it, the Emperor by his Edicts order'd, that all the Copies of it should be diligently searched for and gather'd up, threatening to punish those that should be found concealing of it. But his menaces were unable to suppress it when once published, in regard it had fallen into many mens hands. Thus far concerning this.

is he mistakes; viz. what *Athanasius* has said concerning the third form of the Creed drawn up at *Sirmium*, (before which the Consuls names were prefixt,) *Socrates* attributes to the second, composed by *Hosius* and *Potamius*. The place in *Athanasius* is extant at pag. 904. But in regard of its length we forbear quoting the words here. *Petrus* (in his *Animadversiones* on *Epiphanius*, pag. 318.) has followed the mistake of *Socrates's*. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXI.

Concerning Hosius Bishop of Corduba.

BUT, in regard we have mention'd *Hosius* the *Spaniard*, as being against his will present at *Sirmium*, we must say something very briefly concerning him. For a little before,

this person had been sent into (a) Banishment by the fraudulent practices of the *Arrians*. But then, through the earnest desire of those convened at *Sirmium*, the Emperor sent for him, being desirous either to persuade, or else by force to compel him to give consent with those [*Bishops*] present there. For if this could be accomplish'd, an evident testimony would seem to be given to their Faith. For this reason therefore, he was present (as I said) being necessitated thereto against his will. But when he refused to give his consent, they inflicted stripes and tortures upon the old man. Upon which account he was necessitated both to consent to and subscribe those Expositions of the Faith then publish'd. Such was the conclusion of affairs at that time transacted at *Sirmium*. Moreover, the Emperor *Constantinus* continued at *Sirmium*, expecting the event of the War against *Magentius*, of Christ 357. as *Baronius* has truly observed. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning the Overthrow of *Magentius* the Tyrant.

IN the interim, *Magentius* having possessed himself of the Imperial City *Rome*, slew many of the *Senatorian* Order, and destroy'd several of the *Populace*. But as soon as *Constantinus's* Commanders, having got together a body of *Romans*, marched out against him, he left *Rome*, and went into the *Gallia's*. Where there hapned continual engagements; and sometimes one side, sometimes the other got the better. But in fine, *Magentius* having been worsted about *Mursa*, which is a Fort of the *Gallia's*, was besieged there. In which Fort such a miraculous accident as this is said to have hapned. *Magentius* attempting to encourage his Soldiers disheartened at their overthrow, ascended a lofty tribunal. His men, desirous to receive him with the shouts and acclamations usually given to the Emperors, contrary to their intent diverted them to *Constantinus*. For by a general consent they all cried out, not *Magentius*, but *Constantinus Augustus*. *Magentius* looking upon this to be an \*Omen of his imminent ruin, departed immediately out of the Garrison, and fled to the further parts of the *Gallia's*. *Constantinus's* Commanders follow'd him with very close pursuit. Whereupon there hapned another engagement at a place called

(a) The Mountain *Seleucus*: wherein *Magentius* being totally routed, fled aloneto *Lyons* a City of *Gallia*, three days journey distant from the Fort at *Mursa*. *Magentius* having got into *Lyons*,

in the first place killed his own mother. Then he slew his brother, whom he had crested *Cæsar*; and at last laid violent hands upon himself. This was done in the sixth Consulate of *Constantinus*, and in *Constantinus Gallus's* second Consulate, (b) about the fifteenth of the month *August*. Not long after, another of *Magentius's* brothers, something his name *Decentius*, finished his own life, by hanging himself. (c) It is us's Fast: thus; in the sixth Consulate of *Constantinus* the second of *Constantinus Gallus*, *Magentius* killed himself in the *Gallia's* at *Lyons*, on the third of the *Ides* of *August*; and *Decentius*, brother to *Magentius*, hanged himself on the fifteenth of the *Kalends* of *September*. In the *Alexandr. Chronicle*, the year of *Magentius's* death is falsely set down; but the day is noted to have been on the fourteenth of the *Ides* of *August*. Valef.

Constantinus.

ing of himself. Such was *Magnentius's* Exit. But the publick Affairs of the Empire return'd not to a perfect degree of tranquillity: For soon after this another Tyrant arose, by name *Silvanus*. But *Constantinus's* Commanders quickly destroy'd him, whist he was making disturbances in the *Gallia's*.

# C H A P. XXXIII.

Concerning the Jews inhabiting Dio-Cæsarea in Palestine.

AT the same time also that these things hapned, there arose another intestine War in the *East*. For the Jews who inhabited *Dio-Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, took arms against the *Romans*, and over-ran and destroy'd the adjacent places. But *Gallus* (who was also named *Constantinus*, whom the Emperor, having created him *Cæsar*, had sent into the *East*) sent an Army against them, and routed them. And by his order their City *Dio-Cæsarea* was totally destroy'd.

# C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning Gallus Cæsar.

*Gallus* having done this, was unable [with moderation] to bear his prosperous success: but immediately attempted to raise innovations against him by whom he had been created *Cæsar*, and he himself was also resolv'd to play the Tyrant. But, whereas his design was soon discover'd by *Constantinus*: (For *Gallus* had upon his own authority order'd *Domitianus*, at that time *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the *East*, and *Magnus* the *Quæstor* to

(a) I corrected this place by the assistance of the *Allat. M. S.* of *Sozomen*, and *Cedreus*. In the *Allat. M. S.* the reading is [ἀνελὼν μὲν ὡς αὐτοὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοὺς αὐτοὺς] *Sozomen's* words *Book 4. Chap. 7.* are almost the same. But *Epiphanius*, our *M. SS.* Copies, and the *Alexandrian Chronicle* retain the *Vulgar* reading, to wit, [ἐν μὲν τοῖς αὐτοῖς τοῖς αὐτοῖς] *He* (that is) *Gallus* having not acquainted the Emperor with his design of slaying *Domitianus*, &c. *Valef.*

be slain, because they had (a) acquainted the Emperor with his design. *Constantinus* highly incensed thereat, sent for *Gallus* to him. He, being in a very great fear, went unwillingly. When he arrived in the *Western* parts, and was come as far as the *Island* *Eleonora*, *Constantinus* order'd he should be slain. Not long after, he created *Julianus*, *Gallus's* Brother, *Cæsar*, and sent him against the *Barbarians* in *Gallia*. Moreover, *Gallus* (called also *Constantinus*)

was slain in the seventh Consulate of the Emperor *Constantinus*, when he himself was Consul the third time. On the year following, in the Consulate of *Arbition* and *Lollianus*, *Julianus* was created *Cæsar*, on the sixth of the month *November*. Concerning *Julianus* we shall make a further mention in our following Book. But *Constantinus* having got rid of his present mischiefs and disquietudes, bent his mind again to an Ecclesiastick War. For going from *Sirmium* to the Imperial City *Rome*, he again summon'd a Synod of Bishops, and ordered some of the *Eastern* Bishops to hasten into (b) *Italy*; and at the same time commanded the *Western* Bi-

(b) Instead of [ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ] the reading in the *Allat. M. S.* is truer; which is [ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ] which reading we have followed in our Version. *Valef.*

shops to meet there also. But in the interim *Constantinus*, that they were making preparation to go into *Italy*, this accident hapned: (c) *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* died, having presided over the Church there fifteen years: *Liberius* succeeded him in his Bishoprick.

April, when *Constantinus Augustinus* was Consul the fifth time, and *Constantinus Cæsar* the first time; which was the year of Christ 352: after he had sat Bishop fifteen years, one month, and eleven days; as it is recorded in the *Antient Book* concerning the *Roman Bishops*, which is published together with *Victorius Aquitanus's Cycle*. *Valef.*

# C H A P. XXXV.

Concerning Aëtius the Syrian, Eunomius's Master.

AT *Antioch* in *Syria* there arose another Arch-Heretic, *Aëtius*, surnamed *Atheus*. He had the same Sentiments with *Arius*, and maintained the same Opinion: but he separated himself from the *Arian* Party, because they had admitted *Arius* into communion. For *Arius* (as I said \* before) espousing one Opinion in his mind, made an open profession of another with his mouth, when he hypocritically consented to and subscribed the Form of the Creed [drawn up] at the Synod of *Nice*, that he might deceive the then Emperor. Upon this account therefore *Aëtius* separated himself from the *Arians*. Moreover, *Aëtius* had formerly been an heretical person, and a very zealous defender of *Arius's* Opinion. For after he had been a little instructed at *Alexandria*, he returned from thence: And arriving at *Antioch* in *Syria* (for there he was born) he was ordained Deacon by *Leontius*, at that time Bishop of *Antioch*. Immediately therefore he astonish'd those that discourt'd him with the novelty of his Speeches. And this he did, trusting in *Aristotle's Categories*; (that Book is so entitled by its Author,) from the Rules whereof he discourt'd, but was insensible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to deceiving of his own self, nor had he learned the scope of *Aristotle* from knowing persons. For *Aristotle*, upon account of the Sophisters who at that time derided Philosophy, wrote that *Exercitation* for Young men, and oppos'd the Sophisters with the art of discourt' by subtil reasonings. Wherefore the (a) *Ephecticks* who expound *Plato's* and *Plotinus's* works, do find fault with what *Aristotle* has subtilly and artificially asserted [in that work.] But *Aëtius*, having never had an Academic Master, stuck close to the Sophisms of the *Categories*. Upon which account he could neither understand how there could be a Generation (b) without a beginning, nor how he that was begotten could be co-eternal with him who begat him. Yea, *Aëtius* was a man of so little learning, so unskilled in the sacred Scriptures, and so wholly exercised in and addicted to a contentious and disputative humour, (which every Rustick may easily do;) that he was not

(a) Who these *Ephecticks* were, we may know from *Diogenes Laertius*: Τῶν δὲ φιλοσοφῶν, ἑνὸς ἦν ζῆλος, ἀπομακρυνεὶ δὲ τὰ κοινὰ. &c. *Philosophers* (says he) were generally divided into two sorts; some were termed *Dogmaticks*, who discourt'd concerning things as they might be comprehended; others were called *Ephecticks*, who fine nothing, and dispute of things so as they cannot be comprehended. See *Diogenes Laertius* in *Proem* to *Vir. Philos.* pag. 10. Edit. *Coln. Allobrog.* 1616. of these *Ephecticks* (whom we may in English call *Doubters*) the *Scepticks* were one Species.

(b) In the original, the term is [ἀγέννητος], unbegotten] which is used instead of [γενετός] without a beginning,] wherefore, we have rendered it accordingly. *Valef.*

in the least studious in the perusal of those ancient Writers who have explained the Sacred Books of the Christian Religion, but wholly rejected *Clement*, *Africanus*, and *Origen*, persons expert in all manner of knowledge and literature. But he patch'd together Epistles, both to the Emperor *Constantius*, and to some other persons, knitting together therein trifling and contentious disputes, and inventing subtil and fallacious arguments. Upon which account he was firnamed \* *Atheni*. But altho' his assertions were the same with those of the *Arians*; yet because they were unable to understand his difficulty and perplexed † *Syllogisms*, he who had the same Sentiments with them, was by those of his own party judg'd to be an Heretick. And for this reason he was driven from their Church; but he himself pretended that he would not communicate with them. There are at this present some Hereticks propagated from him, [to wit,] those who were heretofore called *Aerians*, but now they are termed *Eunomians*. For *Eunomius* (who had been *Aetius's* Notary,) having been instructed in that (c) Heretical Opinion by him, afterwards headed that Sect. But we shall speak concerning *Eunomius* in due place.

(r) In the Adalin M. S. instead of [τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλήλων ἀκρίβειαν, that contentious and verbose way of disputing] But Epiphanius Scholasticus follows the vulgar reading, and to does this, in the word [ἀκρίβειαν] where he transcribes this passage of our Socrates. Valel.

C H A P. XXXVI.

Concerning the Synod at Millain.

AT that time the Bishops met in Italy; there came not very many of the Eastern Bishops, in regard most of them were hindered from coming, either by their great age, or by the length of the journey: but of the Western Bishops there met above (a) three hundred. For it was the Emperor's order, that a Synod should be held at the City of *Millain*. Where being met together, the Eastern Bishops requested that in the first place sentence might by a general confent be pronounced against *Athanasius*: that so, that having been effected, he might in future be perfectly disabled from returning to *Alexandria*. But when (b) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* in *Gallia*, and *Dionysius*, and *Eusebius*, (the former of whom was Bishop of (c) *Alba* the Metropolis of *Italy*, and the latter of *Vercelle* which is a City of *Liguria* in *Italy*), were sensible, that the Eastern Bishops, by a ratification of the sentence against *Athanasius*, attempted the subversion of the Faith, they arose, and with great earnestness cry'd out, that deceit and fraud was covertly design'd against the Christian Religion by what was transacted: for they said, that the accusation against *Athanasius* was not true, but that these things were invented by them in order to the deprivation of the Faith. After they had with loud voices spoken all this, the Congress of Bishops was for that time dissolv'd.

(a) It should be [τρεῖς καὶ τριάκοντα, thirty.] In the Epistle of the Council of *Millain* sent to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Vercelle*, there are the names of thirty Bishops only, who consented to the condemnation of *Athanasius*, *Marcellus*, and *Photinus*. Amongst whom some Eastern Bishops are recounted, as you may see in *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 355. Valel.

(b) *Paulinus* Bishop of *Triers* was not present at the Council of *Millain*, but at that of *Orleans*, which had been convened two years before, in the year of Christ 353. See *Baronius*. Valel.

(c) The reading is the same in *Sozomen*, Book 4. Chap. 9. But *Be-*

ronius has long since remarked, that *Alba* is here put instead of *Millain*. For *Millain* (not *Alba*) was the Metropolis of *Italy*. And *Dionysius*, who then opposed *Constantius* and the *Arians*, was not Bishop of *Alba*, but of *Millain*, as *Athanasius* attests in his Epistle ad *Solitar*. Valel.

Constantius.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning the Synod at Ariminum, and concerning the [Draught of the] Creed which was published there.

WHEN the Emperor understood this, he removed \* them out of the way by banishment. And resolv'd to convene a General Council, that so, by drawing all the Eastern Bishops into the West, he might (if it were possible) reduce them all to an agreement in opinion. But in regard the tediousness of the Journey rendred this design of his difficult, he order'd the Synod should be divided into two parts, permitting those then present to meet at *Ariminum* [a City] of *Italy*. But by his Letters he gave the Eastern Bishops order to assemble at *Nicomedia* [a City] of *Bithynia*. (a) The Emperor issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion. But, this design of his had not a successful event. For neither of the Synods agreed among themselves, but each of them was divided into contrary factions. For neither could they convene at *Ariminum* be brought to agree in one and the same opinion: and those Eastern Bishops gather'd together at *Seleucia* of *Isauria* rais'd another Schism. Moreover, after what manner all these matters were transacted we will declare in the procedure of our History, having first made mention of some few passages concerning *Eudoxius*. For about that time (b) *Leontius* (who had ordain'd *Aetius* the Heretick Deacon departing this life, *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Germanicia*, a City of *Syria*, being then present at *Rome*, consider'd with himself that he was to make haste. And having fram'd a cunning discourse with the Emperor, as if the City *Germanicia* stood in need of his consolation and defence, he requested that leave might be granted him to make a sudden return. The Emperor foreseeing nothing [of a design,] sent him away. But he, having procur'd the chiefest Persons of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor to be his assistants, left his own City [*Germanicia*,] and \* elancularly posselt himself of the Episcopate of *Antioch*: † *ἔπειτα*, immediately after which he attempted to favour *Aetius*, and made it his business to assemble a Synod of Bishops, and (c) restore him to his dignity, [to wit,] his † *Diaconate*. But he was in no wise able to effect this, because the † *Deaconship*, which he had conceived against *Aetius* was more prevalent than *Eudoxius's* earnestness for him. Thus much concerning these things. But at first when the Bishops were assembled at *Ariminum*, preterit

That is, Paulinus, Dionysius, and Eusebius.

(a) These words. [ταῦτα μὲν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκτέλεσεν τὰς διατάξεις ἐβόλυσεν.] i. e. The Emperor issued out these orders with a design to unite them in opinion] are wanting in *Robert Stephens's* Edition: we have inserted them, upon the authority of the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. Valel.

(b) The death of *Leontius* Bishop of *Antioch* hapned in the year of Christ 356. *Constantius* reigning then at *Rome*, as *Baronius* has truly remarked. Valel.

a *Diaconate*: but being afterwards reproved by *Diodorus* and *Flavianus*, because he had advanced a person to Sacred Orders who had been bred up in ill studies, and was an assertor of impious Tenets; he divested him of his Deaconship, as *Theodoret* relates (*Eccles. Hist.* Book 2. Chap. 24.) *Eudoxius* therefore, as soon as he had gotten the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, attempted to restore *Aetius* to his former pre-ferment. Valel.

Constan-  
tina.

\* Book 2.  
Chap. 12.

\* Chap. 30.

(d) We  
remark'd  
before,  
(Book 2.  
Chap. 30.

note (b.) that this third Exposition of Faith was not translated out of Latin; but was at first dictated in Greek by *Marcus Arethasius*. *Athanasius*, who has recorded this Creed in his Book de *Synodo*, does not say it was translated out of Latin; and yet, where-ever he produceth any monument rendered into Greek out of the Latin tongue, his continual usage is to give the Reader warning of it. Further, these words [*Ὁ Θεὸς ἐκ παλαιῶν καὶ ἀπαράρητος, διὰ δὲ ἐν τέλει τοῖς πλημαῖ, i. e. This Creed was translated out of Latin into Greek,*] the contents thereof are these? are wanting in Robert Stephens's Edition; nor are they in *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. Valef.

the Eastern Prelates affirmed that they were come to the Council with a design wholly to omit the mention of the accusations against *Athanasius*. This desire and resolution of theirs was assisted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who at the beginning had been defenders of *Arian's* Opinion: but [afterwards] they publicly consented to the term *Homoousi*, by their Libel given in to the Bishop of Rome, as we said \* before. For these persons always inclined to the strongest side. They were assisted by *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*. When therefore some were ready to propose one thing in the Congress of Bishops then present, and some another; *Ursacius* and *Valens* said, that all Forms of the Creed heretofore publish'd were to be accounted null and void; and that that last draught was to be admitted and approved of, which they had a little before published in their Convention at *Sirmium*. Having said this, they caused a paper, which they had in their hands, to be read; [ wherein was contained ] another Form of the Creed (which they had drawn up before at *Sirmium*, but concealed it there, as I said \* before) which they then made publick at *Ariminum*. This (d) Creed was translated out of Latin [ into Greek; ] the Contents thereof are these.

truth. He shall receive of mine, and shall teach you, and bring all things to your remembrance. But for the term \* *Ousia*, in regard it has been used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense, and, being not understood by the people, gives an offence to many, in as much as it is not contained in the Scriptures, we thought good to have it wholly removed, and in future to make no mention at all of this term *Ousia*, when God is spoken of, in regard the sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the Substance of the Father and of the Son. But (f) we do assert, that the Son is in all things like the Father, as the sacred Scriptures do affirm and teach.

Creed is set down by *Germinius* in his Epistle to *Rufinus*, *Palladius*, and others, in these words: *Nam sub bonæ memoriæ Constantio Imperatore, &c. For under the Emperor Constantius of good memory, when there began to be a dissention amongst those concerning the Faith; in the presence of the said Emperor, there being also present Georgius Bishop of the Alexandrian Church, Pancratius of Pelusium, Basilus at that time Bishop of Anquiritum, Valens, Ursacius, and our slenderest; after a dispute had concerning the Faith until night, when it was reduced to a certain Rule, Marcus was chosen by us all to dictate it: In which Creed it is thus written, The Son is in all things like the Father, as the divine Scriptures do affirm and teach. To which entire Profession of Faith we all gave our consent, and subscribed it with our hands. The subscriptions are extant in *Epiphanius* (In *Harer. Seniliarum*, Chap. 22.) which ought to be annexed to this draught of the Creed. The same form of the *Sirmian* Creed is mentioned in the Exposition of the Faith at *Jelucia*, which *Epiphanius* hath recorded in the foresaid Heresie, Chap. 25. in these Words: *ὅτι δὲ ταύτην τὴν πίστιν ἐκδοῦσαν οὐκ ἔστιν ἔργον ὑποθέσθαι ἑτέραν πίστιν, &c. i. e. Moreover, that that Draught of the Creed heretofore published at *Sirmium* in the presence of the piety of our Emperor [Constantius] does exactly agree with this form of the Creed, is very well known by them who have read that Creed; which was subscribed by that men then present, to wit, Basilus, Marcus, Georgius Bishop of Alexandria, Pancratius, Hypatianus, and most of the Western Bishops. Valef.**

After the reading of this Paper, those who were displeased with the contents thereof, rose up and said; We came not hither because we wanted a Creed: For we keep that entire, which we have received from our Ancestors. But [we are met,] that if any innovation hath hapned concerning it, we might repress it. If therefore what hath been recited doth contain nothing of novelty in it, do you now openly Anathematize the *Arian* Heresie, in such sort as the ancient Rule of the Church hath rejected other Heresies, as being blasphemous. For it has been made manifest to the whole World, that *Arian's* impious opinion hath been the occasion of those tumults and disturbances, which have hapned in the Church until this present time. This proposal, being not admitted of by *Ursacius*, *Valens*, *Germinius*, *Auxentius*, *Demophilus*, and *Caius*, wholly rent in sunder the Church. For these persons adhered to what had been recited in the Synod of *Ariminum*. But the others did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed. Moreover, they derided the inscription prefix before the Creed which had been read. And especially (g) *Athanasius*, in the Epistle he sent to his acquaintance, where he writes word for word thus.

ted by *Socrates*, occurs at the beginning of his Epistle de *Synodi Arimini* & *Seleucia*. Valef.

For what was wanting to the Doctrine of the Catholic Church as concerning Piety, that Dissolutions should now be made about the Faith, and that they should prefix the Consulate of the present times before that Draught of the Creed (forsooth!) which they have published? For *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and *Germinius*, have done that which never was done, or so much as ever heard of amongst Christians. For having composed such a form

(c) In *Athanasius's* version: by whom the Ages were framed, and all things were made. Who was begotten the only Begotten of the Father, the Only of the Only, God of God, like to the Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures. Whose Generation no person knoweth, [and] not only the Father who begat him. We know that the Only Begotten Son of God, by his Father's appointment, came down from Heaven in order to the abolishing of Sin: And was born of the Virgin Mary, and conversed with the Disciples, and fulfilled every Dispensation according to his Father's Will: and was crucified, and died, and descended into the Infernal parts, and set in order what was to be done there: At the sight of whom the Doorkeepers of Hell trembled. He arose again on the third day, and conversed with his Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of his Father. And he shall come in the last day in his Father's Glory, and render to every man according to his works. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only Begotten Son of God Jesus Christ himself promised to send as a Comforter to Mankind, according as it is written: I go away to my Father, and I will pray my Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, the Spirit of

(c) In *Athanasius's* version: by whom the Ages were framed, and all things were made. Who was begotten the only Begotten of the Father, the Only of the Only, God of God, like to the Father who begat him, according to the Scriptures. Whose Generation no person knoweth, [and] not only the Father who begat him. We know that the Only Begotten Son of God, by his Father's appointment, came down from Heaven in order to the abolishing of Sin: And was born of the Virgin Mary, and conversed with the Disciples, and fulfilled every Dispensation according to his Father's Will: and was crucified, and died, and descended into the Infernal parts, and set in order what was to be done there: At the sight of whom the Doorkeepers of Hell trembled. He arose again on the third day, and conversed with his Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he ascended into the Heavens, and sits at the Right Hand of his Father. And he shall come in the last day in his Father's Glory, and render to every man according to his works. And [we believe] in the Holy Ghost, whom the Only Begotten Son of God Jesus Christ himself promised to send as a Comforter to Mankind, according as it is written: I go away to my Father, and I will pray my Father, and he shall send you another Comforter, the Spirit of

(g) The  
passage in  
*Athanasius*  
here quoted



form of the Creed as they were willing to admit of, they prefix'd before it the Consulate, the Month, and the Day of the present Year, in order to their making it manifest to all prudent persons, that their Faith had not its beginning before, but now under the Reign of Constantius. For, they have written (b) all things with a respect had to their own Here-  
 (b) We read (c) that things as it is in Athanasius: See the fore-quoted passage. Valf.

sis. Besides, pretending to write concerning the Lord, they name another to be their Lord, [to wit.] Constantius. For he it was, who influenced and authorized their Impiety. And they who deny the Son to be eternal, have filed him (i) Eternal Emperor: Such bitter Enemies are they against Christ, by reason of their Impiety! But perhaps, the Holy Prophets [specifying of the time [wherein they prophesied], gave them an occasion of assigning the Consulate. Now, should they be so audacious as to assert this, they would most egregiously betray their own ignorance. For the Prophecies of those holy persons do indeed contain a mention of the times. Isaiah and Hosea lived  
 \* in the days of Uzziah, Jotham, Ahaz, and Hezekiah. Jeremia-  
 † Jerem. 1. 2. h, † in the days of Josiah. Eze-  
 \* kiel and Daniel [flourish'd] under Cyrus and Darius. And others prophesied in other times: But they did not then lay the Foundations of Religion: for that was in being before their times, and always was, even before the Foundation of the World, God having prepared it for as by Christ. Nor did they thereby manifest the times of their own Faith. For even before those times they themselves were Believers. But the times [which they mention] were the times of the Promise [which God made] by them. Now, the chief and principal Head of the Promise was concerning our Saviour's Advent. And by way  
 † Addition of \* Appendix those things were added which should in future happen to Israel and to the Gentiles. These were the times manifest [by them, where- by was declared] not the beginning of Faith, as we said before, but the times wherein those Prophets themselves lived and foretold these things. But these † Wife Men in our days [whenever they nei- ther compose Histories, nor predict future things, but] having written [those words.] The Catho-  
 † He speak ironically.

lick Faith was published, immediately add the Consulate, the Month, and the Day. And, as those holy persons wrote the History of Affairs [in their age, and noted] the times of their own misfira-  
 † Writing, the \* Expression by them invented is altogether like the Arian Herefie. For by their writing after this manner they have informed [all persons,] when

they themselves began first to believe; and from Constan-  
 (k) impious Opinion of the † Cataphryge: and as they did, so do these assert, [say- ing,] The Faith of the Christians was first reveal'd to us, and took its begin-  
 (k) In Athanasius the reading is [εἰς τὴν αἰωνιότητα, into the man- ness:] which is the better read- ing; for he means the Montanists, to whom madness is delerately attributed. The term here, in Socrates, is [μαγιστεύειν, impious opinion.] Valef.  
 † See Eusebii Eccles. Hist. Book 4. Chap. 27. note (v.) and Book 5. Chap. 18.

ing from us. And, as they filed Maximilla and Montanus, for the term Constantius their Lord and Master, instead of Christ. But if, according to them, the Faith took its beginning from this Consulate, what will the Fathers, and the blessed Martyrs do? More- over, what will they themselves do with such per- sons as were catechized and instructed by them, and died before this Consulate? How will they raise them to life again, that they may root out of their minds what they seem'd to have taught them, and implant in them those [Sentiments,] which, as they write, are newly invented by them? To such a degree of ignorance are they arriv'd, being only well skilled in framing Pretexes, and they such as are undecent and improbable, and which may be presently confuted.

Thus wrote Athanasius to those of his acquaintance. Such as are lovers of learning (after they have found out this letter) may under- stand the powerful expressions therein contained. For we, having an aversion for prolixity, have inserted but part thereof here. Further, you are to take notice, that the Synod deposed Valens, Ursacius, Auxentius, Germinius, Caius, and Demophilus, because they would not anathematize the Arian Opinion. Wherefore they highly resenting their Deposition, hastned forthwith to the Emperor, carrying along with them that Draught of the Creed which had been read in the Synod. And the Synod acquainted the Emperor with their determinations, by their letter: the purport whereof, being translated out of Latin into Greek, is this.

The Letter of the Ariminum Synod to the Emperor Constantius.

(I) By God's Will, and the Command of your Piety, (I) This we believe order has been taken, that we Western Letter of the Ariminum Synod is extant in Latin, in Hilarius, amongst the Fragments of his Book de Synodi, pag. 451. Edit. Paris, 1621. out of whom we have transcribed it, and placed it here instead of a Verbum. It ought not to seem strange to any Person, to see so great a disagreement between the Greek Version and the original Latin Copy of this Epistle. For this is an usual thing with Greek Translators, as often as they render Latin into Greek; which may be easily perceived from the Emperor's Rescripts, which occur in Eusebii's Ecclesiastical History. But, we need not fetch examples hereof from any other place, than from this Letter: in which do occur almost as many mistakes in the Greek translation of it, as there are periods in the Letter. But, the beginning of this Letter is commonly thus worded in Hilarius: *Lubens Deo ex precepto pietatis Tue credimus fuisse dispositum. &c. By Gods pleasure we believe it hath been ordered by the Command of your Piety, &c. But in the M.S. Copy made use of by Jacobus Sirmondus, the reading is thus: Fubente Deo, &c. By God's will, &c. So the Greek Translator reads it: whom we have followed in this place. Any one may with good reason conjecture, that [Fubente Deo, By God's will] is written instead of [Fuvante Deo, By God's assistance.] Valef.*

Constantinus.  
\* Or, place  
of the Ari-  
minensis.

† Salva-  
tion.

\* Or, Con-  
sult.

(m) These words have no very good coherence with the preceding sentence. I conjecture that this place was transposed in the Latin Copies. Therefore, next these words [a passage would be opened to the Poisons of Hereticks,] which, in my judgment, are to be placed, which follow a little after; in this manner: Constantine being present in this [Consult,] in regard, after a searching disquisition, &c. unto these words [our Lord Jesus Christ.] To which are to be subjoyn'd these [Therefore Ursacius and Valens, &c.] Valef.

(n) At Chap. 20. of this Book, Note (a) we have remarkt many things concerning this first Synod of Millain, wherein Ursacius and Valens, having presented a Libel of satisfaction, condemned the Arian Hereticks. The said per- sons confit in the time in another Libel, which they presented afterwards to Julius Bishop of Rome, at Rome; in the first word: *Letterum vero Arianum, &c. sicut per priorem no- strum Licellum, quem apud Melitum per nos pervenit, & nunc & sen- per antheasit: igitur profitemur.* Valef.

† Maintaining.

they have kept all things [asserted by] the past Writers of the Catholic Church. And it hath continued to these very times, wherein your Piety hath received the power of ruling the World from God the Father by God and our Lord Jesus Christ. But [these] wretched Men, endued with an unhappy \* Sense, have again by a temerarious attempt proclaimed themselves the setters forth of impious Doctrine: and even now they endeavour to shake what had been founded in reason. For when the Letters of Your Piety ordered that the Faith should be treated of, there was proposed to us by the forenamed Disturbers of the Churches (Germinius, Auxentius, and Caius having joyned themselves to them,) a new [Creed] to be considered of, which contained much perverse Doctrine. But when the Creed they proposed publicly in the Council seemed to displease, their sentiments were that it was to be drawn up otherwise. And it is manifest, that they have in a short time often (p) altered these things.

(p) These have in a short time often altered these things.

Words are spoken against Ursacius and Valens, and their followers; who daily promoted new forms of the Creed, hereby demonstrating that they had no certain Faith; as Athanasius frequently objects against them. Valef.

But lest the Churches should be frequently dis-Constantinized, we have determined that the ancient Sanctions ought to be kept ratified and inviolable; and that the forementioned Persons should be removed from our Communion. In order therefore to the informing of Your Clemency, we have directed our Legates, who by our Letter will declare the Opinion of the Council. To whom we have given this Particular only in charge, that they should dispatch their Embassie no otherwise, than that the ancient Sanctions may continue firm and inviolable: As also that your Wisdom might know, that Peace cannot be accomplished by this which the forenamed Valens, Ursacius, Germinius, and Caius have promised, if any thing had been \* altered. For how? Taken can peace be kept by those who subvert peace? For away, all Regions, and especially the Roman Church hath been involved in greater disturbances. Upon which account we beseech your Clemency, that you would hear and look upon all our Legates with favourable Ears; and a serene Countenance: (q) and that your Clemency would not permit any thing to be reversed to the injury of the Ancients, but that all things may continue which we have received from our Ancestors, who (we are confident) were prudent Persons, and acted not without the Holy Spirit of God. Because, not only the believing Populace are disquieted by that novelty, but also Infidels are prohibited from making their approaches to a (r) credulity. We also intreat; that You would give order, that as many Bishops as are detained at Ariminum (amongst which there are many that are enfeebled with age and poverty,) may return to their Province; lest the Populace of the Churches suffer damage by being destitute of their Bishops. But we do with more earnestness petition for this, that no innovation may be made, nothing may be diminished; but those things may remain uncorrupted which have continued in the times of the Father of your holy Piety, and in your own religious days. And, that your Holy Prudence would not suffer us to be wearied out, and revisit from our Seas: but that the Bishops with their Laity, free from diffidence, may always attend the [putting up their] Petitions, which they \* make for your Health, for your Empire, and for Peace, which may the Divinity grant You to be profound and perpetual, according to your desires. Our Embassadors will bring both the Subscriptions and also the Names of the Bishops or Legates; as they will inform you (s) Holy and Religious Prudence by another writing.

(q) Here I followed the Greek Translator of this Epistle; and corrected the Latin Copy. For in Athanasius's Fragments, the common reading of this place is: *Ne vel permissa Clementia tua iura vetera convelli, ubi tua Clemency would not permit the ancient Laws to be reversed.* In the M. S. Copy, which Sirmondus had seen, the reading is: *Ne vel aliquid permissa Clementia iura injuriam veterum convelli.* Whence we infer, that the true reading, which we have expected in our Version, is Valef.

(r) Here the Greek translation was grievously out; for instead of Credulity he has rendered it Cru- city. Valef.

(s) The Greek Translator of this Letter makes use of the term *Deities*, Divinity, here: but in Athanasius it is *ἀθανάτου, Sanctity*. It is improbable that the Bishop should have said, The Divinity of the Emperor. Valef.

Thus wrote the Synod, and sent it by the Bishops. But Ursacius and Valens having prevented their arrival, did before-hand calumniate the Synod, shewing [the Emperor] the Draught of the Creed, which they had brought along with them. The Emperor, whose mind had been long since wholly addicted to the Arian opinion, was highly incensed against the Synod: but had a great esteem and honour for Valens and Ursacius. Wherefore the persons sent by the Synod staid a long while, being unable to get an

*Constantius.* an answer. But at length the Emperor wrote back to the Synod by those that were present, after this manner.

(†) **CONSTANTIUS VICTOR and TRIUMPHATOR AUGUSTUS,**  
to all the Bishops convened at *Ariminum*.

That our chiefest care is always employ'd about the Divine and Venerable Law, even your Goodness is not ignorant. Notwithstanding, We could not hitherto see the twenty Bishops sent from your Prudence, who undertook the dispatch of the Embassy from you. For we are wholly intent upon an Expedition against the Barbarians. \* And, as you know, 'tis fit that a mind exercis'd about the Divine Law, should be vacated from all care and Sollicitude. Wherefore We have order'd the Bishops to expect Our return to *Adrianople*, that, after the publick affairs should be put into a good and settled posture, we may at length bear and deliberate upon what they shall propose. In the interim, let it not seem troublesome to your Gravity to wait for their return, in regard, when they shall come back and bring you our answer, you will be enabled to bring to a conclusion such things as appertain to the utility of the Catholic Church. When the Bishops had received this Letter, they return'd an answer after this manner.

We have received Your Clemencies Letter, (Lord Emperor most dear to God!) wherein is contained, that by reason of the pressing necessity of publick business, You could not hitherto see our Embassadors. And You order us to expect their return, till such time as Your Piety shall understand from them what hath been determined by us agreeable to [the Tradition of] our Ancestors. But we do by this Letter profess and affirm, that we do in no wise recede from our resolution. And this we have given in charge to our Embassadors. We desire therefore, that with a serene countenance You would order this present Letter of our Meanness to be read; and also graciously admit of those things which we have given in charge to our Embassadors. Undoubtedly Your Mildness, as well as we, doth perceive, how great the grief and sadness at present is [every where,] in regard so many Churches are desitute of their Bishops in these most blessed times of Yours. And therefore we again beseech Your Clemency, (Lord Emperor most dear to God!) that before the sharpness of Winter (if it may please Your Piety,) You would command us to return to our Churches, in order to our being enabled to \* put up our usual Prayers together with the People, to Almighty God, and to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, his only begotten Son, in behalf of Your Empire, in such manner as we have always done, and now most earnestly desire to do.

After they had written this Letter, and continued together some small time; in regard the Emperor would not vouchsafe them an answer, they departed every one to his own City. But the Emperor had long before had a design of disseminating the *Arian* Opinion throughout the Churches: Which he then earnestly endeavouring to effect, made their departure a pretext of contumely, saying, that he was despit'd by them, in regard they had dissolved [the Council] contrary to his will. Wherefore, he gave *Ursacius's* party free liberty of doing what they pleas'd against the Churches. He also commanded, that the Draught of the Creed which had been read at *Ariminum*, should be sent to the Churches throughout *Italy*, giving order that such as

would not subscribe it, should be put out of *Constantius's* the Churches, and others substituted in their places. And in the first place (†) *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*, having refused to give his consent to that Creed, is banish'd, the \* *Ursacians* having substituted *Felix* in his place. This *Felix* being a Deacon in the

Church of *Rome*, (x) embraced the *Arian* Opinion, and was prefer'd to that Bishoprick. But there are some who affirm, that he was not adducted to the *Arian* Opinion, but was by force compell'd to be ordain'd Bishop. At that time therefore all places in the West were filled with innovations and disturbances, some being ejected and banish'd, and others put into their Steppes. And these things were transacted by the force, and the authority of the Imperial Edicts, which were also sent into the Eastern parts. Indeed, not long after *Liberius* was recalled from banishment, and recover'd his own See; the people of *Rome* having rais'd a sedition, and ejected *Felix* out of the Church: At which time the Emperor gave them his consent thereto against his will. But the *Ursacians* left *Italy*, went made up into the Eastern parts, and arriv'd at a City of *Thracia*, the name whereof was *Nice*. Wherein after they had continued some small time, they made up (y) another Synod there. And having translated that Form of the Creed, read at *Ariminum*, into the Greek tongue, (as it has been before related,) they publish'd and confirm'd it, giving out that that Creed, which was made publickly by them at *Nice*, had been dictated by an *Oecumenical* Synod; their design being to impose upon the simpler sort of people by the likeness of the [Cities] name. For such persons were ready to think that it was the Creed publish'd at *Nice* a City of *Byzania*. But this cheat was not at all advantageous to them: for it was soon detected; and they themselves continued to be exposed to the reproach and laughter of all men. Let thus much be said concerning what was transacted in the Western parts. We must now pass to the relation of what was done at the same time in the East: And our Narrative must begin from hence.

But there are some who affirm, that he was not adducted to the *Arian* opinion, but was by force. Moreover, *Baronius* maintains, that *Felix* the Deacon, prefer'd by *Acacius* to *Liberius's* See, never was an *Arian*, but was desisted with the Communion only of the *Arians*. *Theodoret* affirms the same, in the second Book, Chap. 17. of his Eccles. Hist. And so does *Symeon*, Book 4, Chap. 11. *Valf.*

(†) The Embassadors of the Synod of *Ariminum* (who were sent to *Constantius*), having been corrupted by *Ursacius* and *Valens*, held a Council at *Nice* a Town of *Thracia*, on the sixth of the Ides of October, in the Consulate of *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*. In which Council they in the first place rekindled the sentence of Excommunication, which the *Ariminum* Bishops had pronounced against *Ursacius*, *Valens*, and the rest; and pronounced them to be, and always to have been Catholics. Then they published an Hæretical Form of the Creed. Part of their Acts are extant in *Hilarius's* Fragments, pag. 452, &c. where are recounted fourteen names of those that were Embassadors. *Valf.*

# C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Cruelty of *Macedonius*, and the Tumults by him rais'd.

THE Bishops of the *Arian* party assumed a greater degree of boldness from the Imperial Edicts. And upon what account they attempted to convene a Synod, we will relate a little afterwards. But we will first briefly recite those things done by them before the Synod, *Acacius* and *Patriophilus* having ejected *Maximinus* Bishop

mistaken. For *Liberius* was not banish'd, and *Felix* the Deacon put into his See, after the Synod of *Ariminum*; but long before, in the year of Christ, 336. *Valf.*  
\* That is, *Ursacius's* party.

(†) This Letter of *Constantius*, together with the answer of the Bishops at *Ariminum* is extant in *Athanasius's* Book de Synodo, near the end of it. *Valf.*

\* Or, perhaps.



Constans.  
rur.

\* That is the Resurrection, and

it role a  
again, as  
place it f

Christoph

played in  
Youthful  
the Qu

“*Agave*”  
*Agave*”

<sup>†</sup> *Harred*

time the people, in the same manner as before, carried the materials back again, and built the Church in its former place : and having made more beautiful and stately, they would have it call'd \* *Anastasia*, a name apposite and significative. This Church therefore was afterwards erected again, as I said, in the Reign of *Julian*. But then both parties, as well the *Catholics*: as the *Novatians*; were in the same manner persecuted. Wherefore the *Catholics*

the same manner as before; I was back again, and built the place : and having made it stately, they would have it name apposite and significant therefore was afterwards said, in the Reign of Julian, as well the Catholics as the Novatians, were after the same manner persecuted. Wherefore the Catholics abhor'd to (d) pray in those Oratories, wherein the Arians assembled themselves. But, in the other three Churches (for so many Oratories the Novatians had within the City [*Constantinople*]) the Catholics assembled with them, and pray'd together. And there wanted but little of their being entirely united, had not the Novatians, who observ'd their old injunction, refused to do that. But as to other matters, they preserv'd such a singular benevolence and kindness mutually, that \* Or, they \* were ready to die for one another. Therefore both parties were at the same time persecuted, not only in the City *Constantinople*, but in other Provinces and Cities also. For in *Cyzicum*, *Elee-*

thus the Bishop there did the same things a-  
 gainst the Christians that were acted by *Mace-*  
*donius*, putting them to flight, and disquieting  
 them every where. He also totally demolish'd  
 the Church of the *Novatians* at *Cyzicum*. But  
*Macedonius* finish'd the enormous *Villanies* he had  
 perpetrated, after this manner. Being inform'd  
 that in the Province of *Paphlagonia*, and especi-  
 ally at *Mantinium*, there were very many per-  
 sons of the *Novatian* Sect, and perceiving that  
 so great a multitude could not be driven [from  
 their habitations] by Ecclesiastick persons, he  
 procured four Companies of Soldiers to be by  
 the Emperor's order sent into *Paphlagonia*, that  
 being terrified by these armed men, they might  
 be induced to embrace the *Arian* Opinion. But  
 they who inhabited *Mantinium*, out of a zeal  
 to [defend] their Sect, made use of desperation  
 against the Soldiers. And many of them get-  
 ting together in one body and providing them-  
 selves with long Hooks and Hatches, and what-  
 ever weapon they could lay hands on, they  
 march'd out to meet the Soldiers. An En-  
 gagement therefore hapning, many of the *Paph-*  
*lagonians* were therein slain: but all the Soldi-  
 ers (except a very few) were cut off. This I  
 heard from a Countryman of *Paphlagonia*, who  
 said he was present at that action. But many  
 other *Paphlagonians* do affirm the same. Of this  
 sort were *Macedonius's* brave exploits in defence  
 of Christianity, [to wit,] Murders, Fights,  
 Captivities, and intestine Wars. But these prac-  
 tices of *Macedonius* rais'd a deserved *Odium*  
 against him, not only amongst those he had in-  
 jured, but amongst them also who were his ad-  
 herents. Yea, the Emperor himself was offend-  
 ed at him, both upon this account, and also

For another reason, which was this. The Church, wherein lay the Coffin that contain'd the body of the Emperor *Constantine*, was threatened with ruin. (e) Wherefore for this reason, as well they who had hurt'd that Church, as those that continued in it and pray'd, were in a great fear. *Macedonius* therefore resolv'd to remove the Emperor's bones, that the Coffin might not be (f) spoiled by the ruin [of the Church.] The people understanding this, attempted to hinder it, saying, that the Emperor's Bones ought not to be removed; in regard that would be the fame, as if they were dug up again. Immediately the people were divided into two parties: the one affirm'd, thar no hurt could be done to the dead body by its being removed: the other side assur'd it to be an impious thing. Those of the *Homoionism* Opinion met together also, and oppos'd the doing hereof. But *Macedonius*, disregarding those that resist'd him, removes the body of the Emperor *Constantine* that Church, wherein lies *Aecius* the Mar-tyr's body. This being done, the multitude, di-vided into two parties, ran forthwith to that Church: and when the two Factions were drawn up against each other, immediately an engagement followed; wherein so great a number of men were slain, that that Church-yard was full of blood; (g) and the Well there- in overflow'd with blood, which ran even in- to the adjacent *Portico*, and from thence into the very Street. The Emperor, inform'd of this calamitous accident, was incens'd against *Ma- cedonius*, both upon account of those that were slain, and also because he had been so audaci-ous as to remove his Father's body without his consent. Having therefore left *Julianus* the *Cesar* to take care of the Western parts of the Empire, he himself went into the East. But, when *Macedonius* was soon after deposted, and under-went a punishment short of his enormous impieties, I will relate a little afterwards.

δι' αὐτοῦ, &c. Wherefore for this reason they who professed over,  
&c. but this Chasm is made up by the Allatian M. s. to which  
agrees Epiphani. Scholasticus' Verben. But his rendering [περὶ  
ἐπιστολῶν, Chutlers, Keepers] I like not, I should rather translate the  
term thus, those that made their abode for some time in the Church,  
under account of residing there. Vol-  
61 754-

(f) In the *Sforzian* M. S. the reading is [συνή, spoiled,] which I think to be better than [συνή, comprehended, or contained.] Vales

[illegible]

## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Concerning the Synod at Seleucia [a City] of*  
*Isauria.*

BUT at present, I must give an account of the other Synod, which by the Emperor's Edict was to emulate that at *Ariminum* in the East. At first it was determined, that the Bishops should be convened at *Nicomedia* in *Bithynia*. But, a great earthquake, whereby the City *Nicomedia* hapned to be ruin'd, hindred their being convened at that place. This hapned in the

Constantinus.

(a) This persons name should not be Tatianus, but Dacianus. For so he is called in the Festi

Consulate of (a) *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the eight and twentieth day of the month *August*. They resolv'd therefore upon removing the Synod to the City *Nicea* which was near to it. But this resolution was again altered: and it seem'd [more convenient] to meet at *Tarsus* a City of *Cilicia*. When this displeased them also, they were assembled at *Seleucia* [a City] of *Isauria*, which is surnam'd *Apsara*. This they did on the (b) same year [wherein the *Ariminum Council* was held,] in the Consulate of *En-*

Confulares, and in *Ammianus Marcellinus*. This Man was one of *Libanius*'s chiefest Friends: to whom *Libanius* wrote very many of his *Epistles*, which are extant in the fourth Book of his *Epistles*. In the 71 *Epistle* of that Book he mentions his Consulate, and says he was Scholar to one of the Emperors; and Master to the other: His words are these: τὸ δὲ αὐτὸν λατρεῖν τὴν ἐξ ἑκείνου τὴν ἀρχὴν, &c. i. e. But your actions are illustrious, and better than that they should be extinguisht. For your Consulate, and the honours bestowed upon you by the Emperors, and your having been one of the Emperor's Scholars, and the others Master: Moreover, the stateliness of your House, and the numerousness, largeness, and handfomness of your Barbes: All these things will for ever retain your name, although your body does depart. In the 146 *Epistle* of the same Book, there is extant this Eulogie of *Dacianus*: τὸ γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἀνδραγαθία, &c. For, to bear such and so many brave exploits of a person, who has erected so many Kingdoms, and has been beneficial to so many Cities, nor has ever hurt any body, who is eminent for prudence, and has fill'd the Earth and Sea with the Glory of his name; is, to a Man of discretion, greater than all presents or future wealth. And, at the close of the same *Epistle*, he intimates, that the same *Dacianus* had a Seat at *Constantinople*, and that in *Antioch* and the Suburbs thereof, he had House, and Palaces beautified with Fountains and Baths; to take a view thereof he invites him, *Valef*.

(3) At this place occurs, no trivial difficulty. For the destruction of the City *Nicomedia* happen'd when *Dacianus* and *Cerealis* were Consuls, in the year of Christ 358, on the month of *August*. But the Council of *Seleucia* was held on the year following, in the Consulate of *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, in the month of *September*. These things therefore happen'd not in one and the same year. Wherefore it seemeth, that the reading at this place should be [τὸ ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, on the year following.] Or, if the common reading must be retained, we must understand our Author's meaning to be, that the Council of Bishops at *Seleucia* was held on the same year with the *Ariminum Council*. *Valef*.

(c) This Leonas was Rector of the sacred Palace: and *Lauricius* was Comes of *Isauria*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* doth attest. *Valef*.

*Sabins* and *Hypatius*. The persons convened were in number an hundred and sixty. There was present with them a personage eminent in the Imperial Palace, his name (c) *Leonas*; in whose presence, as the Emperor had given order by his Edict, the disquisition about the Faith was to be propos'd. *Lauricius* also the Commander in chief of the Soldiers throughout *Isauria*, was order'd to be there, to provide the Bishops with what necessities they might stand in need of. At this place therefore [the Bishops] were convened in the presence of these persons, on the twenty seventh of the month *September*, and began to dispute about making of publick A&S. For there were Notaries present also, who were to take in writing what was spoken by every one of them. A particular account of all matters then transacted, the studious Readers may find in *Sabinius's Collection*, where they are set forth at large. But we shall only cursorily relate the chief Heads thereof. On the first day of their being convened, *Leonas* order'd every one to propose what they would. But such as were present said, that no dispute ought to be rais'd, before the persons absent were come. For these Bishops were wanting, *Macedonius* of *Constantinople*, *Basilins* of *Ancyra*, and some others, who suspected they should be accus'd. *Macedonius* excus'd his absence by saying he was sick. *Parophilius* affirm'd he had a distemper in his eyes, and was therefore necessitated to continue in the Suburbs of *Seleucia*. All the rest propos'd one occasion or other of their being absent. But, in regard *Leonas* said, that, notwithstanding the absence of these persons, the question was to be propos'd; those

that were present made answer again, that they would in no wife enter into any debate, before the \* *Morals* of those accus'd were enquir'd into. For *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*, *Eusebius* of *Schastia* in *Armenia*, and some others had been accus'd some time before. Hereupon arose a sharp contest amongst those that were present. For some affirm'd, that the *Morals* of such as had been accus'd were in the first place to be look'd into: others were of opinion, that no controversy ought to be discuss'd before [that concerning] the Faith. This contest was rais'd by the different opinion of the Emperor. For his Letter was produc'd, in one passage whereof he gave order for the debating of this matter in the first place, in another for that. A disagreement therefore hapning concerning this matter, a Schism was made amongst the persons present. And this was the original cause of the *Seleucian-Synods* being divided into two parties. The one Faction was headed by *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Caesarea* in *Palestine*, *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, *Uranius* of *Tyre*, and *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*: of the same mind with whom there were only two and thirty other [Bishops]. The principal persons of the other Faction were *Georgius* of *Laodicea* in *Syria*, *Sophronius* of *Pempsiopolis* in *Paphlagonia*, and *Eleusus* of *Cyzicum*; who were followed by the major part. When therefore that side prevail'd, which was for debating in the first place concerning the Faith, *Acacius's* party manifestly rejected the *Nicene Creed*, and intimated the publication of another. But those of the other Faction, who were superior in number, approv'd of all other matters [determined] in the *Nicene Synod*; excepting only the term *Homousios*, which they found fault with. Therefore, after a very sharp contest amongst one another until evening, at length *Silvanus* (who presid'd over the Church at *Tarsus*) spake aloud, saying, there was no necessity of publishing a new Draught of the Creed, but that they ought rather to confirm that set forth at *Antioch*, at the Consecration of the Church. When he said this, *Acacius's* party secretly withdrew [out of the Council: ] but the other Faction produc'd the Creed [composed] at *Antioch*; after the reading whereof the Council broke up for that day. On the next day they met in a Church in *Seleucia*, and having shut the doors, they read that Creed, and confirm'd it by their Subscriptions. Instead of some [Bishops] who were absent, the Readers and Deacons there present subscribed, by whom the absent persons had profess'd, that they would acquiesce in that Draught [of the Creed.]

## CHAP. XL.

That *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Caesarea* dictated another Draught of the Creed, in the Synod at *Seleucia*.

BUT *Acacius*, and those of his party found fault with what was done, because they had subscrib'd covertly when the Church-doors were shut. For matters, said he, transacted in secret were naught, and to be suspect'd. He made these objections, because he was desirous of publishing another Draught of the Creed instead of that [subscribed by them,] which [Form] he had about him, ready drawn up, and had before recited it to *Lauricius* and *Leonas* the Governours: and he made it his whole business to get that Draught only establish'd and confirm'd. These were the transactions of the second day when nothing else was done. On the third day

Constantinus.  
Origen.

the Life, the Truth, the Wisdom; by\* whom all Consti-  
things were made, which are in the Heavens, and thut-  
and which are on the Earth, whether visible or invis-  
ible. We believe him to have assumed Flesh from the Ho-  
ly Virgin Mary, at the Conjunction of Ages, in  
order to the abolition of Sin: and that he was made  
Man, that he suffer'd for our Sins, and rose again,  
and was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth  
at the Right Hand of the Father: and that he shall  
come again in Glory to judge the Quick and Dead.  
We believe also in the Holy Ghost, whom our Lord  
and Saviour hath termed The Paraclete, having  
promised, after his departure, to send him to his Dis-  
ciples, and he sent him. By whom also he sancti-  
fies [ all ] Believers in the Church, who are bap-  
tized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and  
of the Holy Ghost. But those who preach any thing  
contrary to this Creed, [ (b) we look upon ] to be  
alienated from the Catholic Church.

we look upon, or account) is wanting in our M. S. It was first introduced by the Publishers of the *Concordia*, from Christophorus Verplanck. But in regard we found not this reading in *Dionysius' Copy*, we took the boldness to expunge it. In *Epiphanius*, (*in Hæres. Semiarum*, pag. 872.) and in *Athanasius* (*in his Book de Synod. Arimini & Seleuciæ*) the reading of this place is thus [*ἡ ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκλήσις*]. The Catholic Church hath determined them to be alienated [from it.] I found the same reading in the Alta. M. S. After these words there follow (*in Epiphanius*) the names of those Bishops, who subscribed this Draught of the Creed; being in number about forty. But before those Subscriptions, something is added there, which deserves to be set down here. The words therefore in *Dionysius Petavius' Edition* are these: *ἑστὶ δὲ ταῦτα τῶν ἁγίων ἰερώνυμον καὶ ἱεροπόλεως ἀποστόλων καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ τῶν ἐκείνων τῶν βασιλέων καὶ ἡγεμόνων ἐκ ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῶν ἁγίων*. i. e. now, that that Creed lately published at Sirnium, in the presence of the pious of our Emperor, does exactly agree with this Creed, is a thing manifestly known to those who have read that Creed. Then follow: another Chapter, after this manner: *ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐκ παλαιῆς βασιλείας, ἡμετέρας καὶ γυναικὸς δὲ τῆς ἀλεξανδρινῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ ἁγίων πατέρων, καὶ ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἡγεμονίας τῶν ἐκείνων τῶν βασιλέων*. i. e. And thus be the reading of this be it of *Agathangos*, who subscribed it, i. e. to which they who were present subscribed, Basilus, Nicetas, Georgius Bishop of Alexandria, Panscratius, Epiphanius, and most of the Western Bishops. Vale.

rumals, (a) of which the most eminent Lauricius, President of the Province, and the most Illustrious Leonas the Comes, have been eyewitnesses: upon this account we interpose these things. Not that we forsake the authentic Faith publish'd at the Consecration at Antioch, but we give that the preference, especially in regard our Fathers concurred about the proposition at that time in con-

This is the Draught of the Creed published by *Acacius*. The persons who subscribed it were *Acacius* himself, and such as adhered to his opinion, being as many in number, as we have mentioned a little before. After the recitation thereof, *Sophronius* [Bishop] of *Pompeopolis* in *Paphlagonia* spake these words aloud : I fto explain our own particular opinion every day be the exposition of the Faith, we shall be destitute of the exact diffuſion of the truth. Theſe words were ſpoken by *Sophronius*. And I do affirm, that if as well thoſe who lived before theſe men, as they that ſucceeded them, had at firſt

entertained such sentiments concerning the *Nicene* Creed; all contentious disputes would have ceased, nor would a violent and irrational disturbance have been prevalent in the Churches. But let such as are prudent pass their judgment concerning the state of these matters. After they had mutually spoken and heard many things concerning this business, and concerning the persons accused, the Convention was for that time dissolved. On the fourth day they all met again in the same place, and with the same contentiousness began to dispute again. Amongst whom *Acacius* explained his opinion in these words: in as much as the *Nicene* Creed has been once, and after reading, that frequently altered, nothing hinders, but a new Creed may be now published. Hereto *Eusebius* [ Bishop ] of *Cyzicum* made a return, and said; the Synod is at present convened, not that it should learn (c) what it had not the knowledge of before. *Porphyrius* a Creed of before.

B b which

Constantinus.

which it was not heretofore in possession of; but that, proceeding on in the Creed of the Fathers, it should never recede from it, either during life, or at the time of death. With these words *Eusebius* opposed *Acacius's* Opinion, terming that Creed publish'd at *Antioch* the Father's Creed. But any one might have answer'd him also, in these words: How is it, that you title those convened at *Antioch* the Fathers, O *Eusebius*, whereas you acknowledge not their Fathers? For they who were assembled at *Nice*, and by their consent firm'd the *Homoian* Faith, ought more properly to be term'd the Fathers, both because they preceded in time, and also in regard those convened at *Antioch* were by them promoted to the Sacerdotal Dignity. Now, if those [assembled] at *Antioch* have rejected their own Fathers, they who come after them do not perceive themselves to be followers of Parricides. Moreover, how can they have admitted their Ordination to be legitimate, whose Faith they have rejected as impious? For if those persons had not the Holy Ghost, which is infused by Ordination, these have not received the Priesthood. For how could these have received [it] from them, who had it not to give? These words might have been spoken in opposition to what was said by *Eusebius*. After this they proceeded to another question. For, in regard the *Acacians* asserted in that Draught of the Creed which had been recited, that the Son was like the Father, they enquired of one another, in what respect the Son was like the Father. The *Acacians* asserted, that the Son was like the Father in respect of his Will only, not as to his Essence. But all the rest maintained, [that he was like the Father] in respect of his Essence also. They spent the whole day in their Altercations about this Query; and they confused *Acacius*, because in the Books by him composed and publish'd, he had asserted that the Son is in all things like the Father. And how can you (said they) now deny the likeness of the Son to the Father as to his Essence? *Acacius* made this answer, no modern or ancient Author was ever condemned out of his own Writings. When they had maintain'd a tedious, fierce, and subtle dispute against one another concerning this question, and could in no wise be brought to an agreement, *Leonas* arose and dissolved the Council. And this was the conclusion, which the Synod held at *Seleucia* had. For on the day after, *Leonas* being intreated, refused to come any more into the Congress, saying, that he had been sent by the Emperor, to be present at an unanimous Synod. But in regard some of you do disagree, I cannot (said he) be there; go therefore and prate in the Church. The *Acacians* looking upon what had been done to be a great advantage to them, refused to meet also. But those of the other party met together in the Church, and sent for the *Acacians*, that cognizance might be taken of the Case of *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. For you must know that *Cyrillus* had been accused before; upon what account, I cannot tell. But he was deposed, because having been frequently summon'd in order to the examination of his cause, he had not made his appearance during the space of two whole years. Nevertheless when he was deposed, he sent an *Appellatory Libel* to them who had deposed him, and appealed to an higher Court of Judicature. To which appeal of his the Emperor *Constantinus* gave his assent. In-

deed, *Cyrillus* was the (d) first and only person, who (contrary to the usage of the Ecclesiastick Canon) did this, [to wit,] made use of appeals, as 'tis usually done in the publick [secular] Courts of Judicature. He was at that time present at *Seleucia*, ready to put himself upon his trial: and therefore the Bishops called the *Acacians* into the assembly, (as we have said a little before,) that (e) by a general consent they might pass a definitive sentence against persons accused. For they had cited some other persons besides, that were accused, who for refuge had join'd themselves to *Acacius's* party. But in regard, after their being frequently summon'd, they refused to meet, [the Bishops] deposed both *Acacius* himself, and also *Georgius* of *Alexandria*, (f) *Uranius* of *Tyre*, (g) *Theodolus* of *Cherazpi* in *Phrygia*, *Theodosius* of *Philadelpia* in *Lydia*, *Evagrius* of the Island *Mylene*, *Leonius* of *Tripolis* in *Lydia*, and *Eudocius* who had heretofore been Bishop of *Germanicia*, but who had afterwards erept into the Bishoprick of *Antioch* in *Syria*. Moreover, they deposed (h) *Patriphilus*, because being accused by *Dorotheus* a Presbyter, and summoned by them to make his defence, he was contumacious. These persons they deposed. But they excommunicated *Asterius*, *Eusebius*, *Abgarus*, *Bauducius*, *Siliclus*, *Phabus*, *Fidelis*, *Eutychius*, *Magnus*, and *Eusebius*: determining they should continue excommunicate, till such time as by \*making satisfaction they had cleared themselves of their Accusations. Having done this, and written Letters concerning those Bishops they had deposed, to each of their Churches, they constituted a Bishop of *Antioch*, in the room of *Eusebius*, whose name was *Amnians*: Whom the *Acacians* [soon after] apprehended, and delivered him to *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by whom he was banished. Those Bishops who had ordained *Amnians* [being incensed] hereat, deposed (i) *Conestory Libels* against the *Acacians* with *Leonas* and *Lauricius*, by which they openly declared, that the determination of the Synod was injured. And when nothing further could be done, they went to *Constantinople*, to inform the Emperor concerning the matters determined by them.

finite sentence against the persons accused. For they had cited some other persons besides, that were accused.] we are at this place, wanting in the common Editions; we have inserted them from the *Florentine* and *Storlin* M. SS. To which agrees *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. But *Christopherson* made up the chain; he had no Manuscript Copies of *Socrates*; but various Readings only, gathered from the Margins of Printed Copies. Valef.

(f) This Person's name should be *Uranus* (not *Ursarius*), so he is called in *Athanasius's* Book, de Synod. Arimin. & *Seleucia*, pag. 880. which name also *Epiphanius Scholasticus* gives him; as does likewise *Epiphanius*, (in *Hierol. Semiarian*.) who names him among the Bishops that subscribed the *Acacian* Creed. Valef.

(g) In the *Florentine* and *Alavian* M. SS. this person is named (not *Theodorus*, but more truly) *Theodulus*. For that is his name in *Athanasius*, *Epiphanius*, and *Philostorgius*. When this *Theodulus* had been deposed of the Bishoprick of *Cherazpi*, in the Council held at *Seleucia*, he was afterwards ordained Bishop of *Palestina* by the *Eusebians*, as *Philostorgius* relates. Concerning *Leonius* of *Tripolis* you may meet with many passages in *Philostorgius*. Valef.

(h) Into his See they put one *Philippus* a Presbyter of *Scythopolis*, as *Epiphanius* attests, in *Hierol. Semiarian*. Valef.

(i) It should be but one word, thus, *Diaproscriptions*, so the Greek term the *Libels* of proscription, (or, protests,) which were usually deposited with the *Acts*. We meet with a form of one of these *Libels*, at the close of *Athanasius's* Epistle ad Solitarios. I suppose, that two *Libels* of proscription were delivered by the Council; one to *Leonas* the Comes; another to *Lauricius* President of *Isauria*. Valef.



Constantinus.

## C H A P. XLI.

That, upon the Emperor's return from the Western Parts, the Acacians were convened in the City of Constantinople, and framed the Ariminum Creed, making some Additions to it.

FOR the Emperor, being return'd from the Western Parts, resided [in that City:] at which time also he made a person whose name was (a) *Honoratus*, the first Prefect of Constantinople; having (b) abolish'd the Proconsul's Office. But the Acacians prevented and calumniated them before-hand to the Emperor, having inform'd him, that the (c) Creed which they had set forth was not admitted by them. Whereupon the Emperor was highly incensed, and resolved to disperse them, having commanded by an Edict [which he publish'd,] that such of them as were subject to publick Offices, should be reduced to their former condition. For several of them were liable to [publick] Offices; some [were subject to the bearing of those Offices belonging] to the City Magistracy; others [to them appertaining] to the (d) *Sodalities of Officials or Apparitors* in several Provinces. These persons being after this manner disturb'd, the Acacians abode for some time at Constantinople, and assembled another Synod, to which they sent for the Bishops of *Bithynia*. When therefore they were all met together, being (e) fifty in number, amongst whom was *Marius of Chalcedon*, they confirmed the Creed publish'd at Ariminum, which had the Consuls names prefix'd. Which Creed it would have been superfluous to have inserted here, had they made no additions to it. But in regard they added some words thereto, we thought it necessary to set it down at this place again. The Contents of it are these.

*Honoratus*, on the third of the Ides of December. Valef.

(b) Before the Emperor Constantius had made a Prefect of the City at Constantinople the Province *Europa* (the chief City whereof was Constantinople) was governed by a Proconsul, as *Socrates* here attests. *Athanasius* mentions this Proconsul, in his *Apologick de Eug'd suo*, not far from the beginning; where he says that the Emperor Constantius wrote Letters to *Donatus the Proconsul*, against *Olympius Bishop of Thracia*. In the Emperor Constantius's Epistle also, which he wrote to the Senate and Constantinopolitan people concerning the praises of themselves, there is mention of this Proconsul; at the close of that Epistle. Valef.

(c) That is, the Creed which had the Consuls names prefix'd. Valef.

(d) Τὸν οὖν τῶν ἀρχαίων καὶ ἐκκλησιῶν. So this place is worded in the Original. What the τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν were, I have long since explained in my *Notes on Anon. Marcellinus*: to wit, the Bodies or Sodalities of Officials or Apparitors who attended upon the Presidents and Governours of Provinces. It was their duty to collect the tribute from the Inhabitantes of the Province, and to put in execution the Presidents Orders. Further, as they who had lifted themselves in the Camp-milice, stood obliged by a Military-oath, and enjoyed not a complete liberty, but were bound in a servitude as it were, (ill such time as they were disbanded, [as *Suidas* declares, in the word *στρατιώτης*]) to those officials, who followed the City-milice, were bound to this employment as it were, and liable to the Offices of their *Milice*; and their Farms, as well as those of the *Decurions*, were incumberd with these burdens, as 'tis apparent from the *Theodosian Code*. Valef.

(e) In the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, seventy two Bishops are said to have been present at the Constantinopolitan Synod, in the year of Christ, 360. Valef.

We believe in one only God, the Father Almighty, of whom are all things. And in the only begotten Son of God, begotten of God before all ages, and before every beginning: by whom all things, visible or invisible, were made. \* Who is the only begotten Son of the Father, the only of the only, God of God, begotten like to the Father (who begat him) according to the only of the Scriptures. Whose generation no person knoweth, only the Father, who begat him. We know that this Person [to be] the only begotten Son of God,

who upon his Father's sending of him, came down from the Heavens, according as 'tis written, upon account of the destruction of Sin and Death: and was born of the Holy Ghost, and of the Virgin Mary according to the flesh, as 'tis written, and conversed with the Disciples; and having fulfilled every dispensation according to his Father's will, he was crucified and died, and was buried, and descended into the parts beneath the Earth. At whom Hell it self trembled. Who arose from the Dead on the third day, and was conversant with the Disciples: and after the completion of forty days, he was taken up into the Heavens, and sitteth on the Right Hand of the Father; he shall come in the last day of the Resurrection in his Father's Glory, that he may render to every Man according to his works. And [we believe in] the Holy Ghost, whom he himself the only Begotten of God, Christ our Lord and God, promised to send as an Advocate to Mankind, according as 'tis written, the Spirit of Truth; whom he sent unto them, after he was assumed into the Heavens. But we thought good to remove the term \* *Ousia*, (which Substance, was used by the Fathers in a more plain and ordinary sense; and being not understood by the People, has given offence,) in regard 'tis not contained in the Sacred Scriptures; and that in future not the least mention should be made thereof, for as much as the Sacred Scriptures have no where mentioned the Substance of the Father and of the Son. (f) Nor (f) In *Athanasius's* Book de *Spiritibus*, and of the Holy Ghost, to be so much as named. *Sprodia*. But we assert the Son to be like the Father, in pag. 906. such a manner as the Sacred Scriptures do affirm and the read-teach. Moreover, let all the Heresies, which have been heretofore condemned, and which may have risen of late, being opposite to this Creed published [by us], be Anathema.

agrees the Version of the Latin Translator. Which is also confirmed by *Athanasius* himself, in the same Book, pag. 905. the place we will quote by and by. Valef.

This Creed was at that time recited at Constantinople. Having now at length passed through the Labyrinth of the Expositions of Faith, we will reckon up their number. After the Creed [publish'd] at Nice, they set forth two Epitions of the Faith at Antioch, at the Dedication. A third was that delivered to the Emperor Constantine in the Gallia's, by *Narcissus* and those that accompanied him. The fourth was that sent by *Eudoxius* into Italy. Three Draughts of the Creed were publish'd at *Sirmium*, one whereof was recited at Ariminum, which had the name of the Consuls prefix'd. The eighth was that which the Acacians promulg'd at *Seleucia*. The last was set forth at the City Constantinople, with an addition. For hereto was annex'd, that neither Substance nor Subsistence ought to be mention'd in relation to God. Moreover, *Ulfila* Bishop of the *Goths* did at that time first agree to this Creed. For before this he had embraced the *Nicene* Creed; being *Theophilus's* Follower, who was Bishop of the *Goths*, and had been present at, and subscribed the *Nicene* Synod. Thus far concerning these things.

## C H A P. XLII.

That upon *Macedonius's* being deposed, *Eudoxius* obtained the Bishoprick of Constantinople.

BUT *Acacius*, *Eudoxius*, and those that were with them at Constantinople, made it wholly their business, that they also might on the other

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side depose some persons of the contrary party. Now, you must know, that neither of the factions decreed these depositions upon account of Religion, but for other pretences. For, tho' they dissented about the Faith, yet they found not fault with one another's Faith in their mutual depositions of one another. Those therefore of *Acacius's* party, making use of the Emperor's indignation, (which he had kept concealed in his mind,) and earnestly endeavour'd to wreak it against others, but most especially against *Macedonius* do in the first place depose *Macedonius*, both because he had been the occasion of many murders, and also in regard he had admitted a Deacon taken in Fornication to Communion. Then, [they depose] *Eusebius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*, because he had baptiz'd one *Heraclius*, *Heraclius's* Priest at *Tyre*, a person known to be a Conjuror, and ordain'd him Deacon. [In the next place they depose] *Basilus*, (or *Basilas*, for so he was also called) who had been constituted [Bishop] of *Anagra* in the room of *Marcellus*, as having unjustly tortured a certain person, bound him with iron-chains, and confined him to prison; also, because he had fastned calumnies upon some persons; and moreover, in regard by his Letters he had disturbed the Churches in *Africa*. *Draconius* [was deposed by them,] because he had remov'd from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*. Moreover, they deposed *Neonas* [Bishop] of *Selencia*, in which City the Synod had been convened, as also *Sophronius* of *Pompeopolis* in *Phlagonia*, *Elpidius* of (a) *Satala* in *Macedonia*, and *Cyrillus* of *Jerusalem*; and others were ejected by them for other reasons.

(a) *Satala* was a Town in *Armenia*; of which there is frequent mention amongst the Ancients. But in *Macedonia*, no mention is made of a City of this name by the Ancients. Wherefore I judge, that instead of *Macedonia*, it should be *Armenia*, here in the Greek Text. *Valef.*

### C. H. A. P. XLIII.

Concerning Eustathius Bishop of Sebastia.

BUT *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, was not so much as admitted to make his defence, because he had been long before deposed by *Eulalius* his own Father, who was Bishop of *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, in regard he wore a garment misbecoming the Sacerdotal function. You are to know, that in *Eustathius's* room *Meletius* was constituted Bishop, concerning whom we will speak hereafter. But *Eustathius* was afterwards condemn'd in a Synod convened upon his account at *Gangra* [a City] of *Phlagonia*, because, after his deposition in the Synod at (a) *Cæsarea*, he had done many things repugnant to the Ecclesiastick Laws. For he had forbidden marriage, and maintain'd that meats were to be abstain'd from; and upon this account he separated many who had contracted marriages, from their Wives, and perswaded (b) those who had an aversion for the Churches, to communicate at home. He also entic'd away servants from their masters by a pretext of piety. He himself wore the habit of a Philosopher, and caused his followers to make use of a new and unusual garb, and gave order that women should

(a) *Sogomen*, Book 4. chap. 24. says 'twas at *Neocaesarea*. *Valef.* (b) These words of *Socrates* x. v. 21. ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἵνα οἱ αὐτοὶ ἔσθωσαν, had an aversion for, or, desisted the Churches] are not to be understood of all those who declined the Churches; but they must be joined to the foregoing words, and are to be meant of those persons, who by *Eustathius's* perswasion had separated themselves from the converse of their Wives. *Eustathius* perswaded these men to avoid the Churches abilities, and not to communicate with other believers; but that, being as it were pure and perfect, they should participate of the sacred Mysteries by themselves at home. See what *Epiphanius* has related concerning this *Eustathius*, in his *Harpe of the Arians*; and *Basilus*, in his *Epistles*. *Valef.*

be shorn. He [asserted] that set Fasts were to be avoided; but maintain'd fasting on Sundays. He forbid prayers to be made in the houses of those who were married; and taught, that the Blessing and Communion of a *Presbyter* who had a wife (whom he had lawfully married during his being a *Laick*) ought to be declined as a thing most detestable. Upon his doing and teaching these and several other such-like things as these, a Synod (as I have said) convened at *Gangra* in *Phlagonia* deposed him, and anathematized his opinions. (c) These things were done afterwards. But *Macedonius* being they ejected, *Eudoxius*, desiring the See of *Antioch*, is constituted [Bishop] of *Constantinople*, being consecrated by the *Acacians*; who forgot themselves, in that they decreed what was contradictory to their former determinations. For they who had deposed *Draconius* because of his translation from *Galatia* to *Pergamus*, consider'd not with themselves, that by ordaining *Eudoxius*, who then made a second remove [to another Bishoprick,] they did what was contrary to their own Sanctions. Having done these things, they sent the Creed which had been read (d) at *Ariminum*, together with its Supplement, corrected by them; and gave order, that such as would not subscribe it, should be banished, according to the Emperor's Edict. [Lastly,] they made known what they had done both to others in the *East*, who entertain'd the same sentiments with them, and also to *Patriarchus* [Bishop] of *Scythopolis*. For he went from *Scythopolis* forthwith to his own City. Further, *Gangra* to *Eudoxius* having been constituted [Bishop] of the \* *Great City*, the (e) *Great Church* \* named *Sophia* was at that time consecrated, in *Constantius's* Tenth, and *Julianus, Cæsar's* third Consulate, on the fifteenth of the month *February*. As soon as *Eudoxius* was seated in that See, he was the first that utter'd this sentence which is [still] in the year of Christ

341. Indeed *Baronius* (at the year of Christ 351.) places the Synod of *Gangra* in the Reign of *Constantine the Great*. But he is confuted both by *Socrates* and *Sopomen*. For *Socrates* makes that Synod to be later than the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod. But *Sopomen* places it after *Eustathius's* deposition, which was done by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Now, *Eusebius* thrust himself into the *Constantinopolitan* See in *Constantinus's* reign, as 'tis agreed amongst all Men. Lastly, *Basilus* (in his twenty fourth Epistle, which he wrote to the Western Bishops against *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia*) makes no mention of the Council of *Gangra*. Whence 'tis manifest, that at such time as *Basilus* wrote that Epistle (which he did in *Valens's* reign,) the Council of *Gangra*, wherein *Eustathius* was condemn'd, had not been held. Some one will peradventure say, (which is objected by *Baronius*) that that *Eustathius* condemn'd in the Synod of *Gangra* was a different Person from *Eustathius* of *Sebastia*. But this is *gravis dictum*, not is it founded on the authority of any Author. *Valef.*

(d) I have rendered this place in, as to refer these Words [in *Ariminum*] to these [they sent:] which Version of ours is confirmed by *Ambrosius*, in his Book de *Synodis*, pag. 925. His Words are these: *taurita yeghlaevic en ty iwaevic, &c.* Having written these things in *laurea*, they departed to *Constantinople*, and repenting as it were [of what they had done,] according to their usual manner they altered their Draught. And when they had added some words, [to wit:] that [the term] Justification should not be used in relation to the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, they sent this [form of] the Creed to *Ariminum*, &c. Which passage in *Ambrosius*, *Socrates* does seem to transcribe here. *Epiphanius* Scholasticus and *Christophorus* have rendered this place to this effect: Having done this, they sent the Creed read at *Ariminum* together with its supplement, &c. *Valef.*

(e) I perfected and mended this place from the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* Copies. Concerning the Consecration of this Church, it is thus recorded in *Idarius's* Fifth: *Constanti decimo, &c.* In *Constantinus's* Tenth and *Julianus's* Third Consulate, the Great Church at *Constantinople* was consecrated, on the fifteenth of the Kalends of March. *Celsus* (in his *Chronicon*) says this was the second Consecration of this Church. For it was first consecrated, says he, by *Eusebius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. But being afterwards ruined, it was re-edified by *Constantinus Augustus*, and consecrated by *Eudoxius*. See the *Chronicon Alexandrinum*, where many passages (in no wise trivial) occur concerning this Consecration. *Valef.*

in every bodies mouth, saying, *the Father is irreligious; the Son is religious.* When a tumult and a disturbance arose thereupon, Be not troubled (says he) at what has been spoken by me, for, the Father is irreligious, because he worships no person; but the Son is religious, because he worships the Father. When *Eudoxius* had spoken these words, the tumult was appeased; but instead of the disturbance, there was a great laughter raised in the Church. And this saying of his continues to be a ridicule even to this day. Such Cavils the Arch-Heretics made use of, and busied themselves about such expressions as these, rending the Church in sunder [thereby.] This was the conclusion that the Synod had, which was convened at *Constantinople*.

## C H A P. XLIV.

Concerning *Meletius* Bishop of Antioch.

**I**T now remains, that we speak concerning *Meletius*: For he (as we said a little before) was made Bishop of *Sebasia* in *Armenia*, after *Eustathius*'s depōsition. He was afterwards translated from *Sebasia* to (a) *Berasa* [a City] of *Syria*. When he had been present at the Synod in *Seleucia*, and subscribed the Creed publish'd there by *Acacius*, he went directly from thence to *Berasa*. Upon the Convention of the Synod at *Constantinople*, when the *Antiochians* understood that *Eudoxius* had despised [the Presidency over their Church, and removed to the wealth of the *Comnenian* See, they sent for (b) *Meletius* from *Berasa*, and install him [Bishop] over the Church of *Antioch*. At first he supererogated making any discourses about points of Faith, and deliver'd moral Doctrine only to his hearers. But after his continuance there some time, he expounded the *Nicene Creed*, and asserted the *Homœousian* opinion. Which when the Emperor understood, he gave order that he should be banish'd: and caused *Euzoïus* (who had before been depōsed together with *Arius*) to be ordain'd Bishop of *Antioch*. But as many as reserv'd an affection for *Meletius*, left the *Arian* congregation, and made assemblies apart by themselves; [altho'] those who originally embraced the *Homœousian* opinion, would not communicate with them, because *Meletius* had receiv'd his Ordination from the Suffrages of the *Arians*, and because his followers had been baptized by them. After this manner was the *Antiochian* Church affected towards the other *Meletian*'s party, altho' they agreed with them in the principal points of Faith. But the Emperor understanding that the *Persians* were raising another War against the *Romans*, went in great haste to *Antioch*. On *Sebasia*, perceiving a contumacy in those under his charge, he retired from thence to some other place. Then therefore he went to *Berasa*, as I conjecture; but he preid not over the City of *Berasa*. This mistake of *Socrates*'s was perceived by *Basilian*, at the year of Christ 360. Which he corrects for, as to affirm, that *Meletius* was translated from *Berasa* to *Sebasia*, not from *Sebasia* to *Berasa*. Which, I suppose, is not true, in regard neither *Theodoret* nor *Sozomen* have affirmed that concerning *Meletius*. Valef.

(a) This Person's name is written sometimes with an [e] thus *Meletius*, sometimes with an [i] thus *Meletius*. See *Eusebius*'s *Eccl. Hist.* Book 7. Chap. 32. Note (d) pag. 138.

## C H A P. XLV.

Concerning *Macedonius*'s Heresie.

**B**UT *Macedonius*, who had been ejected out of *Constantinople*, being unable to bear his

condemnation, could by no means endure to be *Constantinople* at quiet. But joyn'd himself to those of the other party, who had depōsed *Acacius* and his followers at *Seleucia*. He therefore sent an Embassy to *Sophronius* and *Eleusius*, exhorting them to adhere to that Creed which was at first publish'd at *Antioch*, and afterwards confirm'd at *Seleucia*, and that they should give it an

(a) adulterate name, [to wit] the *Homœousian* Creed. Wherefore many of his acquaintance and friends flock'd to him, who are now from him call'd *Macedonians*. And as many as dissent from the *Acacians* at the Synod of *Seleucia*, from thence forward manifestly asserted the term \* *Homœousian*, (b) whereas, before this they had not openly own'd it. But there is a report, which has been prevalent amongst many men, that this [term *Homœousian*] was not *Macedonius*'s invention; but *Marathonius*'s rather, whom they had made Bishop of *Nicomedia* a little before. Upon which account they call the followers of this opinion *Marathonians* also. In like manner *Eustathius* (who had been ejected out of *Sebasia* for that reason which we have mention'd a little before) joyn'd himself to that party. But after *Macedonius* refused to include the Holy Ghost in the Divinity of the Trinity, then *Eustathius* said, I cannot assent to the terming of the Holy Ghost God, nor dare I call him a Creature. Upon which account, those that embrace the *Homœousian* opinion, give these persons the name of \* *Pneumatomachi*. The rea-

son why these *Macedonians* are so numerous in *Adversaries*, or (c) *Hellens*, I will declare in its due place. Opposers of Now, the *Acacians* used their utmost endeavours the Holy that they might be convened again at *Antioch*, Spirit. in regard they repented their having asserted (e) in the Son to be wholly like the Father. On the year following therefore, wherein *Taurus* and *scrips*, the *Florentinus* were *Consuls*, they met at *Antioch* in *Syria*, (over which Church *Euzoïus* presided, in [the reading] which City the Emperor also resided [at that time]) when some few of them resumed a debate of those points which they had determin'd [before], saying, that the term \* *Homœous* ought to be expung'd out of the Creed, which had been publish'd both at *Ariminum* and at *Constantinople*. Nor did they any longer keep their Vizors on, but affirm'd bare-fac'd, that the Son was in all respects unlike the Father, not only as to his Essence, but in relation to his Will also. And they openly asserted (according as *Arius* had them affirm'd) that he was made of nothing. To this opinion those, who at that time were followers of *Arius*'s Heresie at *Antioch*, gave their assent. Wherefore, besides their having the appellati- on of *Arians*, they were also called \* *Anomœi*, be unlike

(a) Translators understood not this place. And yet they might have been inform'd from *Hypocritæ*'s *Lexicon*, that *ὁμοούσιος* (the term here used,) does signify *adulterate*, or *counterfeit*; by a Metaphor taken from money which has a false stamp. *Socrates* therefore calls *Homœousian*. (For 'tis to be written, agreeable to the *Florentine* and *Sporian* Manuscripts,) and the import of the term is, that the Son is of a substance, or Essence like to the Father; or an adulterate name, because 'tis corrupted, and counterfeited put instead of *Homœousian* (i. e. that the Son is of the same Substance, or Essence with the Father;) which is the same of the true and uncorrupted Creed. Further, the *Acacians* rejected as well the term *Homœousian*, as *Homœousian*; and retain'd only *Homœous* (i. e. like the Father;) and wholly abhorred the term *Omnia* (i. e. Substance). Valef.

(b) This place is corrupted by a transposition of the Words; which may easily be rectified thus; *ὁμοούσιος αὐτῷ, ὡς ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ*, from whence forward manifestly asserted the term *Homœousian*, whereas before this they had not openly own'd it. Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Christophorus* and *Quintus* apprehended not the meaning of this place. But *Epiphanius* *Scholasticus*'s Rendition of it agrees with our Version: only instead of *ὡς ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ* the reading in his Copy seems to have been *ὡς ὁ πατήρ, ὡς ὁ πατήρ αὐτῷ* which displeases us not. Valef.

(c) That is, Little the Father.

and *Exeuntii*, by those at *Antioch*, who embrac'd the *Homoian* opinion, who [notwithstanding] were at that time divided amongst themselves upon *Meletius*'s account, as has been said before. When therefore they were ask'd by the *Homoians*, why they were so audacious, as to

*Apollinarius*. They both flourish'd at the same time with *Epiphanius* the *Sophista* and being very intimate friends, they conversed together with him. But *Theodotus* Bishop of *Laodicea*, fearing that by their continual converse with that person they should be perverted to *Genilicism*, forbade their going to him. They regarding the Bishop's [prohibition] very little, continued their intimacy with *Epiphanius*. After this, *Georgius*, Successor to *Theodotus*, endeavour'd to reform [and wean] them from conversing with *Epiphanius*; but being unable to persuade them by any means, he punish'd them both with Excommunication. *Apollinarius* the son look'd upon what was done to be an injury, and confiding in the fluency of his *Sophistic* faculty of speaking, he also framed a new Heresy, which flourisheth at this present, and bears the name of its Inventor. But some do report, that they dissent from *Georgius*, not so much upon account of the foremention'd reason, but because they saw he maintain'd absurdities; sometimes professing the Son to be like the Father (according as it had been determined [in the Synod] at *Seleucia*); at others inclining to the *Arrian* opinion. Laying hold therefore of this specious pretext, they made a separation [from him.] But when they saw no body adhered to them, they introduce a [new] Scheme of Religion: and at first asserted that (a) *Humanity* was assumed by God the Word in the *Oeconomy* of his Incarnation, without the Soul. But afterward, rectifying their former error, by repentance as it were, they added, that the Soul was indeed assumed; but that it had not a Mind, but that God the Word was in the place of a Mind, in his assumption of *Humanity*. As to this point only these [*Hereticks*] do affirm that they dissent [from *Catholics*] who from them are now called *Apollinarian*. For they assert that the Trinity is *Consubstantial*. But we shall mention the two *Apollinarius*'s again in due place.

(d) In the *Alatim* M.S. he is called *E-*rennus; where this whole passage is thus more over, at the same time there sprang up another Heresy, upon this account.

ἔπειτα τοὺς Ὑπερβολοὺς κείνους καθ' ἑαυτοὺς, οἱ ἄνθρωποι, πειθαρχή-  
 σαντες τῇ ὑπερβολῇ αὐτῶν ἀναλαβὴν Ἑβραίους, καὶ ἄλλους ὁμοῦς·  
 ἔπειτα δὲ τὴν Ἰερουσαλὴν, ἰ. ε. α. Jerusalem, Cyrenius having been de-  
 posed, as before said, Cyrenius succeeded in this. *Chorus*, after whom,  
 and after *Julius*, *Agrippa* calls him *Agrippa*. But *Jerome* (in his *commentary*)  
 calls him *Irenius*: For this is the reading in the most correct Copies,  
 and in *Julianus Atricus*'s Edition; *Maximus Hierophylorum Episcopus*  
*maritimi*. Post quem, *Eusebius* Asiatici invadunt, id est *Cyrenius*,  
*Eutychius, rufinus* *Cyrenius*, *Irenius, tertio* *Cyrenius*, *hilarius, quarto*  
*Cyrenius*: id est, *Maximus* Bishop of Jerusalem dies; after whom,  
 the Asiatic invades that *Chorus*, that is, *Cyrenius*, *Eutychius*, *Cyrenius*  
 the second, *Irenius*, *Cyrenius* the third, *hilarius*, *Cyrenius* the fourth.  
 In *Nicéphorus Constantino-politani*'s *Chronicon*, he is very corruptly  
 called *Agrippinus*. Valeat.

professes the flesh only to be the Cover of the Deity; and asserts the flesh to have been in the flesh, in the Head of our Lord Jesus, that is, the full Man. In this opinion he was followed by *Eusebium*, as *Theodoret* informs from him: for they distinguished (as we may see from this passage in *Octavius Socrates*) between the Soul and Mind of Man; acknowledging (as in the second Edition of their Heresie) that God the Word assumed an humane Body and a Soul; (which latter *Arim* and his Crew denied) but not the Mind, or Spirit of Man; the place whereof was supplied, said they, by the Word it self. This Philosophick notion (making Man consist of three parts, a Body, a Soul, and a Mind;) they borrowed from *Plotinus*; so says *Nemesius* in his de Nat. Etern.

## C H A P. XLVII.

*Concerning the Death of the Emperor Constantius.*

Moreover, whilst the Emperor *Constantius* resided at *Antioch*, *Julianus Cæsar* engages with a numerous army of *Barbarians* in the *Gallia's*. And having obtain'd a victory, was for that reason greatly belov'd by all the Soldiers, by whom he is proclaim'd Emperor. This being told to the Emperor *Constantius* put him into an agony. He was therefore baptiz'd by *Euzoius*, and \* undertakes an expedition against *Julianus*. But arriving between *Cappadocia* and *Cilicia*, he ended his life at *Mopsucrena*, (being seiz'd with an *Apoplexy* by reason of his too great sollicitude) in the Conflute of *Taurus* and *Florentius*, on the third of *November*. This was the first year of the two hundred eighty fifth *Olympiad*. *Constantius* lived forty five years, and reigned thirty eight. He was his Fathers Colleague in the Empire thirteen years : after whose death, [he govern'd] twenty five ; which space of years this Book doth contain.

T H F

\* Or, Pre-  
ceded so  
as to be a-  
gainst, &c.

## C H A P. XLVI.

*Concerning the Apollinaristæ, and their Heresie.*

At Laodices in Syria, there were two men of the same name, the Father and the Son : For each of their names was *Apollinaris*. The Father was dignified with a *Presbyterate* in that Church ; the Son had a *Readers place*. They were both Teachers of *Grecian Literature* ; the Father taught *Grammar*, the Son *Rhetoric*. The Father was by birth an *Alexandrian*, and having artfully taught at *Berytus*, he removed afterwards to *Laodicea*, where he married and begat his son

THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

CHAP. I.

Concerning Julianus, his Extract and Education.  
And how, upon his being made Emperor, he  
revolted to Gentilism.

Julianus.

THE Emperor Constantius ended his life on the Confines of Cilicia, about the third of November, in the Consulate of Taurus and Florentinus. During the same persons Consulate, Julianus arriving from the Western parts (a) about the eleventh

(a) We have the same account in Marius's Fasti: Taurus & Florentio his Coss. &c. in the Consulate of Taurus and Florentinus, Constantinus Augustus died at Mopsocrina in the confines of Cilicia, a Province of Phœnicia, on the third of November. And Julianus made his entry into Constantinople on the eleventh of December. But, what Socrates adds, to wit, that Julian was proclaimed Emperor in that City, must be so understood, not as if that were the first time of his being saluted Emperor: For he had been proclaimed Emperor in the Gallia's a long while before, whilst Constantius was alive: But, upon his entry into Constantinople, he was declared Emperor by the Senate and Constantinopolitans; and took possession of the Empire of the East. Valef.

Christian Religion being our business, we will continue making use of a low, plain, and mean style for periphrasis's sake. And this we promised [to do] at the beginning. Being therefore to speak concerning him, his Extract, Education, and how he came to the Empire; in order to our performing hereof, we must begin a little higher. Constantius, he who gave Byzantium his own name, had two Brothers begotten by the same Father, but not born of the same Mother. The name of the one was Dalmatius, the other was called Constantinus. Dalmatius had a Son who bore his own name. Constantius begat two Sons, Gallus and Julianus. After the death of [Constantine] the Builder of Constantinople, when the Soldiers had murder'd Dalmatius the younger,

at that time these \* two also being Orphans, Julianus wanted but a little of falling into the same danger with Dalmatius; had not a dissempir which seem'd to be mortal deliver'd Gallus [from their violence:] and the tenderness of Julianus's age (for he was not then eight years old compleat) protect'd him. But, after the Emperor's rage against them was mollified, Gallus frequented the Schools at Ephesus in Ionia, in which Country they had large possessions left them by their Ancestors. And Julianus being grown up, was an Auditor in the Schools at Constantinople; going into the Palace (where there were then Schools) in a private habit, and was tutor'd by Macedonius the Eunuch. (b) Niccolas the Laconian taught him the Grammar; he had for his Rhetoric-master Eccebolus the Sophista, who was at that time a Christian. For the Emperor Constantius took great care, lest by his being an hearer of a Pagan-master, he should revolt to the superstition [of the Gentiles:] For Julianus was at first a Christian. Upon his making a great progress in Literature, a rumour [begin] to be spread amongst

the people, that he was fit to govern the Roman Empire. Which report being more openly divulged, much disturb'd the Emperor's mind. Wherefore, he removed him from the \* Great City to Nicomedia, ordering him not to frequent [the School] of Libanius the Syrian Sophista. For at that time Libanius, having been expelled Constantinople by the School-masters, had opened a School at Nicomedia. Wherefore, he vented his gall against the School-masters, in an (c) Oration forbidden to go to him, because Julianus was as to his Religion a Pagan. Nevertheless, being a great admirer of Libanius's Orations, he procur'd them privately, and perused them frequently and studiously. When he had made a great proficiency in Rhetoric, there came to Nicomedia, Maximus the Philosopher, not

B b 4

(b) There are several Epistles of Libanius's extant, written to this Niccolas, particularly the seventh Epistle of his 4th Book, wherein Libanius excuses the infelicity of a Citizen of Antioch, who had abused him: Amongst other passages he says, that the fault of one Citizen was not to be ascribed to the whole City. For in a City containing an hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, 'tis not to be wonder'd at, if one bad Citizen be found: Whereas, neither in your Sparta (which yet has Lycurgus for its Law-giver) all are alike good and generous. Valef.

\* That is, Constantinople.

(c) This Oration of Libanius's is against the School-masters, is not (to my knowledge) now extant. Maximus Valef.

*Julianus.* (d) *Maximus* of *Byzantium*, *Eucled's* Father, but *Maximus* the *Epheſian*, whom the Emperor *Valentinianus* order'd to be ſlain afterwards, as being a practiſer of Magick. But this happen'd long while after. At that time, his coming to *Nicomedia* was occasion'd by nothing elſe but *Julianus's* fame, which induc'd him to go thither. *Julianus* having had a taſte of *Philophick Literature* from him, began forthwith to imitate his Maſter's Religion, who alſo inſill'd into his mind a deſire of the Empire. When the Emperor was made acquainted with theſe things, *Julianus* being betwixt hope and fear, became very deſirous of avoiding ſuſpicion; and he who had before been a ſincere *Chriſtian*, then began to act the Hypocrite. Being therefore ſhav'd to the very ſkin,

he pretended to lead a Monafterick life. Privately he employ'd himſelf about the ſtudy of *Philophy*; but in publick he read the Sacred Writings of the *Chriſtians*. Moreover, he was made a Reader in the Church of *Nicomedia*; and by this ſpecious pretext he avoided the Emperor's fury. All this he did out of fear. But [in the interim] he receded not from his hope, but told many of his friends, that thoſe would be happy times, when he ſhould be poſſeſs of the Empire. Whilſt his affairs were in this poſture, his Brother *Gallus* was created *Cæſar*, and in his journey into the Eaſt came to *Nicomedia*, to give him a viſit. Not long after this *Gallus* was ſlain, immediately upon which the Emperor grew ſuſpicious of *Julianus*. Wherefore he order'd a guard ſhould be ſet upon him. But as ſoon as he could get an opportunity of ſlipping away from his Keepers, he removed from place to place, and by that means made his eſcape. At length the Emperor's Wife *Eufebia*, having found him out during his abſconding, perſwades the Emperor to do him no harm, but to allow him a liberty of going to *Athen*, to ſtudy *Philophy*. From whence (that I may be brief) the Emperor ſent for him, and created him *Cæſar*. After which he married him to his Siſter *Helena*, and ſent him into the *Gallies* againſt the *Barbarians*. For the *Barbarians* (whom the Emperor *Conſtantius* had a little before hired to be his Auxiliaries againſt *Magnum*, having been employ'd in no ſervice againſt the Tyrant, ſell to deſtroying the *Roman Cities*. And in regard *Julianus* was as yet but young, he order'd him not to enter upon any thing of action without the advice of the Commanders of the Army. Who having receiv'd ſo large a Commiſſion, grew negligent in their management of affairs; upon which account the *Barbarians* increaſed in ſtrength. *Julianus* permitted the Commanders to ſpend their time in luxury and drinking; but he made the Soldiers more courageous, by promiſing a ſet reward to him who ſhould kill a *Barbarian*. This was the original cauſe, whereby both the *Barbarians* Forces were diminifh'd, and alſo he himſelf was rendred more acceptable to the Soldiers. There is a report, that as he was entering into a Town, a

(e) Crown, with which they [uſually] adorn the *Julianus*, Cities, being hung up by Ropes between two pillars, fell down upon his head, and fitted it exactly, at which all that were preſent gave a ſhout; for by this ſign [it ſeem'd] to be portended, that he ſhould be Emperor. There are deſers of thoſe who ſay, that *Conſtantius* therefore ſent him againſt the *Barbarians*, that he might periſh there, in an engagement with them. But I know not whether they who report this, ſpeak the truth. For ſhould he have fram'd ſuch a deſign againſt him, after he had joynd him in marriage to his own Siſter, it would

have been no other than a conſpiracy againſt himſelf. But let every one judge of this matter according to his own pleaſure. Moreover, upon *Julianus's* making a complaint to the Emperor of the ſlothfulneſs of his Military Officers, there was another Commander ſent to him, exactly agreeable to *Julianus's* courage. Having got ſuch an aſſiſtant, he made a bold attack upon the *Barbarians*. They diſpatch'd away an Embaſſador to him, informing him, that they were order'd by the Emperor's Letters to march into the *Roman Territories*, and the Letters were produced to him. But he clapt their Embaſſador into priſon; and having engag'd their forces, routed them totally. He alſo took the King of the *Barbarians* priſoner, and ſent him to *Conſtantius*. Upon this fortunate ſucceſs, he is proclaim'd Emperor by the Soldiers. But becauſe they wanted an Imperial Crown, one of his Guard took the Chain which he wore about his own neck, and put it upon *Julianus's* head. After this manner therefore *Julianus* came to be Emperor. But what he did afterwards, let the hearers judge, whether or no they became a *Philophoſer*: For he neither ſent an Embaſſador to *Conſtantius*, nor did he ſhew him that reverence which was due to him, as being his Benefactor, but managed all affairs according to his own arbitrement. He chang'd the Governours of Provinces, and reproach'd *Conſtantius* in every City, by reciting in publick his Letters ſent to the *Barbarians*. Whereupon [thoſe inhabitants] revolted from *Conſtantius*, and came over to him. At that time he manifeſtly pull'd off his Mask of *Chriſtianity*. For he went from City to City, open'd the Heathen Temples, offer'd ſacrifice to idols, and term'd himſelf the \* *Pontifex Maximus*. And ſuch as profeſs'd *Gentiliſm* celebrated their heatheniſh Feſtivals [after their own manner.] By theſe proceedings of his he (f) takes an occaſion of raiſing a Civil War againſt *Conſtantius*. And, as far as in him lay, [he took care] that all thoſe Calamities ſhould have happen'd, which are the conſequents of a War. For this *Philophoſer's* deſire could not have been (g) fulfilled without much blood-ſhed.

*Epiphanius Scholaſticus* rendred thus; quaſiſt occaſione, he took an occaſion, &c. But there may be another rendition of theſe words, thus: By doing hereof, he raiſed a Civil War againſt *Conſtantius*, by doing undertaken an expedition againſt him. *Valer.*

(g) The term *ſτασις* muſt ſignifie here, to be fulfilled, conſpired, or perſeſs'd, *Epiphanius Scholaſticus* therefore rendreis it thus: Non enim ſine multo ſanguine ſtudium ejus *Philophoſi* poterat adimpleri, i. e. for the deſire of this *Philophoſer* could not have been accompliſh'd without much blood. *Muſculus's* Verſion (which is, declarari, could not have been declar'd) and alſo *Chriſtophorſon's* (which is, interſeſſi, could not have been diſcern'd) are in my judgment abſurd. *Valer.*

But

*Julianus*. But God the *Arbiter* of his own Counsels, re-  
 pressed the \* *Imperus* of one of these two *Anta-*  
 \* *Or,*  
 \* *force,*  
 \* *Or,*  
 \* *without*  
 \* *the ad-*  
 \* *vantage*  
 \* *of*  
 \* *others.*  
 gonists without any † damage to the Republick.  
 For when *Julianus* arriv'd amongst the *Thraci-*  
*ans*, news was brought him, that *Constantius* was  
 dead. And thus the *Roman Empire* at that time  
 escap'd a Civil War. But *Julianus* having made  
 his entry into *Constantinople*, began immediately  
 to confider with himself, after what manner he  
 might win the favour of the people, and pro-  
 cure their benevolence towards himself. He  
 makes use therefore of this artifice. He very  
 well understood, that *Constantius* was odious  
 to all such as embrac'd the *Homoousian* opinion,  
 both because he had driven them from their  
 Churches, and also in regard he had proscrib-  
 ed and banish'd the Bishops belonging to them.  
 He assuredly knew also, that the Heathens  
 were sorely vexed, because they were prohibi-  
 ted sacrificing to their Gods; and that they  
 were very desirous of getting an opportunity,  
 wherein their Temples might be open'd, and  
 they have a liberty of offering sacrifices to their  
 Idols. He was sensible, that for these reasons  
 both those sorts of people had privately ran-  
 cor'd minds against his Predecessor [*Constantius*.]  
 He also found, that all people in general high-  
 ly resent'd the violence of the Eunuchs, and

the rapines (*b*) of *Eusebius*  
 the principal person of the  
 Bed-chamber to him. He  
 therefore treated them all  
 with a great deal of craft  
 and subtilty. With some  
 he dissembled: Others he  
 obliged by kindneses, be-  
 ing a great affecter of vain-  
 glory. But he made it evi-  
 dent to all in general how  
 he was affected towards the  
 superstition [of the Hea-  
 then.] And first, that he might make *Constan-*  
*tius* odious for his cruelty towards his Subjects,  
 and render him infamous amongst the Vulgar;  
 he commanded that the exiled Bishops should  
 be recalled; and restored to them their Estates  
 which had been confiscated. Then he issued out  
 an Order to his Confidants, that the Heathen-  
 Temples should be forthwith open'd. He also  
 order'd, that such persons as had been injured  
 by the Eunuchs, should be repossessed of their  
 goods which were unjustly taken from them.  
 He punish'd *Eusebius* the principal person of the  
 Imperial Bed-chamber with death, not only be-  
 cause many persons had been wronged by him,  
 but also in regard he was assured, that his Bro-  
 ther *Gallus* had been murder'd upon account of  
 his calumny [against him.] He took care that  
*Constantius's* body should be honour'd with an  
 Imperial funeral. He expelled the Eunuchs,  
 Barbers, and Cooks out of his Palace: The  
 Eunuchs, because he had lost his Wife, after  
 whose death he resolv'd not to marry any o-  
 ther; the Cooks, in regard he fed upon a very  
 slender and mean diet: And the Barbers, be-  
 cause, said he, one is sufficient for a great many. For  
 these reasons he put these sorts of men out [of  
 the Palace.] Most of the Notaries he reduced  
 to their former condition, and order'd that the  
 rest should be allow'd a salary bestowing a No-

(1) *Grego-*  
*ry* *Nap-*  
*am*, in his former *Invective* against *Julian*, does confess also that the  
 publick way, or manner of travelling and conveying of necessaries  
 from place to place, was well rectified by *Julian*. For *Constantius* had

impaired it much, by allowing the Bishops every-where the use there-  
 of, that they might come to the Synods convened by him. But,  
 what regulations *Julianus* made in this matter, 'tis hard to deter-  
 mine. And yet we may conjecture from *Socrates's* words, that the  
 way of travelling by Chariots (which was also called the *Curfus Cla-*  
*vularis*.) was put down by him, and that travelling on Horse-back  
 (upon Horses provided for publick uses) remained only in use. *Jo-*  
*hannes Lydas* has treated at large de *publico Curfu*, in his Book de  
*Menibus*. Valef.

of conveyance of necessaries for [publick] uses. *Julianus*.  
 For example, [the use] of Mules, Oxen, and  
 Asses; and permitted Horses only to serve for  
 such publick conveniences. These Acts of his  
 are commended by some few persons; but most  
 men discommend them, because the grandeur  
 and magnificence of the Imperial riches being  
 lost, which creates an admiration in the minds  
 of the Vulgar, he thereby rendred the dignity  
 of an Emperor despicable, and obnoxious to  
 contempt. Moreover he sat up all night, com-  
 posing Orations, which he recited at his going  
 into the Senate-house: For he was the first and  
 only Emperor since *Julius Caesar's* times, that  
 made Speeches in the Senate-house. He had an  
 high esteem for such as were studious about [a-  
 ny part of] Literature; but more especially  
 for those who profess'd Philosophy. Wherefore,  
 the report hereof brought such as were pre-  
 tenders to this sort of Learning from all parts  
 to the Palace, who wore their \* *Palliums*, and  
 were most of them more conspicuous for their  
 Garb, than their Learning. But they were all Bo-  
 \* *See Eu-*  
 \* *sebius's Ec-*  
 \* *clesiast. Hist.*  
 \* *Book 6.*  
 troublefome to the Christians, being persons Chap. 19.  
 that were Impostors, and who always own'd  
 the same Religion with the Emperor. He  
 himself also was so excessively vain-glorious, that  
 he reviled all his Predecessors in the Empire,  
 in a Book he compos'd, which he entitl'd *The*  
*Cæsars*. The same proud temper of mind exci-  
 ted him to write Books against the Christians  
 also. His expulsion of the Cooks and Barbers  
 was an act [besetting] a Philosopher indeed,  
 but not an Emperor. But in his reproaching  
 and reviling [of others,] he did neither like a  
 Philosopher, nor an Emperor. For both those  
 sorts of persons are to be [of a temper of mind]  
 superior to all detraction and envy. An Em-  
 peror may indeed be a Philosopher, in what  
 bears a respect to modesty and temperance:  
 But a Philosopher, should he imitate an Em-  
 peror in all things, would transgress his Rules.  
 Let us much be curiously said concerning  
 the Emperor *Julianus*, his Extraordinary Education,  
 and Disposition, and after what manner he  
 came to the Empire.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Sedition which happen'd at Alexan-  
 dria, and after what manner Georgius was slain.

WE come now to mention what was tran-  
 sacted in the Churches at that time.  
 In the great City *Alexandria* there hapned a  
 disturbance upon this account. There was a  
 place in that City, which had for a long time  
 lain waste and neglected, (being filled with a  
 great deal of filth,) wherein the Heathens had  
 formerly celebrated their Mysteries to || *Mithra*, || The Per-  
 \* *See Eu-*  
 \* *sebius's Ec-*  
 \* *clesiast. Hist.*  
 \* *Book 6.*  
 and had sacrificed men: This place being vacant  
 \* *See Eu-*  
 \* *sebius's Ec-*  
 \* *clesiast. Hist.*  
 \* *Book 6.*  
 to be the Sun to whom they offer many sacrifices. No Person  
 was initiated into the Mysteries hereof, before he had arriv'd to them  
 by certain degrees of torture, and had declared himself holy, and  
 approved by sufferings.

Julianus.

and useless, *Constantius* had some time before bestow'd upon the Church of the *Alexandrians*. *Georgius*, desirous to erect an Oratory therein, gave order that the place should be cleaned. Whilst they were clearing of it, there was an

† That is, A secret place in the Heathen Temples, to which none but their Priests had access.

† *Adytum* discover'd, of a vast depth, wherein were hid the Mysteries of the Heathens. Which were the Skulls of many Men, young and old, who, as report says, had heretofore been slain, at such time as the Heathens made use of Divinations by the inspection of entrails, and performed Magick sacrifices in order to the enchantment of Mens Souls. The Christians therefore, upon their discovery of these things in the *Adytum* of the Temple of *Mithra*, made it their business to expose these Heathenish mysteries to the view and derision of all men. And they began forthwith to carry them in triumph as 'twere about the City, shewing the multitude mens bare Skulls. When the Heathens that were at *Alexandria* beheld this, being unable to endure this ignominious affront, they became highly enraged: and making use of what came next to hand for a weapon, they fell with great violence upon the Christians, and destroy'd many of them (a) by various sorts of death. Some of them they killed with fwords, others with clubs and stones: Others they strangled with ropes: Some they crucified, inflicting this sort of death on them designedly, in contumely to the Cross [of Christ.] They wounded most of them. At what time, as it usually happens in such [Riots,] they spared not their nearest Friends and Relatives. But one Friend slew another; Brother [murder'd] Brother; Parents their Children, outrageously embreuing their hands in one anothers blood. For which reason the Christians left off cleansing *Mithra's* Temple: But the Heathens dragg'd *Georgius* out of the Church, and having bound him to a Camel, tore him to pieces, after which they burnt him, together with the Camel.

## C H A P. III.

That the Emperor, incens'd at *Georgius's* Murder, sharply rebuked the *Alexandrians* by his Letter.

BUT the Emperor highly resent'd *Georgius's* murder, and by his Letter severely reprehended the Citizens of *Alexandria*. There was a report spread abroad, as if they had done this to *Georgius*, who hated him upon *Athanasius's* account. But my opinion is, that such as entertain malice and hatred in their minds, do usually put themselves into their company who make insurrections against unjust persons. The Emperor's Letter, 'tis certain, lays the blame upon the Populace, rather than upon the Christians. But *Georgius* was then, and had before (a) appear'd, troublesome and offensive to all persons. And for this reason the multitude was incens'd against him in such an high degree. But, that the Emperor [as I said] does rather blame the People, you may hear from the Letter it self.

(a) For an account of the reasons of the *Alexandrians* hatred towards

*Georgius*, consult *Ammianus Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 223, &c. Edit. Paris 1631. See also *Epiphanius*, in *Heref.* 76. to wit, that of the *Anomoi*. Valef.

EMPEROR CÆSAR JULIANUS, MAXIMUS, AUGUSTUS, to the Citizens of *Alexandria*.

Although you have no reverence for Alexander the Builder of your City, and (which is more)

for that Great God the most holy *Serapis*; yet how *Julianus* is it that you have forgot both that Humanity and \*Decorum, due to mankind in general? We will \*Or, add, [which is due] to Us also, to whom all the Gods, heinous, especially the Great *Serapis*, have assigned the Empire of the World. For whom it was fit you should have reserved the Cognizance of their case who had injured you. But perhaps, you were impos'd upon by anger and rage, which where it inhabits the mind, does usually perpetrate most enormous facts. (b) But when you had repress'd your fury, you afterwards added the commission of an unjust act to what had on a sudden been advisedly resolv'd by you. Nor were you of the Commonality ashamed of perpetrating those things, for which you deservedly bas'd them. For, declare to Us, [We adjure you] by *Serapis*, for what unjust acts were you incens'd against *Georgius*? You will undoubtedly make answer, because he exasperated *Constantius*, of blessed memory, against us: Also, because he brought (c) He means

(b) In the *Florentine* and *Sforzian* M. SS. instead of *Δαμασκίου* the reading is *Δαμασκίου*: [wherefore, I doubt not but this whole place is to be thus restored: *ὅτι τῶν θεῶν ἀνεκλήσεις, τοῖς τοῖς ἀνέκκλητον, ἀπὸν καλῶν, ὅτι ὅτι τῶν θεῶν τῶν θεῶν ἐκλήσεις*] But when you had repress'd your fury, &c. valef.

*Artemius*, Commander in chief of the Forces in Egypt: as he is styled by *Theodoret*, (Book 3. Chap. 17. *Ecles. Histor.*) who relates, that he was deprived of his estate, and beheaded by *Julian*; because, being Captain of Egypt in the reign of *Constantius*, he had broken many Images. It was he, who allowed *Georgius* the guardian of Soldiers for his assistance, whilst he destroyed the heathen Temples in *Alexandria*. See our notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*, Book 22. pag. 223. The Martyrdom of this *Artemius* is extant in *Simeon Metaphrasis*, in which many things are contended that do much illustrate the History of these times. Valef.

(c) In this Edition of *Julianus's* works published by *Petavius*, printed at Paris 1630, (where this Letter of *Julianus's* to the *Alexandrians* is reckoned to be the tenth Epistle:) and in *Niketas's* (Book 10. Chap. 7.) the reading and punctuation of this passage is thus: *καὶ τὸν πρῶτον, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ τῶν πρῶτων*. The best Version of this passage (for no less than four have rendered it into Latin) is *Langus's*; who has rendered it thus: *Qui melius sibi ipse consulerit, nec iam tyrannice ab illo agisset*. We have followed the same sense in our Rendition. But *Christophorus's* Version is reprovable, both for his inserting the word [38. for] contrary to the authority of all Copies; and also, because he excuses *Artemius* Commander of the Forces in Egypt, as if he had carried him civilly and moderately at the beginning of his Government. It would certainly have been most absurd, should *Julian* have excus'd him, whom he had ordered to be executed as a Criminal. If any one Version has a mind to follow our Version, 'tis but inserting one Particle only thus: *ὅτι* &c.

But perhaps, &c. But *Petavius* (in his notes on this Epistle of *Julianus*, see the forementioned Edition) has produced another Emendation from some M. SS. Copies; after this manner, *ὅτι ὅτι τῶν θεῶν τῶν θεῶν ἐκλήσεις* who had preserv'd himself, &c. Valef.

their



their power. Compare therefore this Our Letter (c) with that We sent a while since, and consider the difference between them. How highly did We then commend you? But now, by the [immortal] Gods! When We should praise you, We cannot, by reason of your heinous Offence. The People are so audacious as to tear a Man piece-meal like Dogs. Nor are they afterwards abashed or careful of preserving their Hands pure, that they \* may stretch them out undefiled with Blood in the presence of the Gods. But Georgius deserved to undergo these Sufferings. We might perhaps grant, [that he deserved] more horrid and acute Tortures. And should you say, [he deserved them] upon your account, We also assent to that. But should you add, [he deserved to have this inflicted on him] by you; that We can in no wise allow. For you have Laws, which ought to be observed and before the must be regulated by good Laws, and you are to pay obedience to these Laws, and not transgress what has from the beginning been well and prudently constituted. It has happened very fortunately for you, O ye Alexandrians! that you have perpetrated such a Fault as this in Our Reign; Who, by reason of Our Reverence towards God, and upon account of Our (f) Grandfather and Uncle whose name We bear, (who governed Egypt and your City,) do retain a fraternal Affection for you. Certainly, that Power which suffers not it self to be disrespected, and such a Government as is severe, entire, and of an healthy Constitution, (g) could not connive at such an audacious insolence in its Subjects, but would diligently purge out that deadly Dissemper as it were by a more acute Medicine. But We, for the reasons now mentioned, make use of that most mild and gentle Remedy in your Case, [to wit,] Exhortation and Discourse. To which, We are confident, We shall find you more readily submissive, because, (as We are informed) you are not only Grecians by original extract, (h) but do also still retain in your Minds and Endeavours a splendid and generous Character of that your Noble Descent. (i) Let it be published to Our Citizens of Alexandria! He did. Thus wrote the Emperor.

Julianus expressed of Egypt; concerning whom Amm. Marcellinus relates much. In Julianus's Epistles, both readings are retained thus: δὴ τὸν ἀπαύριον & ἐκείνους τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐκείνους, upon account of our Grandfather and Uncle whose name we bear. But this reading is not to be endured; for, what reason has Julianus to mention his Grandfather here? It seems does confirm Nicephorus's reading, as we may see, Book 5, Chap. 7. Excels. Hist. Valisf.

(d) I doubt not but this place should be thus worded; καὶ οὕτως δὲ διὰ τὴν αἰσχρονομίαν τὴν ἡμετέραν; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valisf.

(e) The reading should doubtless be [ἐκ τῶν πατέρων, &c. but do also still, &c.]

(f) It must be [μετὰ δὲ τὸν πατέρα] Let it be published. We have spoken concerning this clause (which was usually annexed to the Emperors Edicts) in our Annotations on Eusebius, and think it superfluous to repeat it here. Valisf.

## CHAP. IV.

How, upon Georgius's being murdered, Athanasius returned to Alexandria, and recovered his own Church.

NOT long after, Athanasius returning from his Exile, was kindly received by the people of Alexandria, who at that time expelled the Arians out of the Churches; and gave Athanasius possession of the Oratories. But the Arians assembled themselves in some obscure and mean Houses, and Ordained Lucius in the place of Georgius. Such was the state of affairs then at Alexandria.

## CHAP. V.

Concerning Lucifer, and Eusebius.

AT the same time Lucifer and Eusebius were by an Imperial Order recalled from banishment. Lucifer was Bishop of Caralis, a City of Sardinia; Eusebius of Verelle, which is a City of the Lyguriens in Italy, as we have said before. Both these persons therefore returning from Exile out of the Upper Thebais, (a) held a consult how they might hinder the impaired Laws of the Church from being violated and despised.

who entered into a consult about repairing the decayed state of the Church, and establishing the Canon of Faith; but other Bishops besides them, who by Julianus's Edict were at that time recalled from Exile: to wit, Hilarius, Asterius, and the rest, as Theodoret truly remarks, Book 3. Chap. 4. Excels. Hist. These Prelates, moved thereto by a Zeal to the Catholic Faith, took in hand to reduce Heretics and Schismatics to the path of Truth, and recal them to their former Concord. Therefore, what Baronius says, to wit, that Eusebius and Lucifer were created Legates of the Apostolic See by Liberius, in order to their repairing the state of the Church, can in no wise be true. For the same must have been said concerning Hilarius and the other Prelates. Besides, Rufinus does expressly disprove this. For he relates, that Eusebius and Lucifer were Constituted with this Legatine power by the Alexandrian Synod. Valisf.

## CHAP. VI.

How Lucifer arriving at Antioch, Ordained Paulinus.

IT was concluded therefore, that Lucifer should go to Antioch in Syria, and Eusebius to Alexandria; that, by assembling a Synod together with Athanasius, they might confirm the opinions of the Church. (a) Lucifer sent a Deacon as his Substitute, by whom he promised his assent to what should be determined by this Synod. But he himself went to Antioch, and finds that Church in a great disturbance: for the People disagreed amongst themselves. For, not only the Arian Heretic, which had been introduced by Euzoïus, divided the Church: but (as we have said \* before) Meletius's followers also, by reason of their affection towards their Master, differed from those who embraced the same sentiments with them. Lucifer therefore, when he had constituted Paulinus Bishop over them, departed from thence again.

treated by Eusebius, that they might go together to see Athanasius at Alexandria, and in a general Consult with those Prelates that were left, determine concerning the state of the Church; refused to be present himself, but sends his Deacon as his Deputy. But from the Synodical Epistle, which Athanasius wrote in the name of the Alexandrian Synod to the Catholic Bishops which were in the City of Antioch, we are informed that Lucifer sent two of his Deacons to the Synod of Alexandria, Herennius and Agapetus; whom he sent after he had Ordained Paulinus Bishop of Antioch. For the Legates of Paulinus himself were present at this Synod, and subscribed Athanasius's Synodical Epistle. For these things were translated thus. Soon after Eusebius's going to the Alexandrian Synod, Lucifer together with the two Bishops Cymatius and Anatolius (the one whereof was Bishop of Peltus, the other of Beroa), created Paulinus Bishop of Antioch. Who, immediately after his Ordination, sent his Legates Maximus and Calamirus to the Alexandrian Synod. Also, Anodimus Bishop of Laodicea (who had a peculiar See), and a Bishop of his own faction, at Antioch sent his Legates at the same time. The Bishops

of Egypt therefore who were met at Alexandria, when they had heard that Eusebius, Asterius, and Lucifer's Legates were sent by Lucifer, Cymatius, and Anatolius, and when they had admitted the Legates sent by Paulinus and Apollinaris; departed every one to their own Sees, and gave order to Athanasius and some other Bishops who continued at Alexandria, that they should write a Letter to the Bishops convened at Antioch, concerning receiving the Heretics and Schismatics into communion, how they ought to behave themselves in that affair. In obedience to their Order, Athanasius wrote a Letter to the Bishops convened at Antioch, to wit, to Lucifer, Eusebius, and Asterius, (for these were now returned from the Alexandrian Synod;) Cymatius, and Anatolius. This Letter is extant in Athanasius's works, which Baronius supposed to be the Synodical Epistle of the Alexandrian Synod. But 'tis manifest from the Contents of that Letter, that it was not written from the Synod itself, but from Athanasius; nor was it sent to all the Bishops, but to those of Antioch in particular. Which may be concluded both from the inscription itself, and also from the Text of the whole Letter. For he treats therein concerning the affairs of the Antiochian Church only, as (besides others) we are informed from this passage: *Πάντες τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησιῶν οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἑαλεῖν τὴν ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ συναγωγῇ, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ ἀντιοχείᾳ, ὡς ἐπεὶ αὐτὸν παρ' ἐκείνῃ.* Which place Athanasius's Translator has rendered ill: The import of it in English is this; *Write therefore to you all those that are desirous of continuing in peace with you, especially those who celebrate their Conventions in the Old City, and such as [come] from the Arians. Athanasius means those that adhered to Meletius Bishop of Antioch. For they, being Separatists from the Eusebians, had their Religious Meetings in the Palaia (that is, in the Old City.) as Theodoret attests, Book 2. Chap. 31. and Book 3. Chap. 4. Eccles. Hist.* Athanasius speaks of the same Persons afterwards in the said Epistle; and distinguishing those that had their meetings in the Old City, from the followers of Paulinus, that is, the Eusebians. For Paulinus was one of their number. Those therefore that hid their Assemblies in the Palaia can be no other than Meletius's followers, whom Athanasius does most especially commend. *vide.*

Julianus.

## C H A P. VII.

How Eusebius and Athanasius accorded together, and assembled a Synod of Bishops at Alexandria, wherein they expressly declared, that the Trinity is Consubstantial.

**BUT**, as soon as Eusebius arrived at Alexandria, he, together with Athanasius, was very diligent about convening a Synod. There assembled Bishops out of several Cities, and conferred amongst themselves concerning many and most weighty matters. In this Synod they asserted the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and included him in the Consubstantial Trinity. They likewise determined that Christ at his Incarnation assumed not only flesh but Human Soul, which was also the opinion of the primitive Ecclesiasticks. For they introduced not any new Doctrine, invented by them, into the Church, but [confirmed] those points which Ecclesiastick tradition had from the beginning asserted, and which the learnedst persons amongst the Christians had demonstratively affirmed. For such sentiments as these all the Ancients in their Disputations concerning this Point have left us in their Writings. Irenaeus, Clemens, Apollinaris of Hierapolis, and Serapion President of the Church in Antioch, do assert this in the Books by them composed, (a) as an opinion by general consent acknowledged [to wit,] that Christ at his assumption of flesh was endow'd with a [Human] Soul. Moreover, the Synod convened upon (b) Berillus's account, who was Bishop of Philadelphia in Ara-

confirmed by Euphrasius Scholasticus's Version. Berillus was not Bishop of Philadelphia, as Socrates says here, but of Bostira (or of Bostri) in Arabia: he denied Christ to have been God before his Incarnation, as Eusebius informs us, Book 6. Chap. 33. of his Ecclesiastick History; where see note (c). That passage of Origen's most be understood concerning this Heretic of Berillus, which occurs in his Comment on the Epistle to Titus; where his words are these: *sed et eos qui hominem dicunt Dominum Jesum, &c.* Also those, who affirm the Lord Jesus to be a Man fore known, and predestined, who before his coming in the flesh had no secular existence of his own, but that being born Man he had the Deity of the Father only in him; these, I say, cannot, without great danger, be accounted members of the Church. This passage occurs also in Pamphilus's Apologétique in defence of Origen. And Gennadius has mentioned it, in his Book De Dogmatibus Ecclesiasticis, Cap. 4. *vide.*

bia, in their Letter to the said Berillus hath Julianus maintain'd the same Doctrine. Origen also doth acknowledge every where, in his Works which are extant, that Christ at his Incarnation assum'd an Human Soul: but more particularly, in the ninth Tome of his Comments upon Genesis, he has explain'd the mystery hereof; where he hath copiously prov'd, that Adam is a Type of Christ, and Eve of the Church. Holy Pamphilus, and Eusebius who borrow'd his surname from him, persons worthy to be credited, do attest this. For both these persons (who club'd in their drawing up the Life of Origen in writing, and answered such as were prepossess'd with a prejudice against that person, in those famous Books, wherein they made an Apology in defence of him,) do affirm, that Origen was not the first person engaged in this subject, but that he interpreted the mystical Tradition of the Church. But, those Bishops present at the Synod of Alexandria, omitted not their researches into this question, to wit, concerning *Ουσία* and *Υποστάσις*. For Hosius Bishop of Corduba in Spain (whom we formerly mention'd) who was sent before by Constantine the Emperor, to compose the disturbance at Ariminum, that time raised by Arius, being desirous to settle, or root out the opinion of || Sabellius the Libyan, Persecutor, raised a dispute concerning *Ουσία* and *Υποστάσις*, which was the occasion of another distinction. But the Nicene Synod, which was soon after convened, made not the least mention of this dispute. Notwithstanding, in regard some persons were afterwards desirous of contending about this matter, for that reason these determinations were made in this Synod concerning *Ουσία* and *Υποστάσις*. (c) It was resolved by them, that these terms ought not to be used concerning God. For, [they said that] the substance

ed the persons in the sacred Trinity, Arius divided the substance.

(a) The Acts of the Synod of Alexandria are not now extant; but 'tis sufficiently apparent, both from that Synodical Epistle which Athanasius wrote in the name of that Council, and also from hence, because the Great Athanasius was present at that Synod, that what Socrates here says is false. For, as to the Synodical Epistle, there occurs no such passage in that, as this, *that the terms Ουσία and Υποστάσις are not to be used as often as we speak concerning God.* Nor, would Athanasius ever have suffered that to have been determined in his Synod, which does manifestly contradict the Nicene Creed. For in that Creed the term *Ουσία* does occur. Socrates seems to have been deceived by this passage in the Synodical Epistle: *Πάντες ἡμεῖς τὸν Θεὸν ὡς ἑστίν, &c.* And, by the grace of God, all persons, after such interpretations of those terms, unanimously agreed, that that Creed, which the Fathers made profession of at Nice, was better and more accurate, and that in future, it was sufficient, that the terms thereof should be made use of. In which words, the terms *Ουσία* and *Υποστάσις* are not condemned: But this only is asserted, that it is more fit to use the terms of the Nicene Creed, than these, of three *Υποστάσεις* and of one *Υποστάσις*. For the debate at that time was only concerning these words; some affirming there were three *Υποστάσεις* in the sacred Trinity, as did the followers of Meletius; Others, with Paulinus, professing there was but one *Υποστάσις*. But no question was then started concerning the term *Ουσία*. For both sides asserted that there was one substance in the Trinity. How therefore can it be that which Socrates here says stand good, to wit, that it was decreed in the Alexandrian Synod, that these terms *Ουσία* and *Υποστάσις* were not to be used concerning God? Perhaps also Sabellius (whose Collection Socrates had diligently perused) had led him into this mistake. *vide.*

term

(a) This clause is thus worded in the Greek [αὐτὸν ἀποδοῦν αὐτοῖς] where the term [ἀποδοῦν] ought in my judgment to be expunged, as being unnecessarily inserted here by some careless Transcriber out of the foregoing line, where it occurs. But Nicephorus (Book 10. Chap. 14. where he writes out this passage of Socrates) makes use of the term [ἀποδοῦν], instead of [ἀποκαταστήσας]; either because that was the reading in his Copy; or else in regard he thought [ἀποκαταστήσας] was to be explained. *vide.*

(b) Nicephorus (at the Book and Chapter now mentioned) calls this person Cyrillus. But, from the authority of the Florentine and Sforzian M. SS. we have termed him Berillus. Our emendation is

term *Ousia* was not so much as mention'd in the sacred Scriptures; and, that the \* Apostles, obliged thereto upon a necessity of [delivering some] Opinions, had not rightly used the word *Hypostasis*. But they decreed, that these terms were to be admitted of upon another account, to wit, when they refuse *Sabellius's* Opinion, left, for want of expressive words, we should suppose [the Trinity to be] one thing called by a triple name; but we must rather believe every one (d) of those named in the Trinity, to be truly God in his proper person. These were the determinations of the Synod at that time. But nothing hinders, but we may briefly declare our knowledge concerning [the terms] *Ousia* and *Hypostasis*. Such persons amongst the Greeks as were Expositors of their Philosophy, have given various definitions of *Ousia*; but they have not made the least mention of *Hypostasis*. (e) *Irenaeus Grammaticus*, in his *Alphabetical Lexicon*, entitled *Attrictes*, affirms this word [*Hypostasis*] to be a barbarous term: for it is not, [says he,] used by any of the Ancients: but should it be any where found occurring, it is not taken in that sense wherein 'tis now used. For, in *Sophocles* (in [his Tragedy entitled] *Phœnix*) the term *Hypostasis* signifies *Treachery*. In *Menander* it imports *Sauces*; (f) as if any one should term the *Lees* in any Hoghead of *Wine Hypostasis*. But, you must know, that altho' the ancient Philosophers did not make use of this term *Hypostasis*, yet the more modern Philosophick Writers used it frequently instead of \**Ousia*. Moreover, they have given us (as we said) various definitions of *Ousia*. But if *Ousia* may be circumscribed by a definition, how can we properly make use of this term in reference to God, who is incomprehensible? *Evagrius*, [in his piece intitled] *Monachicus*, dissuades us from discoursing rashly and inconsiderately concerning God. But he altogether forbids the defining of the Divinity, in regard it is a most simple thing. For definitions, says he, belong to things that are compounded. The same Author delivers these very words. Every one

see Dr. Omer's account of this phrase, in his *Exposition on the Hebrews*, p. 55. See. Edit. London. 1698.

(d) Introd. of [the] *Evangelion*, of the names, which is the common reading; the *Florentine* M. S. words it thus [the] *Evangelion*, of those named; But *Nicæphorus* maintains the common reading; for he has recorded this passage of *Socrates* thus: *αὐτὸς ὡς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι τὸν θεὸν τριπλῶς ἐκάλουν*. Which his Learned Translator *Langus* has thus rendered: *Sed tribus uisitatibus nominibus, res quæque in Trinitate tripliciter distincta peculiariter substantia sua intelligitur*. But I cannot approve of this Rendition, in regard it recedes too far from the Authors words. *Langus* was puzzled with these Words [the] *Evangelion*, of the names, and act without reason. For the bare name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, is neither believed, nor ascribed to be God; but the things [or persons] signified by those names. Wherefore, the reading in the *Florentine* M. S. is, in my judgment, to be preferred before the vulgar reading; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

(e) *Irenaeus Grammaticus* was an *Alexandrian*, the Scholar of *Helenus Hiericus*, who by a Latin name was called *Minucius Pacatus*. He wrote many Books concerning the propriety of the *Antick* Language. For he compiled three Books of *Antick* names, and as many more *de Antick consuetudine in ditione & in prosodia*, which were alphabetically digested: he composed one Book *alē de Antickis*, as *Suidas* relates in his *Lexicon*. Valef.

(f) *Nicæphorus* (Book 10. Chap. 15.) reads this passage otherwise. For, instead of [the] *Evangelion*, as if any one should term] he words it thus [the] *Evangelion* τὸν θεὸν τριπλῶς ἐκάλουν. And another fills it the *Lees* in an Hoghead. Epiphanius translates this place thus: *Aut Menandrum vero uelut fecit quæ ex uino colliguntur in dolis, uisceræ, id est, substantiam designare dicit*. But, I think that there is another sense of these words; to wit, that *Menander* should term *Sauces Hypostasis*, because it settles in the bottom of the dill, like *Lees*, or *sediment*, in an Hoghead. Valef.

position, says he, has either a Genus which is predicated, or a Species, or a Differentia, or a Proposition, or an Accidents, or what is compounded of these; but none of these can be supposed to be in the Sacred Trinity. Let that therefore which is inexplicable, be adored with silence. Thus [argues] *Evagrius*, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter. But, altho' we may seem to have made a digression by relating these things; yet we have mention'd them here, in regard they are useful and pertinent to the subject of our History.

## C H A P. VIII.

[Some Passages quoted] out of *Athanasius's* Apologetick, concerning his own Flight.

AT the same time *Athanasius* recited the Apologetick he had formerly made concerning his own Flight, in the audience of those that were present. Some passages whereof, being useful and profitable, I will here insert, and leave the whole Book, in regard 'tis large, to be enquired out and perused by the studious. Behold [says he] these are the audacious Villanies of those impious wretches. These are their practices, and yet they blush not at the mischiefs they have formerly (a) contrived against us, but do even at this time accuse us, because we were able to escape their murdering hands. Yea rather, they are sorely troubled, because they have not quite dispatched us. In fine, under a pretence and colour they upbraid us with fear, but are ignorant that whilst they make a noise about this, they retort the crime upon themselves. For, if it be bad to fly, it is much worse to pursue. For the one absconds that he may not be murdered: but the other pursues with a design to murder. Yea, the Scripture informs us, that we must fly. But, he that seeks an occasion to murder, violates the Law, and does himself give [others] an occasion of flying. If therefore they upbraid us with our flight, they should rather be ashamed of their own pursuit. Let them leave plotting, and those that fly will soon desist from making their escape. But they cease not from acting their own Villanies; but do all they can to apprehend: being very sensible, that the flight of such as are pursued is a great evidence against them that pursue: For no body flies from a meek and good-natured person, but rather from one that is of a barbarous and malicious disposition. And therefore, \* Every one that was discontented and in debt, fled 22. 2. from Saul to David. Wherefore, these persons also endeavour to slay such as conceal themselves, that there may seem to be no evidence to convince them of their wickedness. But in this case also these mistaken persons seem to be blinded. For by how much the more manifest the flight is, by so much will the slauers be caused by their treacheries, and the punishments be more evidently exposed to the view of all men. For, whether they kill, death will make a greater noise against them; or again, whether they banish, they do in every place erect monuments of their own injustice against themselves. send forth. Were they therefore sound as to their Intellectuals, they might perceive themselves intangled herein, and egregiously mistaken in their own measures. But in regard they are infatuated, for that reason they are incited to persecute, and whilst they seek



*Julianus* to be apprehended before the time came; nor, when the time was come, did he conceal himself: but voluntarily resigned up himself to the *Travlers*. After the same manner also did the blessed *Martyrs* consult their own preservation in the Persecutions which now and then hapned. When they were persecuted they fled, and continued in places of concealment: But when found out, they suffer'd *Martyrdom*. Thus has *Athanasius* discoursed in his *Apologetick* concerning his own Flight.

## C H A P. IX.

How (after the Synod at Alexandria [made up] of those who asserted the *Homoëusian Faith*), *Eusebius*, returning to *Antioch*, found the *Catholics* disagreeing there upon account of *Paulinus's* Ordination; and being unable to bring them to an agreement, he departed from thence.

BUT *Eusebius* Bishop of *Verceilæ*, immediately after the Synod, went from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: Where finding *Paulinus* ordained by *Lucifer*, and the Populace disagreeing amongst themselves, (for the followers of *Meletius* had their assemblies apart by themselves:) he was troubled, because all people did not unanimously agree to the Ordination that had been made, and in his own thoughts disapprov'd of what was done. But, by reason of the reverence and respect he bore to *Lucifer*, he held his peace, and went away, having promised, that he would rectify what had been done, in a Synod of Bishops. Afterwards, he used his utmost diligence to unite the Dissenters, but could not effect it. In the interim, *Meletius* returned from his Exile. And finding his followers celebrating their assemblies apart by themselves, he headed them. But *Euzoïus*, a Prelate who embraced the *Arian* Tenets, was posses'd of the Churches. *Paulinus* had only one of the lesser Churches within the City, out of which *Euzoïus* had not ejected him, by reason of the reverential respect he had for him. But *Meletius* had his meetings without the gates of the City. After this manner therefore did *Eusebius* depart from *Antioch* at that time. But when *Lucifer* understood that his Ordination was not approved by *Eusebius*, he lookt upon it as an injury, and was highly incensed. Wherefore he separated himself from *Eusebius's* Communion, and out of a pertinacious Contentiousness, presumed to reprove what had been determined by the Synod. These things being transacted in a time of sadness and discord, caused many persons to separate from the Church. For there sprung up another new Herefie, [the followers whereof were termed] *Luciferians*. But *Lucifer* was not in a capacity of satisfying his anger. For he was bound by his own (a) promises, by which

(a) The term here in the original is [ἀπολογία, defence], which is in no wise agreeable here. Therefore, instead thereof, *Nicephorus* substituted these words [τῶν ἰδίων πλάσας, by his own Nets]. In my judgment, it should be [τὰς ἑαυτοῦ] act, by his own promises; and so *Epiphanius* read it, as appears by his Version. But *Eusebius* (Book i. Chap. 30. *Eusebius*) has this passage only; sed constingatur, &c. But he was bound by the bond of his Legate, who by his authority had subscribed in the Council. Afterwards, *Rufinus* adds these Words concerning *Lucifer*, he was receiv'd; *Alexandrianæ decreta concilii*, &c. But, had he admitted the determinations of the *Alexandrian Council*, he saw that all his attempts must have been frustrated. But I see no reason why *Lucifer* should reject the *Alexandrian Synod's* determinations. For that Synod had approved of *Paulinus's* Ordination, as I have remark'd before from *Athanasius's* *Synodick Epistle*. And whereas *Eusebius* (subscribed that *Epistle*, he also may seem to have approved of *Lucifer's* Ordination of *Paulinus*. Yet, the same *Eusebius* coming to *Antioch* after the *Alexandrian Council*, and perceiving the disagreement between the

*Catholics*, would communicate with neither party, as *Rufinus* asserts in the fore-quoted Book and Chapter: that is, he obtained as well from *Paulinus's* as *Meletius's* Communion. Valef.

(being sent by his Deacon) he had engaged *Julianus*, that he would assent to the Synod's determinations. Wherefore, he retained the *Ecclesiastick Faith*, and departed into *Sardinia* to his own See. But such as at first were aggrieved together with him, do hitherto continue Separatists from the Church. Further, *Eusebius*, like, a good Physician, travelled over the Eastern Provinces, where he perfectly recovered those that were weak in the Faith, teaching and instructing them in the Doctrines of the Church. Departing from thence, he arriv'd in *Illyricum* and afterwards went into *Italy*, where he took the same course.

## C H A P. X.

Concerning *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers*.

BUT *Hilarius* Bishop of *Poitiers* (which is a City of the second *Aquitania*) had prevented him, having before-hand laid the foundations of such points as were agreeable to the *Catholic Faith* [in the minds] of the Bishops in *Italy* and *Gallia*. For he, returning first from banishment, arrived in those Countries before him. Both of them therefore vigorously defended the Faith. But *Hilarius*, being a person endow'd with a great stock of eloquence, asserted the *Homoëusian* opinion in Books which he wrote in the *Latin* tongue: wherein he sufficiently confirmed \* that Faith, and powerfully confuted \* That is, the *Arian* Tenets. These things hapned a little after the recalling of those that had been banished. But you must know, that at the same time *Macedonius*, *Eusebius*, *Eusebius*, and *Sophronius*, (and [the rest of that Sect] who were all called by one general name *Macedonians*) held frequent (a) Synods in various places. And having called together those who in *Seleucia* were followers of their opinion, they Anathematized the Prelates of the other party; I mean, the *Acacians*. They also rejected the *Ariminum* Creed, and confirmed that which had been recited at *Seleucia*. Which Creed was the same that had before been set forth at *Antioch*, according as we have remark'd in our foregoing \* Book. And \* See Book when by some persons they were asked this \* Chap. question: You who are termed *Macedonians*, 39. if you differ in your sentiments from the *Acacians*, how comes it to pass, that you have (b) communicated with them (c) until now, as (b) This was with good reason objected against the *Macedonians*, that whereas they dissent from the *Acacians* in the Draught of the Creed, and were deposed by them in the *Seleucian* and *Constantinopolitan* Synod; yet notwithstanding this, they communicated with them. *Basilius*, 'tis certain, accuses them upon this account in his 73 *Epistle* ad *Sanctos Monachos*. *Basilius's* words there are to be understood concerning *Eusebius* and the *Macedonians*, who blamed *Basilius*, because he had heretofore communicated with *Eudoxius*, as 'tis apparent from his 79th *Epistle* to *Eusebius*. Valef.

(c) *Nicephorus* understood this passage of *Socrates* otherwise; he words it thus: τὴν πρὸς τοὺς τῶν ἀδελφῶν διακρίσιν, ὑπογράψας αὐτοῖς τὸ ἀνέγγραφο ἐκ τῶν καθεστῶτων, i. e. Why do you now dissent from the *Acacians*, with whom you have heretofore agreed and communicated? *Nicephorus* therefore seems to have taken these words [ἀλλὰ νῦν αὐτοῖς] for [ἀλλὰ νῦν, hitherto]. But I like not this exposition, and am of opinion, that [κατανοήσας, did communicate] is by *Socrates* used instead of [κατανοήσας, do communicate].

## C H A P. XI.

How the Emperor Julianus exacted Money from the Christians.

Which Basilus does mightily confirm in his fore-quoted Epistle, and Epiphanius (in *Hæres. Semiarum*.) Where he says, that although the Semiarum were divided into several Factions, yet they differed in words only, but in reality agreed in the same opinion: in so much that it would be very difficult to assign the point wherein they disagreed amongst themselves. But upon a more mature consideration of the matter, I judge Nicephorus's sense of these words to be truer. For *Socrates* says, that *Eusebius*, *Eustathius*, and the rest of the *Macedonians* did at this time (that is, in the Reign of *Julian*) first make up a Body of their own Set, and, having convened Synods, did confirm the Creed of the *Antiochian* Synod, and anathematize *Acacius* with his Followers: and that when they were questioned by some, why they had communicated with the *Acacians* (whose Creed they did reject) in long after the *Seleucian* Synod; they returned this answer by *Sophrontius* to wit, *The Western Prelates erred, in regard they asserted the Homosian Faith; the Easterns, being followers of Acacius' opinion, professed the Son to be unlike the Father; but we keeping the middle way, do affirm the Son to be like the Father according to his substance.* This is *Sophrontius's* answer. Which that it may satisfy the question proposed, this must necessarily be understood, to wit: Since therefore the *Acacians* entertained the same Sentiments, it need not be wondered at, that we have hitherto held communion with them. *Acacius*, 'tis certain, did profess the Son to be like the Father, in the same manner as the *Macedonians* did. See *Socrumen*, Book 5. Chap. 12. Valef.

*Julianus*, being of the same opinion with you? To this demand they return'd an answer by *Sophrontius* Bishop of *Popeopolis* a City of *Paphlagonia*, after this manner: The Western Bishops, says he, were infected (as it were with a disease) with the *Homosian* opinion. *Atius* in the East, having adulterated [the Doctrine of the Faith] introduced [an opinion, whereby he maintained] a dissimilitude of substance [between the Son and the Father.] Both these opinions were impious. For, the Western Bishops did rustily knit together in one the distinct persons of the Father and Son, binding them together with that Cord of iniquity, the term *Homosians*. *Atius* wholly separated that affinity of nature which the Son hath to the Father, by [introducing] this expression, *Unlike according to \* Essence*. Since therefore, [the Assertors of] both these opinions fall into the highest extremes of opposition, the middle way between these two alterations seem'd to us to be more agreeable to truth and piety, whereby 'tis affirmed, that the Son is like to the Father *according to Substance*.

\* Or, Substance.

(d) This is the answer which the *Macedonians* return'd by *Sophrontius* to that question, as *Sabinus* says in his *Collection of the Acts of Synods*. But, whereas they accuse *Atius* as being the Author of the † *Anomoian* opinion, and not of the † *Acacian*, 'tis apparent, they do fallaciously corrupt the truth, thinking to avoid the *Arrians* on the one side, and the *Homosians* on the other. For they are confuted by their own words, that through a desire of innovating they have made a separation from them both. But let thus much be said here, out concerning these [persons.]

† See book 2. chap. 20. note (h.)

is obscure enough. But the censure and reprehension of that answer (which *Socrates* now subjoins,) seems to be much more obscure. Where *Nicephorus* give us any assistance here; for he has transcribed this passage of *Socrates's* almost word for word. Notwithstanding, we will endeavour to produce something in order to the illustration of this place. This therefore, our Sentiment. The *Macedonians* were ask'd, why 'twas, dissented from *Acacius*, with whom they had before held Communion. In their answer they blamed the *Homosians* and *Atius*. This is nothing to the purpose, says *Socrates*. For you were not questioned concerning *Atius*, but concerning *Acacius*: you do merely sophisticate: For *Acacius*, as well as you, does condemn *Atius's* opinion. Now, whereas you condemn *Atius's* opinion; you are not for that reason any whit less Heretics. For by your own words you are convinced of a Novelty or Elevation, whilst you assert the Son to be like the Father according to substance. Wherein you dissent as well from the *Catholick* followers of the Nicene Creed, (who profess him to be of the same substance with the Father,) as from the *Arrians*, who asserted him to be a Creature, or dislike in respect of his Substance. 'Tis certain, *Theodoret* (Book 4. *Hæres. Fabul.*) does say, that *Macedonius* asserted the Son of God to be every way like to the Father; and that he was the first who invented the term *Homosians*. He was therefore one of the Semiarum, as well as *Acacius*. Valef.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning Maris Bishop of Chalcedon.

Moreover, at this time, *Maris* Bishop of Chalcedon in *Bithynia* being led by the hand into the Emperor's presence, (for he was very aged, and had that dissembler in his eyes termed the *Pin and Web*;) when he came before him, he reproved him sharply, terming him an Impious person, an Apostate, and an Atheist. The Emperor returned him opprobrious language for his reproaches, calling him blind fellow. And your *Galilean* God (said he) will never cure you. (For *Julianus* did usually term Christ *The Galilean*; and *Christians* *Galileans*.) But *Maris* answer'd the Emperor with a greater confidence: I thank God (said he) for depriving me of mine eyes, that I might not behold your face, who have fall'n into such horrid impieties. The Emperor made no return hereto, (b) but was severely revenged on him [after (c) in the wards.] For when he perceived, that those who *Flavianus* suffer'd Martyrdom in the Reign of *Diocletian*, and *Spiritus* were honour'd by the Christians; and having the observ'd that many persons were very desirous of being made Martyrs, as if he resolv'd to be [as *Flavianus* and *Spiritus* were] which reading pleases me best. But *Julianus* was not afterwards in any instance revenged upon *Maris* in particular, but he persecuted all the Christians in general, with that sort of persecution which *Socrates* relates. *Nicephorus* met with the same reading in his Copy: For thus he has express'd this passage in *Socrates's* *ἡρώδης δὲ διὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τῶν παλιγγίων, but he was in a very horrid manner revenged for this thing.* Valef.

revenged

• Or, *Logic*.

*Concerning the Tumult raised by the Heathens  
against the Christians.*

(i) Instead of [ἄρα τὰ χρη-  
ματά, who preferred riches, &c.]  
I suppose it should be] *ἀς τὰ*  
*χρηματά*, in regard they prefer-  
red, &c.] Which emendation is  
confirmed by Epiph. Scholasti-  
ci's Version; and by Nicepho-  
rus's exprelling of this passage,  
in his tenth Book. Chap. 22. *valef.*

ror, by an unjust collection of ill-gotten money, was in a short time mightily enrich'd. For that Law was put in execution, not only where the Emperor was present, but in those places also to which he came not. At the same time also the *Pagans* made incursions upon the professors of Christianity: and there was a great conflux of such as termed themselves Philosophers. Moreover, they constituted certain detestable Rites; in so much that they sacrificed young Children, as well males, as females, inspected their entrails, and tasted of their flesh. And these were their practices, both in other Cities, and also at *Athens* and *Alexandria*. At which City likewise they framed calumnious accusation against *Athanasius* the Bishop, acquainting the Emperor that he would destroy that City and all *Egypt*, and therefore that it was requisite he should be driven from that City. The *(b)* Prefect also of *Alexandria*, according to the Emperor's command, made an attempt against him.

gypt [who in the Greek is called *Presēt of Alexandria*] was *Hermogenes*, as we are informed from *Julian's* 23d Epistle. *Filef.*

### Concerning Athanasius's Flight.

BUT "he fled again, saying these words to his intimate acquaintance; Friends, let us recede a little while; for 'tis a small cloud, which will soon vanish. Having spoken these words, with all possible celerity he went aboard of a ship, and passing over the Nile, fled into Egypt. They who endeavour'd to apprehend him, made a close pursuit after him. When he understood that his pursuers were not far behind, those that accompanied him, persuaded him to fly into the Wilderness again. But by making use of prudent advice, he escaped those that pursued him. For he persuaded his followers to turn back and meet the pursuers, which was done with all possible speed. When therefore they, who a little before fled, approach'd the pursuers (a) the persons who sought [for Athanasius], ask'd his followers nothing [but this,] whether they had seen Athanasius. They gave them notice, that he was not far off, and said, that if they made haste, they would soon apprehend him. Being after this manner imposed upon, they pursued him very hotly, but in vain. Athanasius having made his escape, came privately to Alexandria, and abided there till such time as the persecution ceased. Such were the miseries which befel the Bishop of Alexandria, after his frequent persecutions and troubles, occasion'd partly by the Christians, and partly by the Heathens. Moreover the Presidents of Provinces, supposing the Emperor's superstition to be a fair opportunity of [increasing] their private gain, treated the Christians very ill, beyond [what] the Imperial Order [commission'd] them to do: one while exacting greater sums of money from them than they ought to have done; at other times inflicting on them corporal punishments. These things the Emperor was sensible of, but conniv'd at them. And to the Christians, making their addresses to him upon this account, his answer was, 'Is your duty, when you are afflicted, to bear it patiently: for this is the command of your God.

tion; in whom this word [*nothing*] occurs not; either because he found it not in his Copy, or else in regard he disliked that expression. Further, this whole story is taken out of *Rufinus*. Valef.

Julianus.

## C H A P. XV.

Concerning those who in the Reign of Julianus suffered Martyrdom at Merus a City of Phrygia.

AT the City Merus, Amacinius President of the Province of Phrygia, gave order for the opening of the Temple there, and commanded it should be cleansed from the filth heaped up therein by length of time, and that the Images in it should be polish'd and trim'd up. This fact did forely trouble the Christians. One Macedonius, Theodulus, and Tatianus, out of their zeal to the Christian Religion, were unable to bear that indignity. But, having acquired a warmth and fervency of affection towards Vertue, they rush'd into the Temple by night, and brake the Images in pieces. The Governour, highly incensed at what was done, resolv'd to destroy many in that City who were guiltless: whereupon the Authors of this fact rendered themselves on their own accord; and chose rather to die themselves in defence of the Truth, than to see others put to death in their stead. The Governour having seized these persons, order'd them to expiate the crime they had committed, by sacrificing. Upon their refusal to do that, he threatened them with punishment: But, being persons endow'd with a great courage of mind, they disregarded his menaces, and shew'd themselves prepared to undergo any sufferings whatever. And chose to die, rather than be polluted by sacrificing. When therefore he had made these Men undergo all manner of tortures, at last he gave order they should be laid on Grid-irons, under which he commanded fire to be put, and so destroyed them. At which time they gave the highest and most heroick demonstration of their fortitude, by these words of theirs to the President: *Amacinius, if you desire to eat broyled flesh, turn us on the other side, lest we should seem half broyled to your taste.* After this manner these persons ended their lives.

## C H A P. XVI.

How (when the Emperor prohibited the Christians from being educated in the Grecian Literature,) the two Apollinaris's betook themselves to writing of Books.

BUT, that Imperial Law, which prohibited the Christians from being educated in the Grecian Literature, made the two \* above-mentioned Apollinaris's far more eminent than they had been before. For, whereas both of them were persons well skill'd in Human Learning, the Father in Grammar, the Son in Rhetorick, they shew'd themselves very useful to the Christians at that juncture of time. For, the Father, being an exquisite Grammarian, † compos'd a Grammar agreeable to the form of the Christian Religion: He also turn'd the Books of Moses into that term'd Heroick Verse: and likewise paraphrased upon the Historical Books of the Old Testament; putting them partly into ‡ Daedyllick Verse, and partly reducing them into the form of \* Dramatick Tragedy. He [designedly] made use of all sorts of Verse, that no mode of expression [peculiar to] the Grecian Language, might be unknown, or un-heard of amongst the Christians. But the Younger Apollinaris, a person provided

with a good stock of eloquence, explain'd the Gospels and Apostolick Writings, by way of Dialogue, as Plato amongst the Grecians [had done.] Having rendered themselves useful after this manner to the Christian Religion, by their own labours, they vanquish'd the Emperor's subtlety. But Divine Providence was more prevalent and powerful, than either these persons industry, or the Emperor's attempt. For that Law quickly became extinct, together with the Emperor [who made it,] as we will manifest in the procedure [of our History.] And these Mens Works are reputed no otherwise, than if they had never been written. But some one will perhaps make this formidable objection against us; How can you affirm these things to have been effected by Divine Providence? For, it is indeed evident, that the Emperor's sudden death proved very advantageous to the Christian Religion. But certainly, the rejecting of the Christian Writings compos'd by the two Apollinaris's, and the Christians beginning again to be cultivated with an education in the Grecian Literature, can in no wise be of advantage to Christianity. For, the Grecian Literature, in regard it asserts \* Polytheism, is very pernicious. To this objection we will (according to our ability) make such a return as at present comes into our mind. The Grecian Learning was not admitted of, either by Christ, or his Disciples, as being divinely inspired; nor was wholly rejected, as hurtful. And this, in my opinion, was not inconsiderately done by them. For, many of the Philosophers amongst the Grecians were not far from the knowledge of God. For, [being furnish'd] with a discursive knowledge, they strenuously oppos'd those that denied God's Providence, of which sort were the Epicureans, and other contentious [Cavillers:] and confuted their ignorance. And by these Books they rendered themselves very useful to the Lovers of piety: but they apprehended not the principal Head of Religion, because they were ignorant of the Mystery of Christ, † Which has been hid from generations and ages. And that this is so, the Apostle in his Epistle to the Romans does declare, in these words: \* For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness. Because that which may be known of God, is manifest in them. For God had shew'd it unto them. For the invisible things of him from the creation of the world, are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal Power and Godhead, that they may be without excuse: because, that when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. From these words 'tis apparent, that they had the knowledge of the Truth, which God manifested unto them. But they were obnoxious, in regard when they knew God, they glorified him not as God. Whereas, therefore [the Apostles] prohibited not an education in the Grecian Learning, they left it to the choice of such as were desirous of it. Let this be one argument, in answer to the objection made against us. Another is this, The divinely inspired Scriptures do indeed deliver Doctrines that are admirable and truly divine: they do likewise infuse into [the minds of] those that hear them, both an eminent piety, and exact course of life; and also exhibit to persons that are studious a Faith acceptable to God. But they teach not an Art of reasoning, whereby we may be enabled to answer those that resolutely oppose the truth.

Besides,

\* Book 2.

† Chap. 46.

‡ Tit.

Ученица

Титъ Хер

статикъ

тѣмъ сущи

тѣмъ, compiled

an art of

Grammar

conform to

the Chri-

stian mode.

\* See see

lit. Post.

Book 2.

Chap. 6.

\* Or, Tra-

gedy that

might be

represented

by Actors.

\* Or, a multitude of Gods.

† Col. 1.

\* Rom. 1.

18, 30.

21.





*Julianus* concerning the Emperor's displeasure. But, 'tis said, this *Sophista* wrote these Orations only, and did not recite them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor, relinquishing his resolution of revenging himself upon those Revilers by deeds, discharged his rage by reciprocal Taunts and Scoffs: For he compiled a Book [against them,] which he entitl'd *Antiochicus*, or *Misopug-n*, wherein he has left a perpetual brand upon the City of *Antioch*. Thus much concerning these things. We must now relate what [mischiefs] the Emperor then did to the *Christians* in *Antioch*.

## C H A P. XVIII.

*How, when the Emperor was desirous to consult the Oracle, the Dæmon gave no answer, being afraid of Babylon the Martyr.*

FOR, having given order, that the Heathen Temples in *Antioch* should be opened, he was very desirous of receiving an Oracle from *Apollo* \* *Daphneus*. But, in regard the *Dæmon* inhabiting that Temple, feared his Neighbour (I mean (a) *Babylus* the Martyr,) he gave no answer: For the Coffin lay hard by, wherein was inclosed the Body of that Martyr. When the Emperor understood the reason thereof, he forthwith issued out an order for the immediate translation of the Coffin. The *Christians* of *Antioch* understanding this, [flock'd together all of them,] as well Women, as young Children, and carried the Coffin from *Daphne* into the City with great rejoycings and singing of Psalms. [The contents of] those Psalms were reproachful reflections upon the Heathenish Gods, and upon those who confided in them, and in their Images.

\* There was a Grove in the suburbs of *Antioch*, called *Daphne*, which was consecrated to *Apollo*; whence he was termed *Apollo Daphneus*. *Socumen* spends a great many words in describing this Grove, at Chap. 12. Book 5. of his *Eccles. Histor.* (1) He succeeded *Zabimus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, says *Eusebius*, Book 6. Chap. 2. *Eccles. Histor.* The same Author (Chap. 39. Book 6.) says that he died in prison (but *Cyrilostome*, Lib. de S. Basil. Tom. 9. pag. 619. tells us he was beheaded,) in *Decius's* Reign. Where his body was first buried, is not known: but where ver it was, there it rested, till *Galus*, *Julian's* brother, built a Church over against the Temple of *Apollo Daphneus*, (see *Socumen*, Book 4. Chap. 12.) into which he caused *S. Babylus's* body to be translated. After this removal of it, mentioned in this Chapter, 'twas intomb'd within the City *Antioch*, in a Church dedicated to his name and memory.

## C H A P. XIX.

*Concerning the Emperor's Wrath, and concerning Theodorus the Confessor.*

MOREOVER, the Emperor's *Genius* and Disposition, which he had [hitherto] kept concealed, was at that time clearly discover'd and manifest'd. For he who before profess'd himself to be a Philosopher, could not moderate himself any longer. But being very easily provok'd to anger by those reproachful Hymns, was ready to inflict the same punishments upon the *Christians*, which *Diocletian* heretofore laid on them. But in regard his solicitude about the *Persian Expedition* afforded him not a convenient opportunity of prosecuting this design, he order'd *Salustius Prefect* of the *Pretorium*, to apprehend those persons that had been most zealous and busie in singing Psalms, in order to their being punished. The *Prefect* (altho' as to his Religion he was an Heathen, yet) did not willingly receive that order. But, in re-

gard he could not contradict it, he commands *Julianus* many of the *Christians* to be apprehended, and confines some of them to prison. Upon one young man (whose name was *Theodorus*, whom the Heathens brought before him,) he inflicted Tortures, and various sorts of punishment, ordering that his body should be lacerated all over; and then, when 'twas suppos'd he could live no longer, he releas'd him from his tortures. But God preserv'd this person: for he surviv'd that confession a long time. *Rufinus*, who wrote an *Ecclesiastick History* in Latin, \* says, that he convers'd with this *Theodorus* a long while after this, and enquir'd of him, whether, during his being scourged and racked, he felt an acuteness of pain: And that his answer was, that the pain [proceeding] from his tortures was very little: and that there stood by him a certain young man, who both wiped off the sweat caus'd by his agony, and also corroborated his mind, and that he caus'd that space of time wherein he was tortured, to be a delight to him, rather than a conflict. Let thus much be said concerning the admirable *Theodorus*. At the same time arriv'd Embassadors from the *Persians*, requesting [the Emperor] to put an end to the War (a) upon certain express Articles and Conditions. But he dismiss'd them, with these words, *You shall ere long see Us in person, and so there will be no need of an Embassy.*

ginal; which neither *Musculus*, nor *Christophorus* understood, as appears from their Versions. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XX.

*How the Emperor perswaded the Jews to sacrifice, and concerning the utter Destruction of Jerusalem.*

WHILST the Emperor was very desirous to endamage the *Christians* some other way besides this, he betray'd his own Superstition. For, being much addicted to sacrificing, he not only delighted in the Blood [of Sacrifices] himself, but thought himself wrong'd unless others would do so too. But, in regard he found but few such men as those, he sent for the *Jews*, and enquir'd of them, upon what account they abstained from sacrificing, when as the Law of *Moses* enjoy'd it. Upon their answering him, that they could not sacrifice in any other place, but only at *Jerusalem*, he gave order, that *Solomon's* Temple, should be forthwith re-edified. [In the interim] he himself proceeds in his Expedition against the *Persians*. But the *Jews* (who for a long time had been desirous of getting an opportune time, wherein their Temple might be rebuilt, in order to their offering sacrifice,) were then very industrious about that work. They also shew'd themselves very formidable to the *Christians*, and their behaviour towards them was proud and insolent, threatening they would do them as much mischief, as they themselves had formerly suffer'd from the *Romans*. In regard therefore the Emperor had given order, that the charge [of that Structure] should be paid out of his Exchequer, all things were soon provided; [to wit,] Timber, Stone, burnt Brick, Clay, Lime, and all other materials necessary for building. At which time, *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem* called to mind the Prophecy of *Daniel*, (which Christ also has confirm'd in the holy Gospels,)

\* See *Rufinus's Eccles. Hist.* Book 4. Chap. 35.

(a) *Eusebius's* phrase in the Origin.

*Julianus.* Gospels,) and (a) predicted in the presence of many persons, that that time would come very shortly, wherein one stone should not be left upon another in that Temple, but that our Saviour's prophecy should be fulfilled. These were the Bishop's words: And in the night there hapned a great earthquake, \* which tore up the stones of the old foundation of the Temple, and dispersed them all, together with the adjacent edifices. By reason of this accident, the Jews were extremely terrified. And the fame of it brought many persons, who lived at a great distance, to that place. When therefore a numerous multitude were gathered together, there hapned another prodigy. For there came down a fire from Heaven, which consumed all the Builders Tools. You might have seen Malles, Irons to smooth and polish stones with, Saws, Hatchets, Axes; in short, all things the Workmen had, which were to be used about that work, destroy'd by the flames. The fire prey'd upon these things for a whole day together. The Jews, being in the greatest fear imaginable, acknowledged (tho' unwillingly) that Christ was God. But they obey'd not his will, but were prepossess'd with an opinion of their own Religion, and continued firm thereto. For neither did a third Miracle, which hapned afterwards, induce them to a belief of the truth. For, the night following, the impressions of a Cross, which cast forth beams of brightness, appeared printed upon their garments. Which impressions when they saw the next day, they endeavour'd to wash and rub them out, but could not. They were blinded therefore, as the Apostle says, and cast away that good they had in their hands. Thus was the Temple, instead of being rebuilt, at that time totally demolish'd.

C H A P. XXI.

Concerning the Emperor's Inroad into Persia, and concerning his Death.

**M**oreover, the Emperor made an irruption into Persia, a little before the Spring, being informed that the Persians were a people that were weakest, and of the least courage in the Winter. For, being unable to endure the cold, they abstain from undertaking any military action at that time. But, according to the Proverb, *A Mede will not pull so much as his hands from under his Cloak at that time.* [On the contrary,] in regard he very well knew, that the Romans were able to endure a Winter Campaign, he pour'd his Army into the Persian Territories. When therefore they had depopulated a large tract of Ground, [laid waste] many Villages, and Garrisons, they then [began] to take Cities. And, having invested the great City Ctesiphon, he reduced the Persian King to such straits, that he dispatcht frequent Embassies to Julian, entreating him that he might be punish'd with the loss of some part of his Country only, provided he would depart out of his Territories, and put an end to the War. But Julianus was not in the least affected in his mind, nor shew'd any compassion towards these

suppliants. Neither did he take into his consideration this common saying, to wit, *To conquer is famous, but to \* be more than Conqueror, is odious.* But, giving credit to certain Divinations, which Maximus the Philosopher (with whom he conversed continually) suggest'd to him; and imagining that he should not only equal, but exceed the glory of Alexander the Macedonian [for these reasons, I say,] he rejected the humble addresses of the Persians. And he supposed, agreeable to the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato, that by a Transmigration of Souls he was possess'd of Alexander's Soul; or rather, that he himself was Alexander in another Body. This opinion deceived him, and was the cause of his not admitting of the Persian King's humble address at that time. The King of Persia therefore, perceiving his Embassy to be ineffectual, was reduc'd to a necessity [of fighting.] Whereupon, the next day after he had sent his Embassy, he draws out all the Forces he had against the Roman Army, in order to his giving them battel. The Romans did indeed blame the Emperor, in regard he would not avoid an engagement, when as he might have done it with advantage. Nevertheless, they gave the Enemy battel, and routed them again. The Emperor was in the engagement in person, on Horseback, and encourag'd his men: but he had no Armour on, in regard he solely confided in his hope of success. But [on a sudden] a Dart is cast at him from an unknown place, which pierced through his Arm, and entred his Side: (a) of which wound he died, the person that killed him being unknown. For some say, [the Dart] was thrown by a certain Persian who fled: others, [that it was cast] by one of his own men, which is the strongest and most common report. But Callistus (who had this a military employ in this (b) Emperor's Guards, and recorded his Acts in Heroick Verse,) in his Narrative of this War, says, that Julian was wounded by a Daemon, of which he died. This was perhaps a poetical fiction of his; peradventure 'twas really true: For revengeful Furies have destroy'd many persons. But, however that matter was, this is not unknown, that [this Emperor] was a person, by reason of his too great heat and ardency of mind, unwary; because of his learning, vain-glorious; upon account of his counterfeit mildness, obnoxious to contempt. Julianus therefore ended his life in Persia (as we have said in his fourth Consulate, which he bore with Salustius [his Colleague,] about the twenty sixth of June. This was the third year of his Empire, the seventh upon the from his having been created Caesar by Constantius; and the thirty first year of his Age.

his hand with blood, and threw it up into the air, and said, O Gallilean: (c) he termed our Saviour, and the Christians he called Gallileans: Then hast overcome, &c.

(b) The Greek term *ἐκκρίτης*, signifies in this place Praefectores Domestici, The Emperors Guards; concerning whom we have spoken at large, in our Notes on Book 14. of Ann. Marcellinus, pag. 32. In this sense Socrates uses this term, Book 4. Chap. 1. This is that Callistus (if I mistake not) whom Libanius (Epist. 120. Bo k 4.) calls Callisto, friend to Salustius Praefect of the Praetorium. For Libanius attests there (as well as Socrates does: here) that he was a Poet. Valef.

C H A P. XXII.

Concerning Jovianus's being proclaim'd Emperor.

**T**HE Roman Army, reduced to the greatest streight imaginable, without delay, on the day after, proclaim Jovianus Emperor, a person

*Fullanus.* famous, but to \* be more than Conqueror, is odious. But, giving credit to certain Divinations, which Maximus the Philosopher (with whom he conversed continually) suggest'd to him; and imagining that he should not only equal, but exceed the glory of Alexander the Macedonian [for these reasons, I say,] he rejected the humble addresses of the Persians. And he supposed, agreeable to the opinion of Pythagoras and Plato, that by a Transmigration of Souls he was possess'd of Alexander's Soul; or rather, that he himself was Alexander in another Body. This opinion deceived him, and was the cause of his not admitting of the Persian King's humble address at that time. The King of Persia therefore, perceiving his Embassy to be ineffectual, was reduc'd to a necessity [of fighting.] Whereupon, the next day after he had sent his Embassy, he draws out all the Forces he had against the Roman Army, in order to his giving them battel. The Romans did indeed blame the Emperor, in regard he would not avoid an engagement, when as he might have done it with advantage. Nevertheless, they gave the Enemy battel, and routed them again. The Emperor was in the engagement in person, on Horseback, and encourag'd his men: but he had no Armour on, in regard he solely confided in his hope of success. But [on a sudden] a Dart is cast at him from an unknown place, which pierced through his Arm, and entred his Side: (a) of which wound he died, the person that killed him being unknown. For some say, [the Dart] was thrown by a certain Persian who fled: others, [that it was cast] by one of his own men, which is the strongest and most common report. But Callistus (who had this a military employ in this (b) Emperor's Guards, and recorded his Acts in Heroick Verse,) in his Narrative of this War, says, that Julian was wounded by a Daemon, of which he died. This was perhaps a poetical fiction of his; peradventure 'twas really true: For revengeful Furies have destroy'd many persons. But, however that matter was, this is not unknown, that [this Emperor] was a person, by reason of his too great heat and ardency of mind, unwary; because of his learning, vain-glorious; upon account of his counterfeit mildness, obnoxious to contempt. Julianus therefore ended his life in Persia (as we have said in his fourth Consulate, which he bore with Salustius [his Colleague,] about the twenty sixth of June. This was the third year of his Empire, the seventh upon the from his having been created Caesar by Constantius; and the thirty first year of his Age.

*Julianus*. son courageous and nobly descended. He being Tribune of the Soldiers, \* when *Julianus* by publishing an Edict, gave the Soldiers their choice, whether they would sacrifice, or leave their Military Employments; chose rather to lay down his Commission, than obey the command of the impious Emperor. But *Julianus*, necessitated thereto by the imminent War, had continued him in Commission, amongst his chief Commanders. Being at that time elected to the Empire, he refused it. And when he was forcibly drawn forth by the Soldiers, he cried out, saying, that being himself a *Christian*, he would not reign over men firmly addicted to *Genilism*. But, after all of them with one voice answer'd, professing that they also were *Christians*, he accepted of the Empire. Moreover, in regard he was on a sudden left in very great streights † in an Enemy's Country, and his men being destroy'd by a famine, upon terms he put an end to the War. The Conditions were indeed misbecoming the *Roman* glory; but they were necessary in that conjuncture. For, being punish'd

† Or, in the Country of the Persians.

(a) In the original, the reading is [Zustatous] εὐχόμενος τῆς ἐξουσίας, being punished into the loss of the dominion over the Syrians; which reading is retained in all our copies. Agreeable to which is Eusebius's *Historia Ecclesiastica* V. lib. 10, who renders it thus: *Amissa namque Syria, & tradita Persis Nisibi, for having lost Syria, and surrendered Nisibi to the Persians*; And *Nicephorus* words this passage thus: *Καὶ δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποστάσιν ἡ αἰκία πρὸς τὸν Περσέως, τὴν αὐτὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν ἐν Μεσοποταμίᾳ νίκην, &c.* Moreover, surrendering some places to the Persians, that were tributary to the Romans, I mean the Government of the Syrians, and, Nisibi in Mesopotamia. But, *Julianus* surrendered not Syria to the Persians. He gave them Nisibi only, and the Countries beyond the Tigris. Wherefore, I doubt not, but instead of [τῆς ἐξουσίας, the Syrians] it should be [τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἐξουσίας, the Borders of the Empire; and accordingly we have rendered it. Then which Emendation, there is nothing more certain. *Socrates* himself confirms it, who speaking concerning this matter a little after, in this Chapter, says thus, *ὅτι τὴν αὐτὴν αἰκίαν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρκεσέως, and ascribed the disgrace of the loss of the Borders to him.* Valef.

(b) Between these two words [encouraged] and [death], there was wanting in the printed Copies of *Socrates* this whole line [ἵνα δὲ τὸν Σπυριδωνὸν ἐκδικῶν, τὴν αὐτὴν αἰκίαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, But the Pagans bewail'd *Julianus's* death] which we have inferred from the Florent. and Sforzian M. SS. Further, from this very one place 'tis evident, that *Christophorus* made use of no M. S. Copies, in his translation of *Socrates*. Valef.

which make the Man of Palestine God, and the Son *Julianus* of God; and by a long dispute and validity of Arguments he evinced, that those [Records] revered and honoured [by the Christians] are ridiculous and meer trifles: having in this matter demonstrated himself to be more skilful and wiser, than the \* Tyrian Old Man. But, may that Tyrian be propitious to me, and not be disgusted at what rim is said, (a) in regard he was out-done by his Son! (a) in the Florent.

and Sforzian M. SS. the reading is [ἵνα δὲ τὸν Σπυριδωνὸν ἐκδικῶν, in regard he was out-done by his Son.] But in *Libanius's* Oration, which I have read in Manuscript, it is thus worded [ἵνα δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποστάσιν,] which reading pleases me best. This Funeral Oration of *Libanius's* concerning the praises of *Julian* the Emperor, is published indeed by *Morletus*, in the Second Tome of the said *Libanius's* works; but very corruptly. For, two parts in four of it are transposed; and besides, there are some pages of it wanting. We have some time since found out the transposition of this Oration; and made up its defects from *Johannes Alsinus's* Manuscript; in which Copy this passage is extant, which *Socrates* does here quote. Valef.

These are *Libanius's* the *Sophista's* words. I am indeed of opinion, that he was a most incomparable *Sophista*: but, I am confident, had he not entertained the same sentiments with the Emperor, as to Religion, he would have spoken against him all that hath been said by *Christians*, and (as 'tis very likely,) being a *Sophista*, would have enlarged upon that subject. For, whilst *Constantius* was living, he wrote \* *Encomiums* upon him; but after his death, he loaded him with reproaches and abusive accusations. Wherefore, had *Porphyrius* been an Emperor, he had undoubtedly prefer'd his Books before *Julian's*: and, had *Julianus* been a *Sophista*, he would have termed him an ill *Sophista*, as he does *Eusebius*, in his Epitaph upon *Julian*. Since therefore he, as being of the same Religion with the Emperor, as a *Sophista*, and as the Emperor's Friend, has related what he thought good; we, according to our ability, will answer what he has written. In the first place therefore, he says, that the Emperor undertook those Books, when Winter had lengthen'd the Nights. This term, to undertake, or attempt, imports, that he made it wholly his business to write a discommendation, as the *Sophista* usually do, when they instruct young Men in the rudiments of their Art. For he had been acquainted with those Books long before, but then he made his attempts against them. And, having spent a great deal of time in a tedious contest, he did not [oppose them] (as *Libanius* says) with solid arguments; but for want of truth betook himself to Jest and Drollery, (whereof he was a great admirer,) by which means he derided what is firmly established in those Books. For, whosoever undertakes a contest against another, does usually belie him against him whom he manages the dispute; one while by perverting the truth, at another by concealing it. And he that has a Pique against another, as an adversary endeavours, not only to act, but to speak against him in all things; and delights to turn'the \* faults that are in himself, upon him: with whom he is at variance. That *Julianus* and *Porphyrius* (whom *Libanius* calls the Tyrian Old Man) did both of them take great delight in scoffing, is evident from their own Books. For *Porphyrius*, in the Books he wrote concerning *Philosophick History*, has made the Life of *Socrates* a ridicule, who was the eminentest of the Philosophers: and has left such passages upon record concerning him, as neither *Melitus*, nor *Annytus*, *Socrates's* Accusers, would have attempted to say. Concerning *Socrates*,

\* The ill.

#### C H A P. XXIII.

A Confutation of what *Libanius* the *Sophista* has said concerning *Julianus*.

THE Winter (says he) having lengthened the Nights, the Emperor undertook those Books,

*Gravianus.* crates, I say a person admired amongst the Grecians, for his Modesty, Justice, and other Virtues. Whom *Plato* the most admirable Philosopher among them, *Xenophon*, and the whole † Ors. Quic. † company of Philosophers, not only honour as a person beloved by God, but also repute him to have been endow'd with a wisdom more than human. And *Julianus*, imitating his \* Porphy. rian. \* Father, has discover'd the distemper of his own mind in [the Book he entitl'd] *The Caesars*, wherein he has discommended all the Emperors his Predecessors, not sparing even *Marcus the Philosopher*. That both of them therefore took great delight in scoffs and taunts, their own writings do sufficiently declare. Nor need I many or solid arguments, but this is sufficient to represent the

(b) After these words this line  
[ἵνα μὴ αὐτὸν ἐν αἰσῶσι] was want-  
ing in the Printed Copies;  
which I inferred from the *Sforzian*  
M.S. Volsf.

of them. But, what *Gregorius Nazianzenus* has said concerning *Fulianus*, you may hear [delivered] in his own words. For, in *his second Oration against the Gentiles*, he says thus: Experience, and his assuming the Imperial Dignity and Authority, evidenced these things to others. But to me they were in a manner apparently manifest long before, at such time as I was conversant with him at Athens. For he came thither immediately after the Innovations attempted by his *†* Brother, having requested this of the Emperor. The design of this his journey was two-fold; and the one was more honourable, [namely,] to see Greece, and the Schools there: The other was kept secret, known but to a very few, [to wit,] that he might consult with the Sacrificers and Impostors there concerning his own affairs: For his Impiety was not yet in possession of confidence and liberty. At that time therefore, *†* I will remember, I was no bad Diviner concerning this person, although I pretend not to be one of their number who are well versed in the knowledge and use of these Preditions. But, the unexamined and inconstancy of his Disposition, and the incredible Extravagancy of his Mind, made me a Prophet, if he be the best Prophet, who gives the truest conjecture. For, 'twas my opinion, that no good could be portended by an insatiable Neck; by Soldiers which some-

[illegible]

learned Order. - What need I give a particular description of every thing? Before his Actions I said he would be the same that I have since found him to be by his Actions. And, were some of those persons here, who were then present and heard me, they would be easily induced to attest this. To whom when I saw these things. I forthwith shoke the

words, How great a mischief to it self does the <sup>Jovianus.</sup> Roman Empire breed up! When I had utter'd these words, I pray'd to God, that I might be a false Prophet: For that was better, than that the World should be filled with such horrid mischiefs, and that such a Monster should appear, the like to which had never been seen before; although many Deluges are recorded; many Devastations by Fire; many Earthquakes and \* Chasms; (d) and moreover- many monstrous and inhuman Men; and Beasts that were prodigious and compounded of several kinds, of which Nature produced new forms. Upon this account be ended his life in a manner answerable to his madness.

\* Or, opening of the earth.  
(d) This passage is so. hr

good from *Gregorius Nazianzenus*, thus: "Εἰς τὴν ἐκείνου ἀπαύρα-  
 πον ἐξ ἀνείων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐξ οὐρανίου, ὅν ἡ οὐσία ἐκκλυστὸς ἦσθαι,  
 and we have rendred it accordingly. *Vale*." made

This Character *Gregorius* has given us concerning *Julianus*. Moreover, that in those many Books (in the compiling whereof they employ'd themselves,) they have attempted to violate the truth, by perverting some passages of the sacred Scriptures, by making inferences in other some, and by explaining all things

(c) Many of the Ancients have been taken to refute *Periphrasis* and *Julianus*; Books against the *Chriftians*, *Methodius*, *Eusebius*, and *Apollinaris* wrote Books against *Periphrasis*. *Cyrillus* wrote against *Julian*; which Books of *Cyrillus* are the extant, but *Cyrillus* is not a genuine *Nileus*.

(f) In what Books *Origen* has explained such passages in sacred Writ as might trouble the Readers, and has confuted the fallacious arguments brought against the Christian Religion; 'tis hard to assert. For, in his Books against *Celsus*, he has in no wife done this. Nor, was it his design in that work, to explain those passages in the sacred Scripture, which had any difficulty in them, but only to answer *Celsus's* objections. Perhaps, *Socrates* does mean *Origen's epigrams*. For in those Books *Origen* shew'd the congruity of the Opinions of our Religion with those of the Philosophers: as *Jerom* informs us in his Epistle to *Magnus the Orator*. In order to his effecting of this, 'twas requisite for *Origen* to expound those places of Scripture, where some of the contradictions the sentiments of the Philosophers, *Pufes*.

phemy. That the Emperor made it his business to cavil in his discourses before ignorant and the simpler sort of men, nor in their presence who retain a representation of the truth taken from the sacred Scriptures; is evident from hence: For, having pick'd out as many expressions as upon account of necessity are by way of dispensation used concerning God in a more human manner, and put them and many such like phrases altogether; at length he subjoyns these very words; *Every one of these expressions therefore (unless the phrase contains in it some secret and occult sense and meaning, which I suppose), is swift with a deal of blasphemy against God.* Thus much he has said in express words, in his *third Book against the Christians*. And in that Book of his, to which he gave this title (g) *Concerning the Cynick Psephology*, declaring after what manner sacred Fables

gainst *Heracles the Cynick*; the title whereof is, *πρὸς κυνιστὴν, τὴν ὁδὸν τοῦ ζῆναι ὡς κυνικῶς*. For, in the 403 pag. of that Book, the passage here quoted occurs. *Ettes.*

ought

*For Nature loves concealment; and the hidden substance of the Gods cannot endure to be thrown into polluted ears in bare and naked words.* From these words 'tis apparent, that the Emperor had this sentiment concerning the Divine Scriptures, [to wit,] that they were mystical Discourses, containing in them an abstruse sense and meaning. Moreover, he is very angry, because all men don't entertain the same opinion concerning them; and inveighs against those persons amongst the *Christians*, who take the sacred Oracles in their plain and obvious sense. But, it was not decent to rail in such manner against the Simplicity of the Vulgar, nor upon their account to use such influence towards the sacred Scriptures: nor yet,

(h) In the *Sforzian* M. S. the reading here is τὰ καλῶς αὐτῶν τοῦ σώματος. But I am better pleased with my former conjecture, which was to read it thus, τὰ καλῶς ἀνὰ τὸ σῶμα, those things which are rightly understood by others. Although, the reading may be barely thus τὰ καλῶς σῶμα, those things which are rightly understood. For the word [αὐτῶν] crept in hither, from the following line. Vales.

(i) Ἀπελθὼν in the Florentine M. v. the reading is ἐλθὼν, he deserted. Nicephorus (Book 10. Chap. 36. Ecclef. Hist.) words it thus, ἔξδουνται, abjured. Valef.

had beaten him, he fell to writing blasphemous Books against the *Christians*; as *Eusebius Pamphilus* has manifestly made it out against him, who has clearly confuted his Books. But the Emperor, having uttered disdainful expressions against the *Christians* in the presence of unthinking persons, through the same distemper of mind fell into Porphyry's Blasphemy. Since therefore both these Persons voluntarily [deserted the Church and] brake out into impiety, they are punish'd by the very knowledge and consciousness of their own Crime. Further, whereas *Libanius* the *Sophist* in derision to the *Christians* does say, that they make a Man of *Palestine*, God and the Son of God; in my opinion he seems to have forgot, that he himself has deified *Julianus* at the close of his Oration. For they almost *flourish'd to death* (says he) the first messenger of his death, as if he had belyed the God. Then, a little afterwards he adds these words; *O thou Darling* (says he) of the *Demons*, *Thou Disciple of the Demons*, *Thou Assessor with the Demons*! Altho' *Libanius* himself understood this otherwise; yet, in regard he avoided not the ambiguity of the term [*Demons*], which is [sometimes] taken in an ill sense, he seems to have said the same which the *Christians* usually do in their reproaches. Wherefore, had it been his design to have commended the Emperor, he ought to have shunn'd an ambiguous term; as he did avoid another word; for which being reproacht, he afterwards raz'd it out of his Orations. Moreover, how Man in Christ may be said to be God, and how he was apparently Man but invisibly God; and after what manner both these assertions are infallibly true, the Divine Books of the *Christians* do evidently shew. But the *Heathens*, before they believe, cannot understand. For 'tis the Oracle of God which saith, that

\* If you will not believe, surely you shall not understand. *Jovianus*.  
Wherefore, they are not ashamed to deify many men; and I wish at least they had been men good as to their morals, just, and sober; and not rather impure, unjust, and persons addicted to drunkenness: I mean, the *Hercules's*, *Bacchus's*, and *Aesculapius's*, by whom *Libanius* blushes not to swear frequently in his *Orations*. Whose Sodomies and Adulteries should I give a particular account of, my discourse thereof would be long and a tedious digression. Those that are desirous of information about these things, will find a satisfactory account thereof in (k) *Aristotle's* (k) Concerning *Peplum*, (l) *Dionysius's* *Corona*, (m) *Rheginus's* *Polymnemon*, and in the crowd of the Poets; who by writing concerning these things, do demonstrate to all men, that the Heathen Theology is trifling and ridiculous. Further, that 'tis the peculiar practice of the Heathens, and a thing usual amongst them, with great readiness to deify men; 'twill be sufficient to advertise you by a few instances. To the *Rhodians* (who consulted the Oracle upon their being fallen into a calamitous distress, an answer was given, that they should worship *Attis* the *Phrygian*, an Heathen Priest who instituted mad Ceremonies in *Phrygia*. The Contents of the Oracle are these.

(M) Suidas relates, that *Rheginus Grammaticus* wrote a Book with this title, *Polymnemon*. Valef.

*Appease* (n) *Attis, the Great God, chaste Adonis,* (n) *That*  
*The Donor of a prosperous Life, and Happiness,* *Attis is*  
*The beautifully-hair'd Bacchus.* *the same*

with *Bacchus*, *Cleonus Alexandrinus* also does inform us (*In his Persuasion*) in these words  
 ἡ δὲ Ἀττίς ἐκ ἀνδρῶν τῶν εὐφροσύνης καὶ γέλαστος  
 ὅτι μὴ παύσασθαι τοὺς αἰετοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως  
 some will have *Attis*, deprived of his Genitalia, no fully termed *Bacchus*.  
*Demeffenus*, in his *Oracion pro Coroneā*: ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ μέγας  
 ἱεροποιεῖται· οὗτος ἔστιν, ἢ. καὶ φησιν Εὐδοκίμους [there were]  
 the usual Acclamations of those celebrating *Bacchus'* Feast) and  
 triumphing in words, *Hues Attis*. Which words of *Demeffenus's*  
*Harporation* supposed were meant of *Attis* the Phrygian But some  
 of the Antients, read not in that place of *Demeffenus*, *Attis*, but  
*Ates*, which is an additional name to *Bacchus*, as is also *Vine*. See the  
*Author of the Etymologicum* in the term *Vin* and *Ergo Vitis*.

The Oracle calls *Attis* (who by reason of his Love-madness castrated himself,) *Adonis*, and *Bacchus*. And when *Alexander King* of the *Macedonians* passed over into *Asia*, the *Amphityones* made him presents, and *Pythia* uttered this Oracle.

Adore the Supreme God *Jove*,  
And *Minerva Tritogenia*,  
The King concealed in a mortal Body,  
Whom *Jove* has begotten (o) of a race ineffable, (o) Inited  
Mortals Defender of Equity, King *Alexander*, of [*dear*  
*voice*, of a race most incomparably the best] the reading (is the rule  
of Verse require,) should be *ἀφύπνιστος γενεᾷ*, of a Race ineffi-  
ble.] Vale!

These are the words of the Oracle which the *Dæmon* utter'd at *Delpbes* : He himself, when he would flatter Potentates, deified them. And this was perhaps done merely out of flattery. But, what shall we say concerning *Cleomedes* the *Champion*, whom they have made a God, and utter'd this Oracle concerning him.

The last of the Heroes, *Cleomedes Astipalaus*.  
Him worship with Sacrifices, as being no  
longer a Mortal.

Upon

*Jovianus.* Upon account of this Oracle, *Diogenes* the *Cynick*, and *(p) Oenomaus* the Philosopher condemned *Apollo Pythius*. The Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* have declared *Adrianus* to be the thirteenth God. And *Adrianus* himself has deified *Antinous* his own \* *Catamite*. These things *Libanus* does not term ridiculous, and meer trifles; although he very well knew these Oracles, and that single Book, which *(q) Adrian* wrote concerning the Life of *Alexander*.  
(r) Nor is he himself ashamed to deify *Porphyrus*: For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperor's. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of Digression, upon account of the *Sophista's* scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

*(s)* Nor is he himself ashamed to deify *Porphyrus*: For his words are these, *May the Tyrian be propitious to me*, whose Books he preferred before the Emperor's. Let thus much suffice to have been said by us by way of Digression, upon account of the *Sophista's* scoffing and reproaches. I thought fit to omit the rest, which requires a particular Treatise. We must now subjoyn the remaining part of our History.

*(t)* Before these words I placed a full-point, following herein *Nicæphorus's* authority. Moreover, the reading should be [*Adrianus* *non erat*, nor is he himself ashamed.] Valef.

C H A P. XXIV.

That the Bishops flock'd from all places to *Jovianus*, every one of them hoping they should induce him to embrace their own Creed.

**A**FTER *Jovianus's* return out of *Persia*, the Ecclesiastick Commotions were again renew'd. For the Prelates of the Churches made it their business to prevent one another, each of them expecting, that the Emperor would give his assent to their Creed. But he had from the beginning adhered to the *Homousian* Faith; and openly declared, that he preferr'd that Creed before all others. And by his Letters he encourages *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, who immediately after *Julianus's* death, had recover'd the *Alexandrian* Church. But, being then made more confident and courageous by the Emperor's Letters, he was freed from fear on all hands. The Emperor likewise recalled those Bishops, who had been banished by *Constantinus*, and had not procured their own revocation by *Julianus*. Moreover, all the Heathen Temples were then shut up. And [the *Dæmon Priests*] themselves absconded, some in one place, some in another. The \* *Philosophers* also laid aside their *Palliums*, and clothed themselves in the common and ordinary habit. Likewise, that *(a)* publick pollution caused by the blood [of sacrifices,] which they had celebrated in *Julianus's* Reign, and even to loathsomeness, was then taken away.

*(b)* *Jovianus*, after the undertaking whereof, the *Pagans* believed they were eternally regenerated; as the old inscriptions inform us. This whole Ceremony is incomparably well described at large by *Prudentius*, in the passion of *Remigius the Martyr*; pag. 255, &c. Edit. Basil. It was in short thus: The Priest to be Consecrated, being

habited in his sacerdotal Vestiments, (adorned with a Crown of Gold, and swags about with a silex Gown), was put into a deep Pit dug into the earth. Over this Pit an Altar made of Planks was erected, through which many holes were bored. Upon this Altar a great Bull was laid, adorned with Garlands; and his horns were gilded; his breast they divided with a consecrated Weapon. A stream of reeking blood gushing immediately out of the large wounds, flowed upon the boarded Altar, and running through the holes made therein, rained down upon the Priest inclosed under the boards; who catcht the shower of gore by putting his head under the falling drops; wherewith he besmeared his garments, and his whole body. See *Prudentius*, ut supra.

*Jovianus.*

C H A P. XXV.

That the Macedonians and Acacians, meeting together at Antioch, confirm'd the Nicene Creed.

**B**UT the affairs of the *Christians* were in no wife in a sedate posture. For the principal Heads of every Party made their *(a)* addressees to the Emperor, supposing they should obtain from him power and authority against those by them reputed to be their adversaries. And in the first place, those termed *Macedonians* present a Libel to him, requesting, that they who asserted the Son to be unlike the Father, might be ejected out of the Churches, and themselves put into their places. The persons who presented this *Supplicatory Libel*, were *Basilius* [Bishop of *Ancyra*, *Silvanus* of *Tarus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeciopolis*, *Papinios* of *(b) Zela*, *Leontius* of *Comani*, *Callistratus* of *Claudiopolis*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabali*. The Emperor having received their Libel, sent them away without an answer. He expresseth himself only thus to them: I abominate (said he) *Contention*; But I love and honour those that are \* desirous of *Unity and Concord*. When these expressions were divulged in the hearing of the other parties, they mollified the stiffness of those who were desirous of contention. And this fell out agreeable to the Emperor's intent and design. Moreover, the contentious disposition of the *Acacians* was then also clearly manifested, and they evidently demonstrated their continual usage of complying with their sentiments who were vested with the supream power. For, meeting together at *Antioch* in *Syria*, they entered into discourse with *Melitus*; who having separated from them a little before, had embraced the *Homousian* Opinion. And this they did, in regard they saw *Melitus* was highly esteem'd by the Emperor, who then resided at *Antioch*. Having therefore made a profession of the *Homousian* Opinion, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed, by a general consent they drew up a Libel, which they presented to the Emperor. The Contents whereof are these.

To the most Pious and most Dear to God, our Lord **JOVIANUS VICTOR AUGUSTUS**, The **SYNOD** of Bishops present at **ANTIOCH**, assembled out of divers Provinces.

Even we our selves are fully satisfied, most Pious Emperor, that your Piety has in the first place studied to assert and constitute the Peace and Unity of the Church. Nor are we insensible, that You have rightly judged a Draught of the true and Orthodox Faith to be the Head and Fountain of this Unity. Wherefore, that we may not be reputed

D d of

*Jovianus*, of their number who adulterate the Doctrine of truth, we declare to Your Piety, that we do embrace and firmly adhere to the Creed of the Holy Synod heretofore convened at Nicæa. Especially, since that term therein, which to some seems (c) new and unusual, (we mean the term *Homōousios*), has with caution been explained by the Fathers; so, as to denote, that the Son was begotten of the Father's substance, and that he is like the Father as to his Substance. Not, as if any Passion were to be understood in relation to that inexplicable Generation: Nor, as the term *Ousia* taken by the Fathers according to any usual signification of it amongst the Grecians; but, [his made use of] in order to the subversion of what has been impiously and audaciously asserted by Arius concerning Christ, [to wit,] that he existed of things which are followed. Which [Tenet] the Anomæans, who are newly sprung up, do with a far greater boldness and audaciousness impudently assert, to the utter ruin and sfor. of Ecclesiastick Unity. Wherefore, we have anxi-ously succed to this our Declaration a Copy of that Creed set forth by the Bishops convened at Nicæa, which we also embrace. It is this, We believe in one God the Father Almighty, and (d) all the rest of the Creed.

Scholasticus meet with it in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it, *Quando etiam Constantianis nomen, quod aliter se quibusdam habere videtur, dictum causam interpretationem a patribus excepisse.* Valef.

(d) We remarked before [Socrat. Book 1. Chap. 2. Note (d)] that the term *μὴ ὁμοῦς*, is by the Greeks used to signify the Creed, because 'twas commonly learnt by heart. But, the word *μὴ ὁμοῦς* is useless here. In my judgment, it would be placed better after these words [*ἵνα ὁμοῦς*], thus *ἵνα ὁμοῦς ὁμοῦς*. It is this in full. Valef.

\* Here follow the [this Libell,] and do give my consent to what is names of above-written. [And so do I] Eusebius of Samosata, Evagrius of (e) Sicili, Uranius of Aphrodisias, Zoilus of Larissa, Acacius of Caesarea, Antipater of Rhodus, Abramius of Urim, Aristodemus of Seleucia upon Belus, (f) Barlaam of this Li. Pergamus, Uranius of Melitina, Magnus of Chalcedon, Eurychius of Eleutheropolis, (g) I-Sorian facoes of Armenia the Great, Titus of Bostra, M. S. it is Petrus of (h) Sippi, Pelagius of Laodicea, (i) A-it is [εὐκαλῶν Sicili], which reading is truer than [αἰκαλῶν, Sicili]. It is the name of a City Situate in the East, concerning which I have yet met with nothing. Amongst the Bishops of the Acaian party who subscribed the Seleucian Synod, Evagrius of Antiochene, of the Province of the Island, is recounted. Valef.

(f) This is neither a Greek, nor a Latine name. In the Tripartite History it is Barlaamius. Valef.

(g) Epiphanius Scholasticus terms him *Iscariot*. He seems to be the same person with him that is called *Iscariot* in Basilus's 69 Epistle, which is the Synodick Epistle of the Antiochian Council under Meletius. He is recounted between Cosmas and Narses. Valef.

(h) Upon my warrant, make it *Sippi*. This Petrus was Bishop of Sippi, a Province of Palestine. He subscribed the Seleucian Synod, together with the others of the Acaian party here recounted, to wit, Zoilus of Larissa, Eurychianus of Eleutheropolis; as you may read in Epiphanius, in Euseb. Semiarian. Sippi was a Town in Palestine, thirty stadia's distant from Tiberias; Josephus mentions it in his own Life. Valef.

(i) In Epiphanius Scholasticus's Version he is called *Arabiannus Adrensi*, very right. For this is the Arabians, or Arabim, Bishop of Adra, who subscribed the Seleucian Synod, amongst the Bishops of the Acaian party, as Epiphanius relates in Euseb. Semiarian. Where he is placed after Exerefius Bishop of Gerafi, and next before Charifus Bishop of Aegius. Adra or Arabion, is a City of Arabia, under the Bishoprick of Bostra, as Guillelmus Tyrinus informs us. 'Tis certain, Uranius Bishop of Adra is reckoned amongst the Bishops of the Province of Arabia in the first Constantinopolitan-Synod. But, in the fifth Constantinopolitan-Synod, one Dorymenius is counted Bishop of Adra. Valef.

Arabiannus of Antros, Pifo of Adani, by (k) Lamy-Jovianus, drion the Presbyter, Sabinianus of Zeugma, Archana-nasius of Ancyra, by Orphitus and Aëtius Presby-(k) should ters, (l) Irenius of Gaza, Pifo of Augusta, Patri-cius of Paltus, by Lamyron the Presbyter, Ana-tolius of Bercea, Theotimus of Arabi, Lucianus of Arcenus. We found this Libel recorded in the

ludicus; for 'tis a name formed ἀπό τοῦ λαοῦς, which signifies Tal-lative. A little after this, instead of Aëtius, the said Epiphanius reads Aëtius; and so I found it written in the Florentine M. S. Valef.

(l) This Person is mentioned by Marcus the Deacon, in his Life of Euphryus Bishop of Gaqa, which you have in Surius. Valef.

work of Sabinius's, entitled *A Collection of Synodick Acts*. Moreover, the Emperor had taken this resolution with himself, that by kind words and persuasives he would extirpate the Contentiousness of the disagreeing Parties; and he declared that he would not create trouble to any person of what belief soever he were of: but that he would love and highly value such as should be the principal promoters of the Churches unity. That these things were after this manner done by him, Themistius the Philosopher does also attest. For in the Oration he composed upon his Consulship, he admires the Emperor, (m) for his allowing every person a free liberty of worshipping the Deity in such a manner as he desired; whereby he repress'd the humours of Flatterers. Upon whom he made very facetious reflections, saying, 'tis experimentally known, that they worship the Purple, not God; and that such persons differ not from the Eurypus, which sometimes throws its waves this way, at others the quite contrary.

## C H A P. XXVI.

Concerning the Death of the Emperor Jovianus.

AFTER this manner did the Emperor at that time repress their fury, who made it their business to cavil and contend. Departing immediately from Antioch, he went to Tarsus in Cilicia, where he buried Julianus's Body. Having perform'd all the Solemnities of his Funeral, he is declared Consul. Designing to go directly from thence to Constantinople, he arriv'd at a place, the name whereof is *Dadastrana*; it is situate in the Frontiers of Galatia and Bithynia. There Themistius the Philosopher (with others of the Senatorian Order,) met him, and recited his Consular Oration before him, which he afterwards spoke in the presence of the people at Constantinople. Indeed, as well the Civil, as Ecclesiastick affairs of the Roman Empire, being blest with so good an Emperor, would have been managed fortunately and successfully; had not a sudden death ravish'd so eminent a Personage from the Publick. For, being seiz'd with a Distemper, [term'd] an Obstruction, in Winter time he ended his life at the foremention'd place, in his own and his Son Varrianus's Consulship, upon the seventeenth of February. Having reign'd seven months, and lived thirty three years. This Book contains the [Transactions of affairs during the] space of two years and five months.



# THE FOURTH BOOK

OF THE

## Ecclesiastical History

OF

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

### CHAP. I.

That, after Jovianus's death, Valentinianus is proclaimed Emperor; who made his Brother Valens his Colleague in the Empire. And, that Valentinianus was a Catholick, but Valens an Arian.

**T**HE Emperor Jovianus having ended his life (as we have declared) at Dadastana, in his own and his Son Valentinianus's Consulate, on the seventeenth of February; the Soldiers departing from Galatia, on the seventh day after came to Nicæa in Bithinia, where by a general Suffrage they proclaim Valentinianus

Military employ in the Emperor's Guards each of them gave a demonstration of the zeal they had for their Religion. For being compelled to sacrifice, they chose to leave their Military employments, rather than relinquish Christianity. But, at that time the Emperor Julianus, knowing them to be persons useful to the Publick, removed neither of them from their Military preferment; nor yet Jovianus, who was his Successor in the Empire. But, being afterwards promoted to the Empire, \* they were at first like to one another; as to their care about the management of the publick affairs; but they differed (as I have said) about the Christian Religion, and behaved themselves after a disagreeable manner towards the Christians. For Valentinianus did indeed favour such persons as embraced his own sentiments; but he was not in the least troublesome to the Arians. But Valens, desirous to promote the Arians, did most grievously disquiet and disturb those who differed in Opinion from them; as the procedure of our History will evidence. At that very time Liberius presided over the Roman Church: at Alexandria Athanasius [was Bishop] of the Homosians; and Lucius of the Arians, whom the Arians had constituted Georgius's Successor. Euzoius presided over the Arians at Antioch. Those of the Homosian Opinion in that City, were divided into two parties; Paulinus headed the one party, and Melitius the other. Cyrillus was again put into possession of the Church at Jerusalem. The Government of the Churches at Constantinople was in the hands of Eudoxius, an assessor of the Arian Opinion. The Homosians kept their Assemblies in a little Oratory within that City. Those of the Macedonian Heresy, who had (b) dissented from the Acacians at Seleucia, at that time retain'd their Churches in every City. In this posture were the affairs of the Church at that time.

Read of [Socrates] *ὁ δὲ Ἀνδριανὸς*, had declared for the Acacians, read [Socrates] *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσπὶ Ἀκασίου*, had dissented from the Acacians. Which reading I have followed in my Version. The reading may be [Socrates] *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσπὶ Ἀκασίου*, separated from which is perhaps truest. Nicephorus has altered this passage of Socrates thus, *ὁ δὲ Ἀνδριανὸς ὁ δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀσπὶ Ἀκασίου*, asserting the same things with the Acacians, which is worst of all. Valef.

(a) I doubt not, but instead of *ὁ δὲ Ἀνδριανὸς*, in his Consulate, Socrates wrote *ὁ δὲ Ἀνδριανὸς*, in the same Consulate; that is, in the Consulate of Jovianus Augustus and Valentinianus; that noble young Prince his Son.

\* That is, in marshalling of an Army.

† Or, to superior † to that degree of honour he had arriv'd at. When therefore they had created him Emperor, he went immediately to Constantinople, and thirty days after his being proclaim'd, he makes his Brother Valens his Colleague in the Empire. They were both Christians, but they disagreed about the Faith of the Christian Religion. For Valentinianus had a veneration for the Creed of the Nicene Synod: but Valens, by reason of a prepossession, adhered rather to the Arian Opinion. The reason of this his prepossession was, because he had been baptized by Eudoxius [Bishop] of Constantinople, a Prelate of the Arian Religion. Both of them entertain'd a warmth and ardency for that Religion which each adhered to: and yet after they came to the Empire, they differed one from the other very much, in their dispositions. For formerly, in the Reign of Julianus, (when Valentinianus was Tribune of the Soldiers, and Valens had a

## CHAP. II.

Valentinianus and Valens.

That Valentinianus went into the Western parts [of the Empire,] and Valens resided at Constantinople, who, upon the Macedonians address to him, that a Synod might be convened, granted their request. And that he persecuted the Homoëusians.

\* Or, drew him thither.

† Or, Faith.

BUT, the one of the Emperors, to wit, Valentinianus, went forthwith into the Western parts [of the Empire.] For the care of the publick affairs \* necessarily required his presence there. But Valens, after he had resided a little while at Constantinople, had an address made to him by most of the Bishops of the Macedonian Heresie, who requested another Synod might be convened, in order to the amendment of the † Creed. The Emperor, supposing they embraced the same sentiments with Acacius and Eudoxius, permitted it to be done. And so these persons made it their business to assemble a Synod in the City Lampascus. But Valens went with all speed possible towards Antioch in Syria, fearing lest the Persians should break the League they had entered into for thirty years in the Reign of Julianus, and invade the Roman Territories. But the Persians were quiet. Which calm Valens made an ill use of, and raised an irreconcilable War against those who embraced the Homoëusian opinion. He did indeed no harm to Paulinus the Bishop, by reason of that person's exemplary and eminent piety. But he punished Melitium with Exile. He drove all others, who refused to communicate with Euzoïus, from the Churches in Antioch, and subjected them to losses and various punishments. 'Tis said, that he drowned many persons in the River Orontes which runs by that City.

## CHAP. III.

That, whilst Valens persecuted those who embraced the Homoëusian Opinion in the East, there arose a Tyrant at Constantinople, [by name] Procopius. And that at the same time an Earthquake happened, and an inundation of the Sea, which ruin'd many Cities.

WHILST Valens did these things in Syria, there arose a Tyrant at Constantinople, by name Procopius. He got together a great force in a short time, and made preparations for an Expedition against the Emperor. This being told to the Emperor, put him into a very great agony, which for a little while repress'd the fury of his Persecution against the Catholics. In the interim that the disquietude of a Civil War was with pangs expected, an Earthquake hapning ruin'd many Cities. The Sea also alter'd its own Boundaries; for in some places it overflowed it so much, that Vessels might fail, where there was a foot-passage before. And it departed from other places in such a manner, that they were found to be dry ground. And this hapned in the first Consulate of the two Emperors.

## CHAP. IV.

That, there being a Disturbance in the Secular as well as the Ecclesiastick State of affairs, the Ma-

cedonians, having convened a Synod at Lampascus, did again confirm the Antiochian Creed, and Anathemized that [published] at Arimurium, and did again ratifie the Deposition of Acacius and Eudoxius.

THESE things hapning to be thus, neither the Civil, nor the Ecclesiastick State of affairs was in a sedate posture. Those therefore who had requested of the Emperor a power of convening a Synod, met at Lampascus in the same Consulate [which I have even now mention'd.] This was the seventh year from the Synod which had been assembled at Seleucia. Having again confirmed the \* Antiochian Creed there, to which they had subscribed at Seleucia, they Anathematize that Creed published at Arimurium by those [Bishops] with whom they had heretofore agreed in opinion: and again condemned Acacius's and Eudoxius's party, as having been justly deposed. Eudoxius Bishop of Constantinople could in no wise contradict these determinations; for the Civil War, which was imminent, permitted him not to revenge himself of them. Wherefore Eusebius Bishop of Cyzicum and his Adherents, were at that time for some little while the stronger party, in regard they asserted that termed Macedonius's Opinion, (a) which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendered more conspicuous and better known in the Synod at Lampascus. I suppose this Synod to have been the reason, why those termed the Macedonians are so numerous in the Hellespont: For Lampascus is situate in a narrow Bay of the Hellespont. This was the conclusion of the Synod of Lampascus.

if it had been [μῆκος ἀεὶ ἔσται]. I am of opinion that this place is faulty, and by a small change is thus to be restored: μῆκος τῆς πόλεως, ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ καὶ λαμπάκων συνόδῳ γινώσκουσιν παλαιότερον, which before had a very mean repute, but was then rendered more conspicuous, and better known in the Synod at Lampascus. He speaks concerning Macedonius's Heresie, which hitherto (says he) had been obscure and unknown: but then, in the Synod of Lampascus, it became more apparently known. I doubt not but Baronius wrote agreeable to my emendation. Concerning this Synod of Lampascus, see Baronius, at the year of Christ 355. Valer.

## CHAP. V.

That, an Engagement hapning about a City of Phrygia between the Emperor [Valens] and the Tyrant Procopius, the Emperor took the Tyrant by the treachery of his Commanders, and put him and them to death, by inflicting new and unusual punishments upon them.

ON the year following, wherein Gratianus and \* Dagalaifus were Consuls, (a) the War was in good earnest begun. For when the Tyrant Procopius, having removed from Constantinople, was upon the march with his Army towards the Emperor: Valens, informed thereof, hastens from Antioch, and engages Procopius near a City of Phrygia, the name whereof is Nacolia. In the first encounter he was worsted. But, not long after, he took Procopius alive, Agilo and Gomoarius his Commanders having betray'd him upon [all] whom Valens inflicted new and unusual punishments. For, disregarding the Oaths

rather than the words, translates it, Bellum geri captum est, the War was begun to be waged. But, in order to the expressing the singular invencibility and propriety of the Greek phrase, it must be rendered, Belli innumerum, or, Belli vii grassati est: the War was with all diligences taken in hand, or, the force of the War rag'd. Valer.

Valentinianus and Valens. (b) Am- nianus Marcellinus relates so (such thing concerning Agilo and Gensarius Procopius's Captains. He does indeed affirm, that they revolted to Valens's side, but says not, that they were cut in funder with Saws. Marcellinus gives us this narrative only, (see Amm. Marcellinus, Book 26. pag. 328, 329. Edit. Paris. 1636.) that the Tribunes Florentinus and Barchalba, after the fight at Nacolia, delivered Procopius bound to Valens. And, that Procopius was immediately beheaded; and Florentinus and Barchalba soon after underwent the same punishment. Therefore, what Socrates relates here concerning Agilo and Gensarius, and concerning Procopius's being torn in funder, is false. Philostorgius also, in his ninth Book, relates that Procopius was beheaded, and that Florentinus, who delivered him to Valens, was burnt. Valef.

(c) This place is corrupted, as 'tis evident. In my judgment, 'tis thus to be restored: ἐπειδὴ τὰ δ' ἑξῆς ἐπικαταθήναι δεῖται ὁ πρὸς τὸν δεῖται; and we have rendered it accordingly.

## C H A P. VI.

That, after the death of the Tyrant, the Emperor, forced those who had been present at the Synod, and all the Christians, to embrace Arius's Opinion.

THE Emperor, having at that time been fortunate and successful in that action, began immediately to disquiet the Christians, being desirous to bring over all persons to Arianism. But he was in a more especial manner incensed against the Synod which had been convened at Lampisac, not only because it had deposed the Arian Bishops, but in regard that Draught of the Creed publish'd at Arminum, had been Anathematized there. Being therefore come to Nicomedia in Bithynia, he sent for Eleusius Bishop of Cyzicum to him. This Prelate had more closely adhered to Macedonius's opinion, as I have said before. Wherefore the Emperor, having convened a Synod of Arian Bishops, compelled Eleusius to give his assent to their Faith. At first he denied to do it: but when he was threatened with Banishment and Proscription of his Goods, being terrified, he gave his assent to the Arian Opinion. He repented immediately that he had consented. And returning to Cyzicum, in the presence of all the people he complained of his being forc'd, saying, that he had given his assent by compulsion, not voluntarily: he also advised them to seek out for another Bishop, because he had been compelled to renounce his own Opinion. But the Inhabitants of Cyzicum, by reason of that great love and affection they had for him, refused to be subject to another Bishop, nor would they permit any other [to govern] their Church. They continued therefore under his Presidency, and would in no wise recede from their own Heresie.

## C H A P. VII.

That Eunomius, having ejected Eleusius the Macedonian, was made Bishop of Cyzicum. And concerning Eunomius's Original, and that having been Amanuensis to Aetius [firmated] A-theus, he imitated him.

WHEN the Bishop of Constantinople heard this, he prefers Eunomius to the Bishoprick of Cyzicum, in regard he was a person able

by his eloquence to draw [the minds of] the multitude to his own Lure. Upon his arrival at Cyzicum, an Imperial Edict was published, by which order was given; that Eleusius should be ejected, and Eunomius installed. This being done, those of Eleusius's party, having erected an Oratory without the City, celebrated their Assemblies therein. Let thus much be said concerning Eleusius. We must now give an account of Eunomius. Eunomius had been Amanuensis to Aetius, firmated Atheus, of whom we have made mention \* before. Conversing with him, he imitated his Sophistic way of discoursing: adding himself [to the use of] certain insignificant and impertinent terms, and was insensible of his framing fallacious arguments in order to the deceiving himself. Upon this account he was puffed up with pride, and fell into (a) blasphemy, being indeed a follower of Arius's Opinion, but was various ways an adversary to the

Doctrines of truth. He had but a very mean skill in the sacred Scriptures, and was unable to understand their meaning. But he was very full of words, always making a repetition of the same things over and over, but could not arrive at the design he had proposed to himself. His seven Books which with a great deal of labour he wrote upon the Apostle's Epistle to the Romans, are a demonstration hereof. For, altho' he has spent a great many words in the explanation thereof, yet he could

in no wise (b) apprehend the scope and design of that Epistle. Of the same sort are those other Books of his that be extant. Of which he that should be desirous to make trial, would find a great scarcity of sense amidst a multitude of words. This Eunomius therefore was by Eudoxius (c) preferred to the Bishoprick of Cyzicum. (d) When he was come thither, by making use of his usual Dia-lectical Art, he amazed his Auditors by his unusual expressions; whereupon there arose a disturbance at Cyzicum. [At length] the inhabitants of Cyzicum, not able to endure his arrogant and haughty manner of expressing himself, drove him from their City. He went to Constantinople, where he made his abode with Eudoxius, and was [reputed a] (e) Vacant Bishop. But, that

Eunomius was made Bishop of Cyzicum under the Emperor Constantius, in that Synod of Constantinople, which was held immediately after the Synod of Seleucia, as Philostorgius does in express words affirm, Book 5. chap. 3. and Theodoret, Book 2. Chap. 27. & 29. Eccles. Histor. which two Authors have recorded Eunomius's affairs with a far greater accuracy, than Socrates has related them. 'Tis certain, that in Valens's Reign, Eunomius was banished by Valens, because he was reported to be a favourer of the Tyrant Procopius, as Philostorgius affirms. So unlikely is it, that he should have had the Bishoprick of Cyzicum then bestowed upon him. Jeromen has followed Socrates's mistake, in Book 6. chap. 8. Eccles. Histor. Valef.

(d) Instead of [ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ τῷ] it should undoubtedly be [ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ ἐκείνῳ καὶ τῷ τῷ], when he was come thither. I wonder this was not perceived by Christopherson. For Epiphanius might have shewn him the true reading, who renders it thus, cum illic venisset, when he was arrived there. Valef.

(e) In Civil and Military Offices, some Persons were actually employed in bearing of them; others were Vacantes, [that is, Persons that had the title of such an Office, but were not actually concerned in the management of it; we may term them titular Officers:] who in the Code are said to be precipendi honore otiosi cinguli. So some Tribunes are termed Vacantes in Amm. Marcellinus, as I have remarkt in my Notes on that Historian. After the same manner those Bishops are termed Vacantes by our Socrates, who had the bare name of a Bishop, without a Church, without a Clergy and People, over whom they might preside. Of the same nature almost are those, who now a-days are styled Bishops in Infidel Countries; such a one therefore was Eunomius, when,



time be repaired with other small Stones. At this present therefore there is to be seen in some parts of the Wall, patches basely wrought up with very mean materials, laid upon vast and prodigious Stones, which [patches] were at that time made. Let thus much be said concerning the Wall of Chalcedon.

## CHAP. IX.

That the Emperor Valens persecuted the Novatians also, who (in like manner as did the Catholics) embraced the Homœusian Faith.

BUT the Emperor desisted not from persecuting those that embraced the Homœusian Opinion; but drove them from Constantinople; and together with them the Novatians also, in regard they owned the same sentiments with them: whose Churches he order'd to be shut up: and gave order that their Bishop also, by name Agellus, should be punished with Banishment. He was a person that had presided over their Churches from the times of Constantine, and had led an Apostolick life. For he always went bare-foot, and made use of but on Coat, observing the command of the Gospel. But the Emperor's rage against the Novatians was stopp'd by a pious and also an eloquent person, by name Marcianus. He had before born a Military employ in the Imperial Palace, but was at that time a Presbyter of the Novatian Church, and taught Anastasia and Carola, Valens's Daughters, the Grammar; (a) by whose names the publick Baths which Valens erected at Constantinople, yet standing, [were called.] Out of veneration therefore to this person, the Novatian Churches which for some small time had been shut up, were open'd again. But the Novatians were not perfectly free from disturbances caused by the Arians: For they were hated by the Arians, because the Novatians loved, and had an extraordinary kindness for the Homœusians, with whom they agreed in opinion. This was the posture of affairs at that time. Further, you are to know, that the War against the Tyrant Procopius was finished in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, about the latter end of May.

(a) 'Tis false, what Socrates here says, that the Anastasian Baths at Constantinople had their name from Anastasia, Valens's daughter, and were erected by Valens. They were built by Constantine the Great, and from his Sisters name were called the Anastasian Baths. Anm. Marcellinus tells us thus much, (Book 26. pag. 320. Edit. Paris 1636.) Where he describes Procopius's Tyrannick design: his Words are these; Mem Procopius diabolini in cogitatione variis, Anastasianus Balneas Petri, a Sorore Constantini Cognominata, the same Procopius, divided into various thoughts, went to the Anastasian Baths, which had their name from Constantine's Sister. At which place in Anm. Marcellinus I have long since remark'd that I was thereon, that Anastasia, Constantine's Sister, was married to Basilianus. After my publishing of these my Notes on Anm. Marcellinus, there was a noble and learned Person in England, who found fault with his Assertion of mine, and has thus deny'd, that Basilianus was ever created Cæsar. Upon what account therefore I was induced to affirm this, I will in short here declare. When the Emperor Constantine (after his conquest of Maximian) had given his Sister Constantia in marriage to Licinius; quickly after that he returned into the Gallia, and sent his Brother Constantius to Licinius, entreating him that Basilianus might be created Cæsar; to which Basilianus, Anastasia, Constantine's other Sister, was married. Sed Licinio talia frustrantur, &c. that is, But when Licinius disappointed him as to those things, Basilianus (by the instigation of Senicio his Brother, who was his bosom-friend) takes up Arms against Constantine. Who being apprehended in the very attempt, was by Constantine's order convicte'd and put to death. When Sinicius the Author of this treachery, was de-mo-niz'd in order to his being punished; Licinius denying that, the agreement betwixt them was broken. This passage occurs in the excerpts of de Vita Constantini, which I heretofore published at the end of Anm. Marcellinus. From which Words I draw these Conclusions: (1) That Constantine treated with Licinius, in order to Basilianus's being created

Cæsar. (2) That Basilianus being solicited by Licinius, did not only conspire against Constantine, but made War also against him. Basilianus therefore must of necessity [Be allowed] to have played the Tyrant, and therefore to have by force assumed the Title of Cæsar, which Constantine had thoughts of giving him, had Licinius consented. Being moved by these reasons, I have termed Basilianus, Cæsar, whom notwithstanding I do acknowledge to have been a Tyrant, and do grant that he never was duly and lawfully made Cæsar. Moreover, in regard the Anastasian Baths were at Constantinople before Procopius's insurrection, (as we have shewn from Anm. Marcellinus,) it may be evidently concluded from thence, that they were not built by Valens, in regard at that time he was but newly made Emperor. Further, the reading here in Socrates should be thus [Anastasia sorore, the publick Baths.] Valef.

Valentinianus  
and  
Valens.

## CHAP. X.

That the Emperor Valentinianus begat a Son, who bore his Fathers name [to wit, Valentinianus;] he having begat [his Son] Gratianus before his being created Emperor.

NOT long after this War, (a) during the same Consulate, a Son was born to Valentinianus the Emperor in the Western parts, who had his Father's name given him. For he had begotten Gratianus long before his undertaking the Government of the Empire.

(a) Socrates is greater than Valens here. For Valentinianus the Younger, who was

born in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, was not Valentinianus, but Valens Augustus's Son. Istinus does expressly affirm this in his Fasti, in these words: Gratiano Nob. & Dagalaifo Consulibus, &c. In the Consulate of the most noble Gratianus, and Dagalaifus, Valentinianus the Younger, Son to Valens Augustus, was born, on the fifteenth of the Calends of February. I know indeed, that in Fuscobus Sirmundus's Edition of these Fasti, the common reading is, Filius Augusti Valentiniani, the Son of Valentinianus Augustus. But, in that most ancient Manuscript belonging to the College of Clermont, from which Sirmundus published these Fasti, I found it in express words written thus, Filius Augusti Valens, the Son of Valens Augustus. Besides the testimony of these Fasti, it may be made evident by many other arguments, that this Valentinianus the Younger, (who was born in the Consulate of Gratianus and Dagalaifus, in the year of Our Lord, 366,) was the Son of Valens Augustus. For, this is the very same Valentinianus, as 'tis on all hands agreed, who was afterwards Consul with Valerius, in the year of Christ 369, and to whom Themistius spake his Consular Oration, which is at this day extant under this Title: Θεμιστιος τῷ βασιλεὺς ἡμεῶν πρὸς. Now, in this Oration, Themistius frequently calls Valens the Father of this Valentinian, and styles Gratianus ἀδελφός, that is, his Cousin German by the Fathers side. See pag. 253. in that Oration. Besides, Themistius does affirm (pag. 254.) that the slaughter and overthrow of the Tyrant Procopius was foretold by God, by the birth of this Valentinian. 'Tis certain, Valentinianus Junior was born when Gratianus and Dagalaifus were Consuls, on the 15th of the Calends of February; as 'tis recorded in Iustin's Fasti, and in the Alexandrian Chronicle. In which year the Tyrant Procopius was vanquished by Valens, on the sixth of the Calends of June, as 'tis affirmed in the same Fasti. But, if Valentinianus Junior had been Son to Valentinianus Senior, his birth had signified nothing to Valens. Further, if this Valentinianus had in reality been Son to Valentinianus Senior, why did he make his residence in the East? How could he have been sent so long a journey from his Father, being as yet but an Infant? For he accompanied Valens in the Gothic Expedition, as Themistius attests not far from the beginning of this Oration. Lastly, 'tis evident from Themistius's quinquennial Oration [i. e. His Oration upon Valens's having arrived at the fifth year of his Empire,] near the close thereof, that Valens had an only Son then when he celebrated his Quinquennial, that is, in the year of our Lord 368. In regard therefore, the most noble Valentinianus was made Consul in the East on the year following, he can be no other Person than Valens's Son. And Themistius, in the close of his Quinquennial Oration (after he had spoken concerning Valens's only Son,) adds these words: ὁ δὲ ἄλλος Ἀλέξανδρος ὁνομαζόμενος, ὁ Σπυριανὸν τῶν τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀποκρίσας, whom I would make an Alexander, and Philosophy shall again boast of such an issue. And in his Exhortatory Oration, which he spake the year after to Valentinianus Junior, he makes an address to the Child almost in the same Words: Σὺ γὰρ ὦν παῖς, ἐπὶ τῷ βασιλεὺς ἡμεῶν γενόμενος, come [Royal] Babe, sit upon my knees! And a little after: οὐρανὸς ἀπέταξε σὺν τῷ βασιλεὺς ἡμεῶν τὸν βασιλέα, ὁ δὲ τὸν βασιλέα ἀνέλαβεν ἐν ταῖς αἰσὶν, Plato and Aristotle shall together with my self instruct Thee, by whom the Great Alexander was tutored. From whence 'tis apparent, that it is one and the same person concerning whom Themistius speaks in both places; and therefore that Valentinianus Junior, whom Themistius speaks to in his Exhortatory Oration, was the same only Son of Valens. But, this Valentinianus Junior was, by another name, called Galerius. For Socrates and Sozomen give him

him this name; *Sozomen* (Book 6. Chap. 16.) does expressly affirm, that *Valens* had one only Son by [*Dominica*] his Wife, whose name was *Galates*. Since therefore, 'tis manifest from what I have just now said, that the most noble *Valentinianus* was *Valens*'s Son, *Valentinianus* and *Galates* must necessarily be one and the same Person. I should think, that the Child might have the surname of *Galates* given him, because he was born in *Galatia*, at such time as *Valens* was at War with *Procopius*. Moreover, *Socrates*'s mistake (in which error he is followed by *Sozomen*, Book 6. Chap. 10.) did, in my judgment, proceed from hence; viz. because he confounded the two Junior *Valentinians*, (one whereof was Son to *Valens*, the other to *Valentinianus Senior*), and made but one person of two. For he thought, that the most noble *Valentinianus* (who was Consul with *Vibius*) was the same person with that *Valentinianus Junior*, who, after the death of his Father *Valentinianus Senior*, governed the Empire with *Gratianus*. But we have long since refuted this Error, in our Notes on Book 30. of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 413. Vilef. *Valerius*, at the now quoted pag. of his *Notes* on *Amm. Marcellinus*, does indeed evidently prove that there were two Junior *Valentinians*; but (contrary to what he affirms here,) he asserts they were both Sons to *Valentinianus Senior*, whom he there styles *Magnus*. See his note.

*Valentinianus*  
and  
*Valens*.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning a Hail of an unusual bigness which fell from Heaven, and concerning the Earthquakes in Bithynia, and the Hellespont.

\* Or, *Fo-  
vinius*'s.  
† *Xenog-  
rahus*'s,  
as big as  
would fill  
a Man's  
hand.

ON the following Consulate, which was *Lupicinus*'s and \* *Fovianus*'s, there fell a Hail at *Constantinople* † of a vast bigness, on the second of July, which was like Stones. Many persons said, that this Hail was sent by reason of God's anger, because the Emperor had banished several of the Sacerdotal Order, in regard they refused to communicate with *Eudoxius*. A little after this time, during the same Consulate, the Emperor *Valentinianus* proclaimed † his Son *Gratianus* † *Augustus*, on the twentieth fourth of August. On the year after, wherein *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the second time Consuls, there hapned an Earthquake in *Bithynia*, which ruined the City *Nicaea*, on the eleventh of October. This was the twelfth year after the ruin of \* *Nicomedia*. Soon after this Earthquake most part of *Germa*, a City in the *Hellespont*, was destroyed by another Earthquake. Notwithstanding these accidents hapned, yet neither was *Eudoxius* Bishop of the *Arians*, nor the Emperor *Valens*, put into any fear: For they desisted not from persecuting those who differed in opinion from them. [Moreover,] these Earthquakes seem'd to denote the disturbance of the Churches. Wherefore, many of the Sacerdotal Order (as I have said) were banish'd. Only *Basilus* and *Gregorius*, by a certain dispensation of Divine Providence, suffered not Banishment, by reason of their eminent piety.

|| Emperor.

\* *Nicomedia* was destroyed by an Earthquake, in the Consulate of *Dacianus* and *Cerealis*, about the 28th of August. See *Socrates*, Book 2. chap. 39.

(a) *Basilus* was made Bishop of *Casarea* in *Cappadocia*; and the second [presided over] *Nazianzum*, a small City near *Casarea*. But we shall mention *Basilus* and *Gregorius* in the procedure [of our History.]  
In the year of Christ 369, as *Baronius* has rightly observed. But *Socrates* seems to make *Basilus*'s promotion to that Bishoprick somewhat ancienter. For, in his account at this place of those affairs that were transacted in *Valentinianus*'s and *Valens*'s second Consulate, which was the year of Christ 368, he does acknowledge that *Basilus* was then Bishop of *Casarea*, and *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum*. But, as to *Gregorius*, *Socrates* is manifestly mistaken. For he was not at that time made Bishop of *Nazianzum* by *Basilus*, but of *Sisima*, which Bishoprick he notwithstanding never entered upon, as he himself attests in his Epistles. But in his *Verbes* concerning his own Life, he evidently complains of *Basilus*, who (when as he had fix'd his Bishopricks under him,) had preferred him to the Church of a pitiful little Town, although he himself was nothing inferior to *Basilus*. Valef.

## C H A P. XII.

*Valentinianus*  
and  
*Valens*.

That those who imbraced Macedonian's Opinion, being reduced into freights by reason of the Emperor's violence towards them, sent an Embassy to *Liberius* [Bishop] of *Rome*, and subscribed to the Homoeusian Creed.

WHEN those who embraced the Homoeusian opinion had at that time been sorely disquieted and put to flight, the Persecutors renewed their rage against the *Macedonians*: Who, being reduced to great freights by fear rather than force, sent Embassies to one another throughout every City; signifying, that they must of necessity fly, both to the Emperor's Brother [*Valentinianus*], and also to *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome*; and that [twas more eligible for them] to embrace their Faith, than to communicate with *Eudoxius*'s party. (a) They sent therefore *Eustathius* [Bishop] of *Sebastia*, (who had been many times deposed) *Silvanus* of *Tarusus* in *Cilicia*, and *Theophilus* of *Castabali*, which is also a City of *Cilicia*: and gave them order, that they should not dissent from *Liberius* concerning the Faith, but should enter into communion places this with the *Roman* Church, and confirm the Homoeusian Creed. These persons, carrying along with them their Letters who had dissented [from *Acacius*] at *Seleucia*, arriv'd at Old *Rome*. They us'd could not go to the Emperor [*Valentinianus*] himself; for he was engaged in a War with the *Sarmatae* in the *Gallia*'s. But they deliver'd their Letters to *Liberius*. He [at first] wholly refused to admit them: for he said, that those of them were of the *Arian* Faction, and could in

the year of Christ 368, in which year *Valentinianus* and *Valens* were the second time Consuls. *Baronius* thinks 'twas sent in the year of Christ 365, and grounds his opinion on these two arguments especially. First, *Eustathius*, with his companions, was sent Ambassador by the Synod of *Lampascus*. Now, that Synod was convened in the year of Christ 365, (seven years after the *Seleucia* Synod, as *Socrates* attests. 'Tis certain, the Embassadors (in their *Libel* of Faith which they presented to *Liberius*), do expressly profess that they were Legates from the Synod of *Lampascus*, and that they brought the Letters of that Synod to *Liberius*. Secondly, if this Embassy of the *Macedonians* were sent on the year of Christ 368, it would not have been sent to *Liberius*, but to *Damasus*. For *Liberius* died on the year of Christ 367, in the Consulate of *Lupicinus* and *Fovianus*; and on the same year *Damasus* succeeded upon that See. But, the *Macedonian* Embassadors presented a *Libel* of their Faith to *Liberius*, and from the same *Liberius* received Letters to the Prelates of their own party, as *Socrates* relates in this Chapter. This Embassy therefore was not sent in the year 368. These are *Baronius*'s arguments. But I would rather place this Embassy on the year of Christ 367, and will therefore hereof against *Baronius*, upon this account. *Baronius* confesses, that *Elpidius* Presbyter of *Rome* was sent, together with *Eustathius* and his Companions, to the *Illyricum* Synod; the Synodical Letter whereof *Theodoretus* has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 3. *Eccles. History*. But the *Illyricum* Synod, at which *Elpidius* and *Eustathius* of *Sebastia* were present, was convened in the year of Christ 367, or 368; as appears from the inscription of that Letter which the Emperor *Valentinianus* wrote to the Bishops of *Asia*, that he might confirm that Synod. For that Imperial Letter has this Title: *Valentinianus, Valens* and *Gratianus, Augusti*, to the Bishops, &c. as you may read in *Theodoret*, Book 4. Chap. 8. Now *Gratianus* was proclaimed *Augustus* by his Father, in the Consulate of *Lupicinus* and *Fovianus*, on the ninth of the *Calends* of September, as (besides *Socrates*) *Idatius* in his *Epist.* and the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, do declare. Therefore, if the *Illyricum* Synod hapned on the same year whereon the *Macedonian* Embassy was sent; the *Macedonian* Embassy must necessarily be placed on the year of Christ 367, in which year *Liberius* died in the beginning of September. *Eustathius* therefore might go to *Liberius* in June, and receive Letters from him in August. Now I am of opinion, that the *Illyricum* Synod was held on the same year, in the month of September, which Synod *Valentinianus* the Emperor confirm'd, after *Gratianus* was created *Augustus*. Valef.

(b) *Socrates* should have said *The Alamanni*, rather than the *Sarmatae*. For at this time *Valentinian* was detained in the *Gallia*'s, by reason of his War against the *Alamanni*. Towards the end of his Reign, he went into *Illyricum*, in order to his engaging in a War against the *Sarmatae*. Valef.

ἡτοιμασθέντες ἐν καρτερίας προσέβημεν κοινῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ἵκεναι, &c.] which we have expressed in our Rendition. For they *Anathematize* not only that Form of the Creed which had been recited in the in the *Ariminum Council*, but the *Aits* also at *Nice* in *Iberia*, (See *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 37. near the close of that Chapter), to which, being brought *to Constance*, the Bishops, induced thereto by fraud, had subscribed, as if they had been the *Aits* of the *Niceene Synod*. *rufes*.

By reason of the mad Opinions of Hereticks, who  
desist not from giving cause of offence to the Ca-  
tholick Churches; upon this account [we say]  
we, [desirous] to deprive them of all opportunity  
[of giving offence] do approve of and assent to  
the Synod of Orthodox Bishops which has been con-  
vened at Lampfacus, Smyrna, and at several

ther places : (c) from which Synod we being employed as Legates, do bring a Letter to your Benignity, and to all the Italian and Western Bishops, to hold and keep the Catholic Faith, which having been establisht in the Holy Nicene Synod in the Reign of Constantine of Blessed Memory, by three hundred and eighteen Bishops, hath hitherto always continued intire and unshaken : in which [Creed] the term Homoeousios is holily and piously made use of, in opposition to Arius's perverse Doctrine : in like manner we also, (d) together with the foresaid persons, do under our own hands profess, that we have bel'd the same Faith, and do bold, and will keep it to our last breath : and we do condemn Arius, and his impious Doctrine, together with his Disciples, and those that embrace his Sentiments ; as also, all the Heresie of Sabel-

*Piously and Catholicly set forth by the Holy Fa-*

I Eustathius Bishop of the City Sebastia, I Theophilus, and I Silvanus, Legates of the Synod of Lampacus of Smyrna, and of other [ Synods, ] have voluntarily and willingly written this confession [Of Faith] with our own hands. And, if any person, after the publication of this Creed by Us, shall be desirous of bringing any accusation, either against Us, or those that have sent Us, let him come with Your Holiness's Letters before such Orthodox Bishops as Your Sanctity shall approve of, and go to tryal with Us in their presence. And if any Crimination shall be made out, let the Author thereof be punish'd. Liberius having bound up and secured the Legates by this Libel, admitted them to Communion, and afterwards disanist them with this Letter.

To Our dearly beloved Brethren and Fellow-Ministers, Evethius, Cyrillus, Hyperichius, Uranius, Heron, Elpidius, Maximus, Eusebius, Eucarpus, Heortasius, Neon, Eumathius, Faustinus, Proclius, Paphius, Arsenius, Severus, Didymion, Britannius, Callicrates, Dalmatius; Aedius, Eustochius, Ambrosius, Gelonius, Pardalius, Macedonius, Paulus, Marcellus, Heraclius, Alexander, Adolius, Marcianus, Sthenelus, Johannes, Macer, Charisius, Silvanus, Phocinus, Antonius, (f) Anytho, (f) In the Florent.

and sforian M. SS. this person's name is constantly written thus, *Autbo*. - So he is also called in *Epiphanius scholasticus*. In *Christopherson's* Version 'tis *Aybo*, with three Syllables. I never met with this name in all my reading. Perhaps it should be *Autbo*. Valef, Celsus.

Celfus.

Valentinianus and Valens.

Celsus, Euphranor, Milefius, Patricius, Severianus, Eusebius, Eumolpius, Athanasius, Diofantus, Menodorus, Diocles, Chrysampelus, Neon, Eugenius, Eustathius, Callicrates, Arsenius, Eugenius, Martyrius, Hieracius, Leontius, Philagrius, Lucius, and to all the Orthodox Bishops in the East; Liberius Bishop (g) of Italy, and the Bishops in the West, [wish] health always in

(g) The words of the Lord.

Italy must be expunged. Epiphanius acknowledges them not: or else it must be thus worded: Liberius Bishop and the Bishops of Italy, and those in the West, &c. For thus Liberius distinguishes the Bishops of Italy from the rest of the Western Prelates, in the beginning of this his Letter, in these words; both to our slanders and also to all [the Bishops] in Italy and in the Western parts. Nor is it otherwise explicit in the Libel of Faith which the Legates presented to Liberius. Vale.

(h) It must undoubtedly be [αγαπητοι] αγαπητοι, that it may be referred to the foregoing word [αγαπητοι, Letters]. And thus Epiphanius Scholasticus, and Langus, Nicephorus the Translator, read it. It would doubtless have been foolish to term ancient Bishops τῶν τῶν παλαιῶν ἀγαπητων, persons illuminated with the light of Faith; as it had been some Neoplatonists, or late Converts to the Faith. Vale.

(i) Instead of [αὐτοὶ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὁρθότητος] it would be better thus [αὐτοὶ τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ὁρθότητος], from the Nicene Synod hitherto. So in the Libel of Faith presented to Liberius by the Legates: ἵνα τὸ πᾶν ὁμολογῇ, &c. Which having been established in the holy Nicene Synod—both hitherto ancient continued imire and unshaken. So Musculus and Christophorus read this place. Vale.

(k) It should not be [ἀδελφοί] but [ἀδελφὸν], that is, your Legates themselves. For Liberius means the Libel of Faith, which the Macedonian Legates had presented to him. In which Libel the Legates profess, that as well those Persons by whom they had been sent, did constantly retain that Creed which had heretofore been set forth at Nicæa; as also that they themselves did and always would observe and keep to the same Creed. Musculus and Christophorus supposed that by these words the Nicene Fathers were meant; than which nothing is more absurd. Liberius led them into this mistake, who in his Version of Nicephorus has rendered this passage in relation to the Nicene Fathers. Epiphanius Scholasticus (more truly) supposed, that hereby the Macedonian Legates were meant; which is apparent from his Version. Vale.

which does contain the perfect Truth, and stops the Mouths, and vanquishes all the Shoals of Heretics. For, not of their own accord, but by Divine appointment so great a company of Bishops was convened a

braham through faith destroyed so many thousands Valentinian [of his Enemies.] Which Faith being comprehended in the Hypothesis, and in the term Homologous does (like a strong and impregnable Fortress) beat back and repel all the Assaults and mischievous Machinations of Arius's perverse Opinion. Wherefore, when all the Western Bishops had met at Ariminum, whither the Improbability of the Arians had called them together, that either by some kind Persuaders, or (which is truest) [by Compulsion] of the Secular Power, they might destroy, or perversely deny what had with all imaginable caution been inserted into the Creed; their Subtlety advantaged them not in the least. For, almost all those persons then convened at Ariminum, who had at that time been either enticed into error, or imposed upon, are now returned to a right mind, have Anathematized that Draught [of the Creed] published by them convened at Ariminum, and have subscribed to that Catholic and Apostolical Creed ratified and established at Nicæa. And having entered into a Communion with us, they are with a greater warmth incensed against Arius's Opinion, and against his Disciples. Of which business when the Legates of your Love perceived an evident proof, they annexed You your selves to their own Subscription; and do Anathematize Arius, and what was transacted at Ariminum against the Creed ratified at Nicæa:

(l) to which [Transactions]

You your selves, beguiled by Perjury, have subscribed. Wherefore, it seemed agreeable to us, to write to your Love, and to give assistance to those, whose requests are just and equitable. More especially, because we are ascertained by the Profession of your Legates, that the Eastern [Bishops] are come to themselves, and do embrace the same Sentiments with the Orthodox Western Prelates. We make known this to you also, (lest you should be ignorant of it,) that the Blasphemies of the Ariminum Synod are now Anathematized, by those who

(l) The erroneous punctuation in Robert Stephens's Edition deceived Christophorus. For, he renders it thus: Cum juravimus abstinere subscriptionibus, to which [Transactions] You I now selves by taking an Oath have subscribed. Langus, and (before him) Epiphanius Scholasticus have rendered it truly, thus: Quibus vos perjurio capiti subscriptionibus, to which you, beguiled by perjury, have subscribed. In the Macedonian Libel of Faith, 'tis said in express words, that the Bishops, being imposed upon by Fraud and Perjury, had subscribed the Creed set forth at Nicæ in Thracia. For the Arius, (see note (e.) in this chapter,) after they had drawn up a Form of the Creed in a Synod held at Nicæ in Thracia, (twice that was the Creed of the Synod of Nicæa. Vale.

seem to have been dammed at that time by fraud, and that all persons have unanimously conspired in an agreement to the Nicene Creed. And this ought to be made known to all men by you, that such as have been dammed [in their Faith] \* by force and fraud, may now at length return from Heretical darkness to the Divine light of Catholic impudency liberty. Who (if after this Synod they will not vomit up the poison of perverse Doctrine, & renounce & Or, all Arius's Blasphemies, and Anathematize them,) may know that they themselves, together with Arius and his Disciples, and the rest of the Serpents, whether Sabellians, or Patropasians, or whatever other Heresy they are [Followers] of, are excluded from, and are no Members of the Church's Assemblies, which admits not illegitimate Sons. God preserve you in safety, Dearly beloved Brethren.

Eustathius and those that accompanied him, having received these Letters, went over into Sicilia: where after they had caused a Synod of Sicilian Bishops to be convened, they made a profession of the Homoeousian Faith in their presence, and confirmed the Nicene Creed; and having received from them Letters written to the same

\* See Gen. against the Madnes of Arius; as were \* equal in number to those, by whose assistance blessed Abraham routed the four Kings Forces, were three hundred and eighteen, being all his own Servants.



Valentinian and Valens.

same effect, they returned to the persons by whom they had been sent. Who, upon receipt of *Liberius's* Letter, sent Legates from City to City, to the principal Assertors of the *Homousian* Faith, exhorting them to meet together unanimo-ly at *Tarsus* [a City] of *Cilicia*, in order to the confirming of the *Nicene* Creed, and that they might put an end to all manner of contentious disputes, which had since that been raised. And this had perhaps been effected, had not *Eudoxius* (a Prelate of the *Arian* Religion, one who at that time was in great favour with the Emperor) hindered it. Who being more exasperated because of the Synod summoned to meet [at *Tarsus*,] framed greater mischiefs against them. Moreover, that the *Macedonians*, by sending Legates to *Liberius*, entered into a Communion with him, and confirmed the *Nicene* Creed; *Sabinus* himself has confessed in his Collection of Synodical Actions.

## C H A P. XIII.

How *Eunomius* separated himself from *Eudoxius*, because he adhered to [his Master] *Aëtius*. And that (a disturbance being raised at Alexandria by *Eudoxius's* means,) *Athanasius* fled again. And that (when the Populace were tumultuous hereupon,) the Emperor being afraid, by his Letters \*pacified the Alexandrians, and ordered that *Athanasius* should be put into quiet possession of his Church again.

ABOUT the same time *Eunomius*, being separated from *Eudoxius*, held his Assemblies apart by himself, because, after he had several times entreated him to embrace his Master *Aëtius's* [opinion,] *Eudoxius* refused to do that. And yet *Eudoxius* did not this willingly: (For he rejected not *Aëtius's* Opinion; in regard it was the same with his own: ) but because all those who embraced the same Sentiments with *Eudoxius*, (a) declined [*Aëtius*] as being Herodox. This was the reason why *Eunomius* made a separation from *Eudoxius*. After this manner were these matters transacted at *Constantinople*. But an (b) Edict of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* sent thither by *Eudoxius's* care, disturb'd the Church at Alexandria. Wherefore *Athanasius*, afraid of the irrational and mad violence of the multitude, and fearing lest he should \*be look'd upon as the Occasioner of those mad aburdities which might be committed, hid himself four whole months in his Father's Monument. But, when the Populace, [vexed] because of his absence, were tumultuous by reason of their love and affection towards him; the Emperor, understanding that upon this account Alexandria was sorrowful and sad, signified by his Letters, that *Athanasius* should securely and without fear continue possessor of the Churches. And this was the reason why the Alexandrian Church con-

tinued undisturbed until the death of *Athanasius*. But how, when he was dead, those of the *Arian* Faction got possession of the Churches again, we will relate a little after this.

## C H A P. XIV.

That after the death of *Eudoxius* at *Constantinople*, the *Arians* ordain'd *Demophilus*; but the *Orthodox*, by [the assistance of] *Eustathius* of *Constantinople*, [made] *Evagrius* [Bishop of *Constantinople*.]

FURTHER, the Emperor *Valens* departed from *Constantinople*, and (a) hastned towards *Antioch* again. And being arrived at *Nicomedia* a City of *Bithynia*, he made a stop there upon this *Valens* had account. *Eudoxius* the chief Prelate of the *Arian* gone to *Faction* ended his life soon after the Emperor's departure [from *Constantinople*,] in *Valentinianus's* house. But, and *Valens's* third Consulate, having been in hearing of possession of the Chair of the *Constantinopolitan* Church (b) nineteen years. Wherefore, the *Arians* constituted *Demophilus* [Bishop] in his room. But the *Homousians*, supposing that a his fair opportunity was offer'd to them, elected *Evagrius*, a person that own'd the same Creed with them. And (c) *Eustathius* (who had sometime before been Bishop of *Antioch*, and had formerly been recalled from Exile in *Jovianus's* Reign,) ordain'd him. This *Eustathius* was at that time present at *Constantinople*, [to which City he came.] with a design of settling and strengthening those of the *Homousian* Faith where he continued, absconding himself without cause. For *Socrates* says not, that *Valens* came to *Antioch* before, but that he went towards that City; which is certainly most true. But *Christophorus's* Version seems to have been the cause of *Baronius's* mistake; for he renders it thus; *Imperator Valens denuo Antiochiam ire mairans, the Emperor Valens besting to go to Antioch again*. *Valens* (b) *Sozomen's* account is truer, who makes *Eudoxius* to have been Bishop but eleven years. \*This certain, *Eudoxius* thrust himself into the Bishoprick of *Constantinople* when *Eusebius* and *Euphadius* were Consuls, which was the year of Christ 359. He died in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*, in the year of our Lord 370. Wherefore, at this place of *Socrates* (instead of [*Σακκάρια*, nineteen]) it ought to be *Σακκάρια*, eleven; which is confirmed by *Epiphanius Scholasticus*. Wherefore, *Baronius* does here also undeservedly reprove *Socrates*; in regard, not *Socrates* himself, but the Copies of *Socrates's* History are here false. Concerning *Eudoxius's* death, consult *Philostorgius*, Book 9. *Valens*.

(c) *Sozomen* tells us the same story, in his *Eccles. Hist.* Book 6. Chap. 13. But *Baronius*, at the year of Christ 370, reproves both these *Historians*. For he maintains, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* was dead long before, in *Constantianus's* Reign. Indeed, *Jerome* (in his Book de *Scriptor. Ecclesiasticis*.) does relate, that *Eustathius* died in exile, and was buried at *Trajanople* in *Thracia*, to which place he had been banished. If this be true, *Eustathius* must necessarily have died in *Constantianus's* Reign. For *Julianus*, and after him *Jovianus*, recalled all the Bishops from exile. It is indeed scarce credible, that *Eustathius* Bishop of *Antioch* could live to these times. For, in regard he was at the *Nicene* Council, which was held in the year of Christ 325; we may suppose him to have been then in the forty fifth year of his age. From this year to the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens* (wherein *Eustathius* is said to have been ordained *Evagrius* at *Constantinople*) there are five and forty years. So that *Eustathius* must necessarily have been ninety years old. If he ordain'd *Evagrius* Bishop in this year. Further, I must not omit, what I have been informed of, from *Vitior Tunnensis's* *Chronicon*; to wit, that *Eustathius* was not interred at *Trajanople*, as *Jerome* relates, but at *Philippi*. For these are his Words: *Post Consulatum tertium Longini, &c. After Longinus's third Consulate, Calendio Bishop of Antioch got together the reliques of his predecessor Eustathius, Bishop and Confessor, from Philippi in Macedonia, and with great honour conveyed them to Antioch. Theodorus Lector says the same, in his 2d Book Excerpt. Hist. Eccles. Baronius does ill, to place this translation of *Eustathius's* reliques on the year of Christ 482, in regard, as 'tis evident from *Vitior Tunnensis's* *Chronicon*, \*was performed in the year of our Lord 490, when *Longinus* II. and *Faulhus* were Cons. But what *Theodorus Lector* adds at that place, to wit, that the *Eustathians*, who before had meetings by themselves, were then at length united to the Catholics, an hundred years after *Eustathius's* death; is in my judgment false. For, this being supposed, *Eustathius* would have lived to the year of Christ 390. *Valens*.*

## C H A P.

\*Or, interred with.

(a) *Constantinople* (the term here used) signifies this place to decline, or here an evasion for: in which signification *Lucianus* uses it in *Hermogenis*. *Longinus* and *Christophorus* render it a violence, to allude. But *Epiphanius* unacquainted with this signification of the word, has rendered it thus: *Sed quoniam omnes unanimiter, illum, cum seculo alterius fatebantur. But because all those of Eudoxius's Opinion confessed him to be of another Self.* *Valens*. This term [*τελευτάριος*] occurs 2 Tim. 2. 16. where in our English Version 'tis rendered [to shun.]

(b) He means an order of the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. For 'twas usual, that the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium*, as often as he issued out any Edict, should annex the names of the other *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. An instance whereof occurs both in the *Gesta purgationis Cæsarii*, which are published after the *Garbaginian Collation*, and also in *Theodosius* and *Valentinianus's* Novells. There is a famous evidence of this thing in the ancient Writer *De Questionibus veteris et Novi Testamenti*. Cap. 97. *Valens*.

Valentinianus and Valens.

### CHAP. XV.

That when the Emperor had banished Evagrius and Eustathius, the Arians sorely oppressed and afflicted the Homoëusians.

UPON the doing hereof, the Arians renewed their persecution against the Homoëusians afresh. What had hapned, soon came to the Emperor's knowledge, who fearing lest a sedition, caused by a contention of the multitude, should ruin the City, sent some Forces from Nicomedia to Constantinople: and gave order, that both persons, as well he that was ordained, as he that had ordained him, should be apprehended and banished, the one to one place, the other to another. Eustathius therefore was exiled to (a) Biza a City of Thracia; and Evagrius was conveyed away to another place. These things having been performed after this manner, the Arians growing more insolent and bold, sorely afflicted the Catholics: [sometimes] they beat them, [at others] they gave them contumelious language; [some] they shut up in prison, [others] they punished with Pecuniary Mults; in fine, they practised all sorts of afflictive and most unsufferable mischiefs against them. Which when they were unable to endure, they went to the Emperor, [with a design] to beseech him, that they might, in some measure at least, be freed from the violence [of the Arians.] But, [altho'] they had proposed this design to themselves, [yet] they were wholly frustrated of their hope, because they expected to obtain it from him, who had been the Author of their injurious usage.

(a) This account disagrees both from what we have related before (Chap. 14. note c.) out of Jerome, and also from the relation of Theodorus Lector, and Theopanes in his Chronicon. For Jerome says, that even in his age

Eustathius lay buried at Trejanople, whither he had been banished. But Theodorus Lector and Theopanes relate, that he was banished to Philippi, and there buried. That Eustathius therefore, who was banished by Valens to Biza, must necessarily be a different Person from Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. Biza is a City of Thracia, heretofore the palace of the Thracian Afores, as Stephanus attests. Eusebius mentions it in his sixth Book, where he speaks of Lucius Lucullus, who subdued the Thracian Bessi. Valsf.

### CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Holy Presbyters who were burnt in a Ship, and concerning the Famine, which by the wrath of God hapned in Phrygia upon that account.

FOR, when some choice pious persons, who were Ecclesiastics, being eighty in number, (the principal men amongst whom were Urbanus, Theodorus, and Menedemus,) were arrived at Nicomedia, and had presented a Supplicatory Libel to the Emperor, informing him of the violence and calamitous sufferings which were inflicted on them [by the Arians:] the Emperor, highly incensed, concealed his anger, till such time as he had given a secret order to Modestus the Prefect, for the apprehending of these persons, and putting of them to death. The manner of their death was new and unusual; therefore it shall be recorded. The Prefect being afraid, lest if he should murder these men in publick, \* he might raise a tumult of the unthinking Crowd against himself, pretends to send them away into banishment. [This news] being received by these persons with a courageousness of mind, the Prefect orders them to be put on board a Ship, as [if he design'd] they should be carried away and banished: but he commanded the Sea-men, that

\* Or, he might raise an irrational tumult of the multitude, &c.

when they came to the middle of the Sea, they should set the Vessel on fire: that so, being destroy'd after this manner, they might be deprived of a Burial. Thus therefore it was performed. The Mariners sailed out of the Haven, and being arrived at the middle of the Asphacum-Bay, do what they were ordered: and having let the Ship on fire, went aboard another small Vessel which followed them, and so came off. But, a very boisterous Easterly wind hapned to blow, whereby the burning Ship was fiercely driven: in so much that it sailed with a great deal of swiftness, and lasted till it came to a Sea-port, the name whereof is (a) Daicidizus, where it was wholly consumed together with the men in it. Many have reported, that this [horrid villany] continued not unpunished. For there hapned to the same place a (b) Famine all over Phrygia immediately after, that many of the Inhabitants were forced to remove out of that Country for some time, and betake themselves, partly to Constantinople, and partly to other Provinces. For Constantinople, 'tis a place, altho' it nourishes a vast multitude of people, yet always abounds with plenty, both because it has all manner of necessaries for provision imported into it from all places by Sea, and also in regard the Euxine-Sea, lying near it, furnishes it with plenty of Bread-corn, as often as it wants.

(a) See Menest. (Book 6. Chap. 14.) tells the same story; where he calls this place Daicidizus, and also returns to the City of Bithynia, Cedrenus says, that the City of Bithynia, but Theophrastus

gives the name of Daicidizus. Valens. (b) Concerning this Famine there is this Record, in the Old Test. which Sirmondus has published under the name of Iulianus in Valentinian III. and Valens III, &c. i. e. in the third Consulate of Valentinianus and Valens there was a great Famine in the parts of Phrygia. Valsf.

### CHAP. XVII.

That the Emperor, arriving at Antioch, did again persecute those that embraced the Homoëusian Opinion.

BUT the Emperor Valens, little regarding the Calamities caused by the Famine, went to Antioch in Syria. During his residence there, he destroyed such as would not profess Arianism. For although he had perfectly ejected the Embracers of the Homoëusian Opinion out of the Churches of almost all the Eastern Cities; yet he was not satisfied therewith, but did besides inflict various punishments upon them. And he destroy'd many more than formerly [had been murder'd by him,] by exposing them to different sorts of death; but more especially by drowning them in a River.

### CHAP. XVIII.

Concerning what was done at Edessa, and the reproachful affront put upon the Prefect, and concerning the Faith, Courageousness, and Constancy of those Citizens; and concerning a pious Woman. \* Mel.

BUT, we must relate what was done at Edessa [a City] of Mesopotamia. In that City there is a stately and splendid \* Church [which bears the name] of Thomas the Apostle, wherein Assemblies in order to the performance of the public duties of Religion are without intermission convened, by reason of that place's sanctity. The Emperor Valens, desirous to view this Church, and being informed that the whole Congregation met therein were [followers] of that Heresie which he detested, struck the Prefect with his own hand, (as 'tis said,) because he had not taken Church

\* Mel. it sometimes signifies a place where the religious duties of the place are performed. It is said that by it is meant a taken Church

Valentinianus and Valens.

taken care to have them driven from that place. When the *Præfekt*, after this manner abused, made preparations (though unwillingly) to obey the Emperor's rage; (for he was not willing to be the instrument of the murder of so many persons;) he gave them notice secretly, to the intent that no person might be found within that Church. But no body heeded either his advice, or his menaces. For on the day following all persons flock'd to the Church: And when the *Præfekt* with a great company of Souldiers haſtned to the Oratory; in order to his fulfilling the Emperor's rage; a poor Woman, leading her own little Son by the hand, went with great speed towards the

Church, and broke through the (a) ranks of Souldiers which guarded the *Præfekt*.

At which the *Præfekt* being highly displeased, orders the Woman to be brought to him; and speaks to her after this manner: *Miserable Woman! whither runnest thou in this \*undecent manner?* She replied, *To the same place that others run to.* Have you not heard, said he, *That the Præfekt is going to put to death all persons that shall be found there?* I have heard so, answered she, and do therefore make haste, that I may be found there (b): *And whither draggest thou that little Child,* said the *Præfekt*; the Woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom.* Upon hearing hereof, the *Præfekt* made a conjecture of the constancy and resolution of the persons assembled [in the Church.] And he went back immediately to the Emperor, and informed him, that all of them were ready to die for their own Faith.

And declaring withal, that it would be absurd to destroy so many persons in so short a time, he thereby persuaded the Emperor to desist from being enraged. After this manner the *Edeſſens* escaped their being destroy'd by their own Emperor.

(a) After this little Child, said the *Præfekt*; the Woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom.* Upon hearing hereof, the *Præfekt* made a conjecture of the constancy and resolution of the persons assembled [in the Church.] And he went back immediately to the Emperor, and informed him, that all of them were ready to die for their own Faith. And declaring withal, that it would be absurd to destroy so many persons in so short a time, he thereby persuaded the Emperor to desist from being enraged. After this manner the *Edeſſens* escaped their being destroy'd by their own Emperor.

And whether draggest thou that little Child, said the *Præfekt*; the woman replied, *that he also may be vouchsafed the honour of Martyrdom* [which I have inserted from the *Florinus* and *Sporian* M. S. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* acknowledges them; and so does *Rufinus*, from whom *Socrates* borrowed this story. Moreover, from this place also 'tis evident, that *Christophorus* had perused no M. S. Copies of *Socrates*. Valeſi.

### CHAP. XIX.

That the Emperor Valens slew many persons, the first Letter of whose Name was \*Thera, upon account of a certain Necromantick Divination, whereby that was foretold.

(a) This (a) At the same time, a certain destructive *Dæmon* abused the Emperor's cruelty. For he persuaded some persons to make a strict and over-basis enquiry by a *Necromantick Divination*, who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire. Some Heathens had consulted that they might know who should succeed *Valens* in the Empire, is at large set forth by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, in his 29th Book. But, 'tis difficult to assign the year whereon it happened. *Barnetius*, in his *Annals* places it on the year of Christ 370. I am of opinion, that it was acted in the year of our Lord 371. or at the beginning of the year 372. For *Valens*, in the year of his reign 371, made his entry into *Antioch*, at the end of Summer. *Gratianus*

II. and *Probus* being *Consuls*, as I have demonstrated in my *Notes* on the foresaid Book of *Marcellinus*, partly from the *Laws* of the *Theodosian Code*, and partly from *Liberius's* Book concerning his own Life. Now, that *Tragedy* and *Conspiracy* of those wicked wretches against *Valens*, happened after his entry into the City of *Antioch*, as 'tis manifest from *Marcellinus*. Therefore, it must necessarily happen at the close of the year 371, or at least at the beginning of 372. 'Tis certain, *Theophrastus* and *Cædrenus* do place *Valens's* entry into *Antioch* on his eighth year. But, the same *Theophrastus* does ascribe that *Conspiracy* of those impious Wretches, who had consulted the Oracle concerning the future Emperor, to *Valens's* ninth year. Which agrees exactly with our opinion, if we may compute *Valens's* first year from the Consulate of *Sovianus* and *Varronianus*. Valeſi.

To which persons, having made use of a certain magical incantment, the *Dæmon* gave responses, not plain and manifest, but (as he usually does) oblique and ambiguous; by shewing only four Letters, \*Thera, and Epſilon, and Omicron, and Delta; saying, that his name, who should reign after *Valens*, did begin with these Letters, and that his name was compounded.

The report of what had been done came to the Emperor's Ears. But he permitted not God (who manages all things in due and orderly manner) to have the knowledge of things future, and to do what seemed good to him; but, slighting the Sanctions of Christianity, for which he supposed himself to have a zeal and ardency, he put many to death, of whom he had a suspicion that they would seize upon the Empire. Therefore, the *Theodorus's*, the *Theodorus's*, the *Theodorus's*, and the *Theodorus's*, and as many as had such-like names as these, were deprived of their lives. Amongst whom (b) one (b) In the *Theodotus*, a person of great valour and courage, a Descendant of a noble Family in Spain, was also put to death. And out of a fear of the imminent danger, many persons [at that time] changed their names, denying those names their Parents had given them when they were young, in regard they were liable to danger. But, let thus much be said concerning this.

*Scholasticus* also calls him *Theodotus*. Who this *Theodotus* (or *Theodotus*) should be, 'tis uncertain. For I cannot think, it was that *Theodotus*, (either to *Theodotus* the Emperor,) of whom *Ammianus* makes frequent mention in his History. For he lived in the West, and was not slain by the fraud and treachery of malevolent persons, till after *Valentinianus's* death. And yet this Character added by *Socrates* [a personage of great valour and courage, a descendant of a noble Family in Spain] does exactly fit him. Valeſi.

### CHAP. XX.

Concerning *Athanafius's* death, and the Promotion of *Peter* [to his See.]

Further, you are to know, that as long as *Athanafius* Bishop of *Alexandria* lived, the Emperor (upon account of some [over-ruling dispensation] of God's providence) forbore disquieting *Alexandria* and *Egypt*, knowing for certain, that there was a numerous multitude of persons there, who favoured *Athanafius*; and for this reason he was afraid, lest a sedition being raised at *Alexandria*, the Populace, who are naturally hot and violent, should endanger the publick State of Affairs. [Moreover,] *Athanafius*, after those many conflicts [he had undergone] upon the Church's account, departed this life in the second Consulate of *Gratianus* which he bore with *Probus*; he governed that Bishoprick amidst many dangers forry and six years, and left *Peter*, a pious and eloquent person, to succeed him in his See.

Valentinianus and Valens.

## C H A P. XXI.

That after Athanasius's death, the Arians by the Emperor Valens's Order, deliver'd up the Churches in Alexandria to Lucius, who had been Ordained by them before, and committed Peter to Prison.

**T**He Arians therefore took courage immediately, being rendered insolent by the Emperor's Religion; and without delay they give an account hereof to the Emperor, who then resided at Antioch. At the same time also Euzo us (who presided over the Professors of Arianism at Antioch,) with greediness catches that opportunity so seasonably offer'd; and makes it his design to procure himself to be sent to Alexandria, to the intent that he might deliver possession of the Churches there to Lucius the Arian. Which was also approved of by the Emperor. And forthwith he went to Alexandria, [accompanied] with the Imperial Forces. For (a) Magnus, Lord-Treasurer to the Emperor, went along with him. The Imperial Order was directed to Palladius \* Prefect of Egypt, and a command was issued forth, that the military Forces there should give their assistance. Wherefore, they apprehended Peter, and confined him to Prison. After they had dispersed the other Ecclesiasticks some into one place, some into another, they feared Lucius Alex-  
andrus, in the Letter of Peter.

(a) This Magnus is term'd so, as if he were a great one, because of the Court-Largesses, in the Letter of Peter. (the Person spoken of in this Chapter) part of which Letter Theodor has recorded, Book 4. Chap. 22. Eccles. Hist.

\* In the Original he is termed Prefect of Alexandria; which Title was sometimes given to the Prefects of Egypt; as it has been observed before.

## C H A P. XXII.

That Sabinus the Macedonian Heretick has made no mention of those many Mischiefs which hapned at Lucius's Insultment. But they are recorded in a Letter written by Peter; who made his escape, and fled to Damasius [Bishop] of Rome. But the Arians and Lucius were the Authors of many mischievous Practices and Cruelties, against those Holy Persons who led a Monastick life in the Solitudes.

**M**oreover, what mischiefs hapned at Lucius's Induction [into the See of Alexandria,] or what was done against those persons that were ejected, as well in, as without the Courts of Judicature; and how some were subjected to various Tortures, and others were banish'd, even after they had been tortured; [of any of these particulars] there is not the least mention made by Sabinus. For, in regard he was a Semi-Arian, he concealed the enormous Villanies of his Friends. But Peter has manifestly display'd them to the view of all men, in his own Letters, which he sent about to the Churches every-where, after his escape \* out of prison. This † person, as soon as he could make an escape out of his imprisonment, fled to Damasius Bishop of Rome. But the Arians, altho' few in number, notwithstanding were re-possest'd of the Alexandrian Churches. Not long after, an Imperial Edict [came forth, wherein] it was ordered, that [all] the Embracers of the Homousian Opinion should be e-

jected out of Alexandria, and [driven] from all parts of Egypt. And the Governor of Egypt was commanded, with a numerous Army of Soldiers every-where to put to flight and chase away those, whom Lucius should order [to be ejected.] At the same time they molested, disturbed, and in a most cruel and hostile manner assaulted, the Monasteries in the Desert. For armed Men rush'd in upon Persons unarm'd, who would not stretch forth so much as their Hand to strike a stroke; and destroyed them with such cruelty and barbarity, that what they perpetrated against them is inexpressible.

## C H A P. XXIII.

A Catalogue of the Holy Monks [who lived] in the Desert.

**B**UT, in regard we have made mention of the Monasteries in Egypt, nothing hinders but we may give an account in short concerning them. The Monasteries in Egypt had their Original (tis probable) from very great antiquity; but they were enlarged and much increased by a pious Man, whose name was Ammon. This person, when young, had an aversion for Marriage. But when some of his nearest Relatives entreated him not to speak reproachfully of Matrimony, but that he would marry a Wife; he was prevailed upon, and entered into a matrimonial state of life: And immediately after he had taken the Virgin out of the \* Bride-chamber, and with the usual solemnity led her into his Lodging-room; at length when his Friends and Acquaintance were gone away, he took the Apostolick Book, read St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians, and expounded to his Wife the Apostle's admonitions to married Persons. And making an addition of several particulars from elsewhere, he inform'd her, how many burdensome inconveniences do accompany marriage; how full of grief and disquietude the cohabitation of man and woman is, and what pangs attend a woman great with child; adding withal, the grief and troubles [which arise] from the breeding up of children. [On the other hand] he added the conveniency of chastity, how great a freedom attends a pure life, how unpolluted it is, and void of all uncleanness; and that Virginity places persons in the nearest alliance to God. Having discours'd of these and many other such-like particulars to his Virgin-wife, he persuades her, that before they should have any carnal knowledge of each other, she would together with him renounce a secular life. When they had made this agreement between themselves, they retired to the mountain called Nitria. There they lived in a Cottage, and for some short time made use of one Aestick apartment in common, without the knowledge of any difference between the Masculine and Feminine Sex, but being (according to the Apostle) one in Christ. Not long after, the new and unpolluted Bride spake these words to Ammon: It is not decent for you (said she,) who with the greatest strictness imaginable do profess Chastity, to look upon

\* And the word of the Apostle, (which has the same import) signifies a Wedding-chamber, Dining-room, or Entertaining-room. See Stephens's Thesaur. G. & L. in the word nuptia. The seventy two Translators do use this term (at Joel 2. 16. and at Psalm 119. 5.) to express the Hebrew word מִדְּבָר, which was a Tabernacle or Tent set up on purpose, for the performance of the Solemnities (usual amongst the Jews) of betrothing between the Man and Woman.

\* Or, out of his bonds.  
† Peter.

upon a woman (a) in so narrow an habitation. Wherefore if you please, we will perform our *Ascetic* exercises apart. With this compact also both parties were well pleased. And being separated one from the other, they thus spent the remainder of their lives; abstaining from Wine and Oyl, and feeding upon dry bread only, which they eat sometimes after one days [fasting,] at others after two, at other times after many. Antonius, who was this *Ammon's* Cotemporary,

saw his soul after his death taken up [into Heaven] by Angels, as *Athanasius* Bishop of *Alexandria* does declare in \* his *Life* of *Anonius*. Moreover, very many persons imitated this *Ammon's* life: And by degrees the Mountains of *Nubia* and *Seetis* were filled with multitudes of Monks. To write whose lives, would be the subject of a particular work. But in regard there were amongst them persons of great piety, who were eminent for their *Ascetic* discipline, lived Apostolick lives, and did, and said some things that were useful and worthy to be recorded, I thought it expedient [to select] some few passages out of many, and intermix them with my History, in order to the Reader's advantage. 'Tis reported therefore, that this *Ammon* never saw himself naked, saying, that it was misbecoming a Monk to behold his own naked Body. And being one time desirous to pass a River, he was so loath to uncloath himself; but pray'd to God, that he might have a passage over without impeding the resolution he had taken: and an Angel convey'd him to the other side of the River. *Didymus*, another Monk, altho' he lived ninety years, yet kept company with no Man during his whole life. Another, by name *Arsenius*, would not separate the younger Monks, who had committed an offence, from Communion, but those only that were elderly: for he said, that a young Monk being excommunicated, becomes || contumacious; but an elderly Monk does quickly become sensible of the grief of Excommunication. Pior eat his meat walking. When one asked him why he fed after that manner; I will not (said he) go to meat, as to a serious and set work, but as to an incident and by-business. To another, questioning him concerning the same thing, he answered; left. (says he) whilst I am eating, my mind should be affected with any bodily pleasure. *Isidorus* said, that it was forty years since he was sensible of Sin in his Mind; and that he never consented, either to Lust or Anger. *Pambos*, a Man illiterate, went to a person, that by him he might be taught a Psalm. And having heard the first verse of the thirty eighth Psalm, which runs thus, \* I said I will take heed to my ways, that I offend not with my tongue; he refused to hear the second verse, and went away, saying, that this one verse was enough for him, in case he could learn it perfectly, and in reality practise and perform it. And when he who had given him the verse to learn, reproved him, because he had not seen him in a whole six months space, he answered; I have not yet truly and indeed learnt the verse of the Psalm. Many years after this, to one of his Acquaintance, enquiring of him, whether he had learnt the verse, his answer was, during the space of these nineteen years I have scarce learned to \* Fulfill it effectually. The same person (when one gave him Gold [to be bestowed

ed for the maintenance of the poor, and said to him, tell the sum which I have given) reply'd, there is no need of telling the money, but of a right and sound disposition of Mind. The same *Pambos*, upon the entreaty of *Athanasius* the Bishop, came out of the Desert to *Alexandria*: And seeing a Woman-player there, he brake forth into tears. When the Persons in presence ask'd him, why he wept; Two things (said he) trouble me; the one is, this Woman's destruction: the other, because I do not use so much diligence and industry to please God, as she does to delight obscene Men. Another of them said, that a Monk, unless he will work, is to be involved in the same condemnation with the covetous and rapacious Person. *Petrus* was well furnished with a knowledge in Natural Speculations, and frequently expounded sometimes one thing, at other times another, to such as address'd themselves to him. At every one of his Lectures, he made a Prayer to God. But, amongst the Monks [who lived] at that time, there were two pious persons who bore the same name. For each of them had the appellation of *Macarius*. The one was born in the Upper Egypt; the other came from the City *Alexandria*. Both of them were famous upon several accounts, [to wit,] for their *Ascetic* Exercises, for their Morals, for their Conversation, and for the Miracles wrought by their hands. The Egyptian *Macarius* wrought so many Cures, and drove so numerous a company of Devils out of persons possess'd, that [to relate] what he performed by the Grace of God, would require a particular and separate work. Towards those who came to him, he behaved himself with an austere gravity, temper'd with caution and circumspection. But the *Alexandrian Macarius*, altho' he was every way like the Egyptian *Macarius*, yet he differ'd from him in this, that he shew'd himself cheerful and pleasant towards those who came into his company, and by his courteous behaviour and complaisance induced young men to embrace an *Ascetic* course of life. *Evangrius*, Scholar to these *Macarius's*, having before been a Philosopher in words only, learned [from them] that Philosophy [which consists] in deeds and actions. \* He having been ordained Deacon by *Gregorius* *Naxianzenus* at *Constantinople*, went afterwards with him into Egypt, where he convers'd with those fore-mention'd persons, and imitated their course of life. Nor were the Miracles wrought by his hands, fewer in number than those performed by his Masters. The same *Evangrius* wrote Books of very great use: one whereof has this Title (b) *The Monk, or concerning a Wise Virtue*. Another is entitled, (b) *In Head of* *The Gnostick, or to him who is reputed worthy of the Monk's knowledge*. This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. A third is termed *Antirreticus*, [or The Refutation, being a Collection] from the Sacred Scriptures, against the tempting Evil (b) *Monastic* as 'tis apparent from his Version. Notwithstanding *Nicephorus* (Book 11. Chap. 42.) confirms the common reading. But, as to *Evangrius's* other Book here mention'd, he words the title of it thus: *Γνωστικὸς ὁ δὲ τῶν καλῶν ἀνθρώπων γνώσις, ὁ Γνωστικὸς, ὁ concerning him who is reputed worthy of knowledge*. It may also be written (as it is here in *Socrates*) thus, or to him who is reputed worthy of knowledge: which reading we have followed in our Version. Concerning this *Evangrius's* Books, see *Jerome's* Fragment, in his Epistle to *Crispion* against the *Pedagogs* (c) where he informs us, that *Evangrius* was an *Origenist*. *Palladius* (in *Lusitania*) says *Evangrius* wrote three Books. The first of these he calls *Isis, The Saint*; the second *Marcellus, The Monk*; the third *Asiaticus, The Refutation*, which is against the frauds of the Devil. *Palladius* terms that Book of *Evangrius's*, *The Saint*, which *Socrates* here calls *The Gnostick*. Vale.

\* See *Socrates* Hist. chap. 21.

† Or, *Origenes*, or *Expositious*.

‡ Or, *Origenes*.

\* See *Psalm* 39. v. 1.

\* Or, *Psalm*.

† Or, *Origenes*, or *Expositious*.

\* *Evangrius*.

(b) In Head of *The Monk's knowledge*. This Book is divided into Fifty Chapters. A third is termed *Antirreticus*, [or The Refutation, being a Collection] from the Sacred Scriptures, against the tempting Evil *Monastic*.

Valentinus  
and  
Valens.

Spirits; it is divided into eight parts, according to the number of the eight thoughts. [He wrote] also fix hundred Prognostick Problems; and moreover, two Books in Verse; the one to those Monks [who live] in Monasteries or Convents; the other to the Virgin. How admirable these Books of his are, they that read them will perceive. It is not unreasonable, as I suppose, to annex to what has been said before, some few passages recorded by him, concerning the Monks: For he says word for word, thus. It is also necessary to make an enquiry into the ways of those Monks, who have heretofore walked

\* Or,  
Rightly.

\* uprightly, and to conform [our selves] to the pattern thereof: For many things have been well said and done by them. Amongst which this was the saying of one of them, That a drier, slender, and not irregular sort of Diet, joynd with Love, will in a short time bring a Monk to a Port void of all inquietude. The same Monk freed one of his Brethren from his being disturbed with Apparitions in the Night, enjoying him to minister to the Sick, whilst he was fasting. And being asked [why he commanded him to do that,] such troubles as these [said he] are composed and extinguish'd with nothing so easily, as with mercy and compassion. A Philosopher of those times came to Antonius the Just, and said unto him, O Father, how can you hold out, being destitute of the comfort of Books? Antonius replied, My Book, O Philosopher, is the nature of things made, and 'tis ready at hand as often as I am desirous of reading the Words of God. That aged person the Egyptian Macarius, that chosen Vessel, asked me, Why by remembering the Injuries we receive from Men, we destroy that Strength and Faculty of Memory which is in our Minds: But by remembering the mischiefs done to us by the Devils, we continue unhurt? And when I was doubtful what answer I should make, and entreated him to explain the reason hereof to me; the first [said he] is an Affection of the Mind, which is contrary to nature: The second is agreeable to nature. I went one time to the Holy Father Macarius, at Noon-day, when it was very hot, and being most extremely thirsty, requested some Water to drink. His Answer to me was, Content your self with the Shade; for many persons who are at this time travelling by Land, or making a voyage by Sea, do want [the refreshment of] that. Then, I conversed with him about Abstinence, and he said unto me, Be courageous and confident, my Son: For these twenty years compleat, I have not taken my fill either of Bread, Water, or Sleep. For I have eaten my Bread by weight; I have drank my Water by measure:

(c) Instead of [ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὅτι] the reading in the Florentine M. S. and in Nicephorus is [ἐκείνῳ τῷ ὅτι ὁ πατήρ] a little part of a sleep, or, a nap. For that sleep, which Macarius took by leaning his head against a Wall, was a part of a sleep, rather than a sleep. For he slept but a very little while. Wherefore, he is said to have stollen, rather than to have taken asleep. Valef.

that Book, he gave [the money he had for it,] to feed the hungry, and utter'd this saying worthy to be recorded; I have told that Book which sayeth, \* Sell that thou hast and give to the poor. There is an Island about Alexandria, situated at the Northern part of that City, beyond the

Lake called Mareotis. Near that Island dwells a Valentinian Monk (d) of Parembolē, and a most approved ascetic person amongst the Gnosticks, who has declared, [that all things practised by the Monks, are done for] (a) Three reasons, for the sake of God, of Nature, on the account of Custom, of Necessity, and of the Work of the Hands. It was the usual saying of the same person also, that by nature there was only one virtue, even as this but that in respect of the Faculties of the Soul, it place For was divided into several Species. For the light of Christ the Sun, said he, is without any figure; but it does usually receive its figure from the Windows through it thus; which it enters. Another of the Monks was wont in a manner to say, I do therefore every way eschew pleasures, new as that I may \* prevent the occasions of anger. For I know very well, that anger does always † militate for pleasures, and does disquiet my mind, and expel knowledge. One of the aged Monks said, that Charity knows not how to keep the † Depositum of Meat or Money. This was another saying of the same person; I do not remember that I was ever twice deceived as to the same thing by the Devil, of the Gnosticks.

Langus, Nicephorus's Translator, has rendered this passage in Evagrius, thus: *Habitas in eā Monachus Gnosticonum Ordinis celeberrimus, in eā [Island] dwells a most famous Monk of the Order of the Gnosticks.* But first, Evagrius does not say, that that Monk dwelt in that Island beyond the Lake Mareotis; but only, that he dwelt near that Island. For that's the import of the word *παρεμβολή*. Secondly, *παρεμβολή* [Parembolē] does not signify a Seal, or an Order: nor are the Gnosticks taken in this place for a Seal of Heretics; but 'tis a sort of Monks, concerning whom Evagrius wrote a Book. Parembolē therefore is a Village not far from Alexandria, near the Lake Mareotis. Athanasius makes mention of it in his second Apologetic against the Arians, where he produces the Catalogue of Clergy-men, whom Orelanus had in the City, and within the Territory of Alexandria. After his mentioning of the Presbyters and Deacons of Melitius's party, which he had at Alexandria, he adds these Words; *αἱ Μοναχὲς Πρεσβύτεροι τῆς Παρεμβολῆς, and Macarius Presbyter of Parembolē.* Parembolē is also mentioned in the Notitia Imperii Romani, wherein were the Quarters of the second Trajan Legion under the command of the Comar of the Military Affairs throughout Egypt. Notwithstanding Ammoniacus places Alexander's Parembolē near the Lake Mareotis. Here therefore dwelt that Monk, who was so eminent amongst the Gnosticks. Valef.

These passages are word for word recorded in Evagrius's Book, entitled *The Practick*. In that Book of his, to which he gave this Title, *The Gnostick*, he says thus: *We have been informed from Gregorius the Just, that the Virtues and their Contemplations are four; Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance and Justice. And the business of Prudence, he said was, to contemplate those Intelligent and Holy Powers \* without any reason.* \* Or, without For his Doctrine was, that these were manifested by Wisdom: [The property] of Fortitude [as he affirmed,] was, to persist in what was true, although a resistance were made, and † not to turn aside towards those things which are not. He made answer, that it was the property of Temperance, to receive the Seed from the First [and Great] Husbandman, and to repel him who would \* Sow He it over again. [Lastly, he assigned this Work] to Justice, to give an account [of things] agreeable to the worth and dignity of every person; [which] of Virtue does set forth some things obscurely; it gives the knowledge of others by Riddles; and it plainly manifests other some, for the benefit and advantage of the more unskilful and simple Heavens. That Pillar of Truth Basilus, the Cappadocian, said, that that knowledge, which is accidentally procured from Men, is improved by a continual Meditation and Exercise; but, that infused by the Grace

† Μὴ μεταβάλλειν, not to turn into, &c. See Colloq. 1. 18. where this term occurs.

\* Matth.  
19. 21.

Valentini-Grace of God [is increased] by Justice, \* Patience, and Mercy: And that the former [sort of Knowledge,] is possible, may be received by those who are liable to Disquietude and Troubles of Mind: But that they only are capable of the latter, who are free from all such Disquietude and Troubles; who also, during the interim of their being at prayer, do contemplate that proper and peculiar Light of their Mind, which does illuminate them.

Athanasius, that Holy Luminary of the Egyptians, says, that Moles is order'd † To place the Table on the North-side. The Gnosticks therefore may know, who it is that blows against them, and let them courageously endure every Temptation; and with a cheerful mind nourish those that come unto them.

(c) Scorpion the Angel of the Church of the Thmüta said, that the Mind having drank a full draught of Spiritual Knowledge, is [thereby] perfectly cleansed: But, that the parts of the Mind inflamed with anger, are cured by love: And that wicked Desires, which flow into [the Mind,] are stopt by Abstinence. Exercise you self with a continual Meditation upon the Discourses and Reasons which relate to Providence and the Judgment [of God,] (says that great and skillful Doctor Didymus;) and attempt to bear in mind the Subject of those Reasons and Discourses. For, almost all persons do err in these matters. And the Reasons and Discourses which concern a Judgment, you will find in the difference of Bodies, and \* in all parts of the World. But the Accounts and Discourses which relate to a Providence [you will discern] in those ways which lead us from Vice and Ignorance, to Virtue and Knowledge.

the Elegance of his wit, was first siled Scholasticus, &c. He died in Constantius's Reign, before the Seleucian Synod, that is, before the year of Christ 359. For in this Seleucian Synod, amongst the Bishops of Aca-cius's party, Basilianus is reckoned Bishop of Thmüta, a City of Angu-lia, or Angulianica. For Basilianus is not to be heeded, who (in his Annotations on the Roman Martyrology,) says, Thmüta was a City in the Province Scythia. Scythia was not the name of a Province, but was it self rather in the Province Angulianica. And yet Marcellinus (Book 22.) places Thmüta in (that properly called) Egypt. Valei.

Thus much we have taken out of Evagrius's Books and inferred here. There was also another admirable person amongst the Monks, by name Ammonius, who had so little of curiosity in him, that being at Rome with Athanasius, he was desirous of viewing none of those magnificent works in that City; but saw only the Cathedral of Peter and Paul. This Ammonius, when he was to have been forced to take a Bishoprick, fled away, and cut off his own Right Ear, that by a \* Mutilation of his Body he might avoid being ordained a Bishop. Sometime afterwards, Evagrius (who was also to have been forced to [take] a Bishoprick by Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, and had made his escape, without making any Mutilation upon his own Body;) accidentally met Ammonius, and in a facetious manner said unto him, That he had done ill to cut off his own Ear, and that upon that account he was culpable before God. To whom Ammonius made this return: But do not you think, Evagrius, that you shall be punished, because you have cut out your own Tongue, and out of a love to your self, would not make use of that Grace which was bestowed upon you? Moreover, at that time there were in the Solitudes many other admirable and pious persons, the mention of whom in this Work of ours would be too long and tedious. Besides, we must of necessity digress from the

the design we have propos'd to our selves, should we give a particular account of the Lives of every one of these Persons; and of the Miracles they performed by their eminent Sanctity wherewith they were endued. If any one be desirous of an accurate account of these Men, and would know what actions they perform'd and did, what sayings they utter'd conducive to the profit and advantage of the hearers, and how the Wild Beasts were obedient to them: there is a particular Book, elaborated by Palladius the Monk, who was Evagrius's Scholar; wherein all things appertaining to these persons, are with great accuracy discours'd of at large. In which Book [Palladius] makes mention of Women also, who followed a course of life like to the foresaid men. Further, Evagrius and Palladius flourish'd a little after the death of Valens [Angustus.] But we will now return to that place, whence we have digressed.

# C II A P. XXIV.

Concerning those Holy Monks who were exiled; how God (by the Miracles they performed) attracted all persons to himself.

WHEN therefore the Emperor Valens had by his Edict given order, that as well the Orthodox in Alexandria, as those in the other parts of Egypt, should be forcibly driven from their Habitations; Depopulation and Ruin forthwith defaced and overthrew all things: whilst some persons were dragg'd before the Seats of Judicature; others thrown into Prison; and others tortured by other methods. For they inflicted various sorts of punishment upon persons that were great lovers of peace and quietness. After these things were done at Alexandria, in such a manner as Lucius thought good, and when Euzoïus was return'd to Antioch, these [two] persons hastned immediately to the Solitudes of Egypt; [I mean] the Commander in chief of the Milice, with a numerous company of Soldiers, and Lucius the Arian. For he himself was not at that time absent, but (without shewing any compassion in the least towards the assembly of those Holy Men) perpetrated worse Barbarities than the Soldiers themselves did. When they arrived at the place, they apprehended the Men performing their usual exercises; [to wit,] praying, curing diseases, and casting out Devils. But these [Wretches] little regarding God's Miracles, would not permit so much as the usual and solemn prayers to be performed in the Oratories, but drove the Holy Persons even out of those places. Nor did they acquiesce in the doing hereof only, but proceeded on further, and (a) made use of Weapons against them. These (a) Instead of [Cruelties] Rufinus says he was (b) present at and saw, and was a fellow-sufferer with these persons. Wherefore, the words of the Apostle were renewed against them. For, they were mock'd of the multitude; [I read] *τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐνέχοντο, made use of weapons.* This reading is confirmed by Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 3. Which passage in Rufinus Socrates does here take notice of. Valef.

(b) Instead of [*παρ' ἐν*] we read [*παρὰ*, was present at.] See Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 4. where his Words are these, *Quæ præfens vidi loquor, & eorum gesta refero, quoniam in passionibus suis esse promerui. I speak what I was present at, and saw; and I relate their Actions, of whose Sufferings I had the favour to be a Companion.* Valef.

Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

\* He al-  
ludes to  
that pas-  
sage, at  
Heb. 11.  
36, 37, 38.  
† Kai τὰ  
τα μαρ-  
τυρία,  
especially  
when at  
they recei-  
ved a Te-  
stimony, or  
Commun-  
dation, &c.

and \* had trial of Scourgings, they were stript naked, were bound, were flogged, were slain with the Sword, [they were] persons that wandered about in the Solitudes, in Sheep-skins, and Goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, of whom the world was not worthy; they wandered in Deserts, and in Mountains, and in Dens, and Caves of the Earth: † Nowwithstanding they received a testimony both from their Faith, and from the Works and Cures, which the Grace of God performed by their hands. But, (as 'tis probable) Divine Providence permitted these persons to suffer these things, having provided some better thing, that by those miseries which they underwent, others might obtain salvation in God. And this was demonstrated by the event. When therefore these admirable persons were superior to all that force and violence used towards them, Lucius, quite out of heart, advises the Commander of the Military Forces, to banish the Fathers of the Monks. These [Fathers of the Monks] were the Egyptian Macarius, and he of Alexandria who bore the same name. These persons therefore were exiled into an Island, wherein there was no Christian Inhabitant. In that Island there was an [Heathen] Temple, and a Priest in it, whom all the Inhabitants worshipped like a God. But when these pious persons arrived in that Island, all the Demons there were seized with a fear and trembling. At the same time also this accident happened: The Priest's Daughter possessed on a sudden by a Devil, fell into a rage and overturn'd all things. She was extremely unruly, and could by no means be quieted; but cried out with a loud voice, and spake to those pious persons, saying, Why are you come to cast us out from hence also? These Men therefore did in that place give another demonstration of that \* Power of theirs, which they had received from the Grace of God. For they drove the Devil out of the Virgin, and [having restored her] to her right mind, delivered her to her Father; whereby they induced both the Priest, and also all the Inhabitants of that Island to [embrace] the Faith of the Christian Religion. Wherefore, (c) they cast away their Images immediately; changed the Fabric of their Temple into the form of a Church; receiv'd Baptism, and with cheerfulness learned all the [Doctrines] of Christianity. Thus these admirable persons, persecuted upon account of the Homöusian Faith, rendered themselves more approved, brought salvation to others, and made the Faith more firm and strong.

\* Or,  
Work.

(c) Here, there was a whole line wanting, which we have made good from the Florentine and Sforzian MSS. after this manner [τὰ ἰδὲ εἰδόμενα ἐκείνων τὸ δὲ οἶμα τὸ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκείνων, ταῦτα αὐτοὶ ἐκείνων] immediately changed] the Fabric of their Temple into [the form] of a Church.] Epiphanius Scholasticus found this reading in his Copy; as 'tis apparent from his Version. Valef.

## CHAP. XXV.

Concerning Didymus, a Blind Man.

ABOUT the same times God produced another person, by whose Testimony he thought fit the Faith should be corroborated and confirm'd. For Didymus, a man admirable and eloquent, adorned with all sorts of Learning, flourish'd at that time. This person being very young, when he had but just learned to read, fell into a distemper of his Eyes; wherewith he was sorely troubled, and lost his Eye-sight. But God, instead of Corporal Eyes, gave him those of the Mind. For what he could not be

instructed in by seeing, he learnt by hearing. For being of an apt and ingenious disposition from his Childhood, and endued with an excellent wit, he far surpass'd even those [(a) ripe-witted Children] who had the acutest sight. For he became Master of the Rules of Grammar with much ease, and arriv'd to the knowledge of those of Rhetorick with more celerity. Proceeding on from thence to Philosophy, with an admirable facility he learnt Logic, Arithmetic, and Music; and treasured up within his own mind the other Precepts of the Philosophers, in such a manner, that he could readily dispute against those who had perfectly learnt those Arts by the benefit of their Eyes. Moreover, he was so exactly well-skill'd in the Divine Oracles of the Old and New Testament, that he publish'd many Discourses upon them: He dedicated Three Books concerning the Trinity; and interpreted Origen's Books Concerning Principles, setting forth (b) Comments thereupon; wherein he asserts that those Books were incomparably well-written, and that their Cavils are frivolous, who accuse Origen, and make it their business to speak reproachfully of his Works: For they are not able, says he, to arrive at the knowledge of that Author's Perspicacity and Prudence. If any person therefore be desirous of knowing Didymus's great Learning, and the fervency of his mind, he may have an account thereof by a perusal of the Books elaborated by him. It's reported, that Antonius [the Monk] discours'd with this Didymus, (c) long before the times of Valens, at such time as he left the Desert, and came to Alexandria upon account of the Arians; and that perceiving the Learning and Knowledge of this person, he spake these words to him: O Didymus! let not the loss of your bodily Eyes trouble you: For you are deprived of such Eyes, (d) as the Flies and Gnats can see with: But rejoice, that you have those Eyes, wherewith the Angels see, by which even God himself is discerned, and his Light comprehended. This was the saying of the pious Antonius to Didymus long before these times [we are creating of]. But at that time, Didymus was look'd upon to be the greatest Paragon and Defender of the genuine Faith, who disputed against the Arians, unravell'd their Sophistick Cavils, and confuted their Adulterate and Fraudulent Discourses.

(c) Epiphanius Scholasticus, and the other translators have rendered this place ill; as if Antonius the Monk had come to Alexandria in the times of Valens Augustus. But, 'tis manifest, that Antonius died in the Reign of Constantius. For one informs us hereof, in his Chronicon, and in his Life of Eulalianus. 'Tis uncertain, in what year of Constantius's Empire Antonius left the Solitudes, and came down to Alexandria; whether it was about the beginning of Constantius's Reign, before the Ordination of Gregorius the Arian; or rather, after the Synod of Sardica, and Athanasius's second restitution. Valef.

(d) Instead of [τὸ οὐκ ὄντα τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν βλέπειν, as the Flies and Gnats can see with], in Cedrenus, at the sixth year of Constantius, the reading is [τὸ οὐκ ὄντα τὸ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν βλέπειν, as the Flies and Gnats can do harm to]. Nor did Epiphanius Scholasticus find it written otherwise in his Copy, as 'tis apparent from this his Version: Quibus & Muscæ & Culicæ nocere possunt, to which the Flies and Gnats can do harm. And yet Rufinus, (Euseb. Hist. Book 2. Chap. 7) out of whom Sozomen borrowed this Story, defends the common reading, which we have followed in our Version. And Jerome also does confirm this our reading, in his Epistle to Castrinus. Valef.

## CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Basilus of Caesarea, and Gregorius of Nazianzum.

DIVINE Providence set up Didymus indeed as an Opponent to the Arians at Alexandria: But [in order to their confutation] in other Cities, [it

Valentini-  
anus and  
Valens.

(a) The  
word [τὸ  
ῥητὸν]

which we  
have ren-  
dered [ripe-  
witted].

(b) Children  
[children].

(c) Must be  
expunged  
[must be  
expunged].

(d) Seems to  
have crept  
in here, out  
of the  
following  
line. Epi-  
phanus  
Scholasticus  
ac-  
know-  
ledges it  
not. For  
thus he  
renders it  
[quid cum a  
puro fuisse  
ingeni-  
um, vi-  
ribus in-  
visi-  
bus]

(e) Con-  
cerning  
these Com-  
ments of  
Antonius  
the Monk.

(f) In  
his life and  
Book  
against  
Rufinus.  
Valef.



[it made use of], *Basilius Casariensis*, and *Gregorius Nazianzenus*. Concerning whom I judge it now opportune to give a short account. The memory and Fame of these two persons, which is still preserved amongst all men, and the learning contained in the Books written by them, might indeed be sufficient to set forth the praises and commendations of each of them. But, in regard they were persons in an eminent manner useful to the Church at that time, and were preserv'd [by God,] as being the Incentives of the [Orthodox] Faith; the Subject of our History does of necessity engage us in an especial manner to make mention of these two men. Should any one therefore be desirous of comparing *Basilius* and *Gregorius* with one another, and of giving an account of the Life, Morals and Virtues that were in them; he would be in a great doubt which of them he should prefer before the other; for they were both equal to one another, whether you respect their [pious and] exact course of Life, or their Learning; I mean as well their *Grecian* Literature, as their knowledge in the Sacred Scriptures. For, when very young, they went to *Athens*, and were the hearers of *Himerius* and *Probaresius*, the two most eminent *Sophists* of those times; afterwards they frequented [the School of] *Libanius* at *Antioch* in *Syria*, and by their industry arriv'd at the highest accomplishments of \*Eloquence. And when they were judged worthy to be professors of Eloquence, many persons perswaded them to enter upon the teaching and profession thereof. Others advis'd them to practise the Law, but they desisted both these sorts of Life: and discontinuing their studies of Eloquence, embraced a Monastick life. Having therefore had a taste of the Precepts of Philosophy from him who at that time taught Philosophy, at *Antioch*, not long after they procur'd *Origen's* Works, and from them got an insight into the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. For the great fame of *Origen* did at that time fill the whole World. When they had with great studiousness exercised themselves in the perusal of those Books, they powerfully oppos'd the Assertors of *Arianism*. And altho' the *Arians* \*cited *Origen's* Books, in confirmation (as they supposed) of their own opinion; yet these two persons confuted them, and evidently demonstrated, that they understood not the meaning of *Origen*. Indeed, the *Arians*, and their then Abettor *Eunomius*, altho' they were at that time accounted persons of great eloquence, yet, as often as they engaged in a discourse with *Gregorius* and *Basilius*, 'twas made evidently apparent that they were men altogether ignorant and unlearned. *Basilius* was first promoted to a † Diaconate by *Melchius* Bishop of *Antioch*; and that he was preferred to the (b) Bishoprick of his own Country, I mean *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and undertook the Care of the Churches.

year of Christ 371. But the same Author does affirm, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter, in the eighth year of *Valens*. See *Theophanes's* and *Cedrenus's* words at the said eighth year of *Valens*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does confirm the same in his *Oration de Laudibus Basili*. Where he does attest in express words, that *Basilius* was yet but a Presbyter only of the Church of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Valens*, guarded with a sort of Heretical Prelates, undertook an expedition against the Churches of the East, which he hasten'd to deliver up to the *Arians*. Moreover, *Valens* undertook this expedition against the Orthodox on his own third Consulate, that is on the year of Christ 370, as our *Socrates* does affirm: (compare the 14th and 17th chapters of this 4th Book.) *Gregorius Nyssenus* confirms this, in his first Book against *Eunomius* (who had upbraided *Basilius* with fearfulness and pusillanimity,) where he describes *Valens's* preparations and expedition against the Churches, in these words: *ἐξήλασε ὁ βασιλεὺς Κωνσταντινούπολιν εἰς τὴν ἑσπέραν Βασιλεύς, &c.* The Emperor went from *Constantinople* into the East, put up in his mind with the late successful and fortunate actions he had performed against the *Barbarians*. That is, after the War against the *Goths*, and the League made with them. Which happened in the year of Christ 369, as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Wherefore, that Expedition of *Valens's* to destroy God's Churches, hapned in the year of our Lord 370, as I have now said. Now, that *Basilius* was then no more than a Presbyter, his Brother *Gregorius* does in the same place inform us. For, he says, that the Prefect of the *Prætorium*, to wit, *Modestus*, at first made use of flatteries, and promised *Basilius* a *Presbiter* and an Ecclesiastick preferment, provided he would obey the Emperor. *Nyssenus's* Words are these: *ταῦτά μιν εἶπε ὁ ἐν Βασιλείᾳ τιμὴν, ὁ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐκκαλεῖται. Therefore Basilius was not Bishop of *Cæsarea*, at such time as *Modestus* endeavoured to pervert him. Moreover, *Modestus* first bore the Prefecture of the *Prætorium*, when *Gratianus* II. and *Pius* were Coss. in the year of Christ 371, as I have remark'd in my notes on the 29th Book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 380. It may also be proved by another argument, that *Basilius* was preferred to the Episcopate of *Cæsarea* after the year of Christ 370. For *Nazianzen* in the Funeral *Oration* which he wrote on him, says that *Basilius* was but a Presbyter, at such time as that Famine (by far the worst of all the Famines that are mentioned to have hapned at any time) hapned in *Cappadocia*. Now, this is the Famine, which our *Socrates* mentions in the sixteenth Chapter of this Book; it hapned in the third Consulate of *Valentinianus* and *Valens*. Valef.*

For being afraid; lest the novelty of the *Arian* *Valens* opinion should prey upon, and devour the Provinces of *Pontus*, he went (c) with great haste into those parts: Where he constituted Monasteries, instructed the Inhabitants in his own Doctrines, and confirm'd the minds of those that wavered. (d) *Gregorius* [being constituted] Bishop of *Nazianzenus* a small City in *Cappadocia*, over which Church his own Father had before presided, took in the same course that *Basilius* did. For he also (things) went up and down to the Cities; and corroborated those that were feeble and dispirited as to his Faith; but more especially, he made frequent journeys to *Constantinople*, and confirmed the Orthodox in that City by his Preaching and Disputes of courses. Upon which account he was soon after *Basilius*, that *Basilius*, as yet but a Presbyter, went into those parts, with a design to oppose himself against the perditions of the *Arians*. Valef.

(d) *Socrates* borrowed this out of *Rufinus*; who (in Book 2. Chap. 9. *Ecclesiast. Hist.*) writes thus: *Gregorius vero apud Nazianzum, &c. But Gregorius, being substituted Bishop in his father's stead, at the Town Nazianzum, beingly bore the storm of the Heretics.* And yet 'tis manifest, that *Gregorius* was not made Bishop, but Coadjutor only to his own father *Gregorius*, in the Episcopate of *Nazianzum*; and upon this condition too, that he should not succeed his Father in that Bishoprick; as he himself attests in his Eighth *Oration*, and in his Poem concerning his own Life. He was first continued Bishop of *Samsi* by *Basilius* the Great, who had been the first Founder of this Bishoprick, that he might assure that place to his own Church; as *Gregorius* attests in the Poem concerning his own Life. From thence he was translated to the *Constantinopolitan* See, which he quickly left, betook himself to *Nazianzum*, and governed the Bishoprick of that place some while, till such time as, being wearied out with age and diseases, he made choice of his own Successor. *Jerome's* account therefore is true, whose words (in his Book *De Script. Ecclesiast.*) are these: *Gregorius primus Samsiorum, deinde Nazianzenus Episcopus, &c. Gregorius, Bishop first of Samsi, and afterwards of Nazianzum, &c. And as strange, that altho' he governed three Bishopricks, yet they were all doubtful and uncertain.* 'Tis plain, that in his Epistles he himself does frequently deny, that he ever presided over the Episcopate of *Samsi*, or ever performed any sacerdotal Office there. Neither *Jerome's* Scholar, nor *Rufinus*, do ascribe the *Constantinopolitan* Bishoprick to him. Lastly, he delivered the Bishoprick of *Nazianzum* to another, rather than governed it himself. Valef.

(a) What *Socrates* says here, is in my opinion false; viz. that *Basilius* and *Gregorius*, after they had finish'd the course of their learned Studies at *Athens*, were hearers of *Libanius* the *Sophist* at *Antioch*. *Gregorius* himself does refute this in his Poem concerning his own Life; where he says, that when he was in the thirtieth year of his age when he left *Athens*, and that his Friends would have detoured him at *Athens*, that he might be a Professor of Eloquence; (the same is attested by *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 9. *Ecclesiast. Hist.*) but that he fled secretly from thence, and went into his own Country. Valef.

embraced a Monastick life. Having therefore had a taste of the Precepts of Philosophy from him who at that time taught Philosophy, at *Antioch*, not long after they procur'd *Origen's* Works, and from them got an insight into the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. For the great fame of *Origen* did at that time fill the whole World. When they had with great studiousness exercised themselves in the perusal of those Books, they powerfully oppos'd the Assertors of *Arianism*. And altho' the *Arians* \*cited *Origen's* Books, in confirmation (as they supposed) of their own opinion; yet these two persons confuted them, and evidently demonstrated, that they understood not the meaning of *Origen*. Indeed, the *Arians*, and their then Abettor *Eunomius*, altho' they were at that time accounted persons of great eloquence, yet, as often as they engaged in a discourse with *Gregorius* and *Basilius*, 'twas made evidently apparent that they were men altogether ignorant and unlearned. *Basilius* was first promoted to a † Diaconate by *Melchius* Bishop of *Antioch*; and that he was preferred to the (b) Bishoprick of his own Country, I mean *Cæsarea* in *Cappadocia*, and undertook the Care of the Churches.

† Or, the Office of a Deacon.  
(b) *Basilius* says, *Basilius*

was preferred to the Bishoprick of *Cæsarea*, in the year of Christ 369; and this he attempts to prove from *Gregorius Nyssenus's* testimony. *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus*, in his Chronicle, do place the beginning of *Basilius's* Episcopate, on the ninth year of *Valens*, which was the

Valentinianus and Valens.

\* That is, Basilus and Gregorius. (e) This account disagrees from what the two Gregorius's, (to wit, Nazianzenus in his funeral Oration, and Basilus in his first Book against Eunomius) do relate concerning Basilus. For they do attest, that Basilus was not brought before Molestus the Prefect of the Praetorium at Antioch, but that this was done in the City Caesarea. Sozomen therefore (Eccl. Hist. Book 6. Chap. 16. has truly corrected Sozomen's mistake here; where he relates, that Valens came from Antioch to Caesarea, and ordered Basilus should be brought before the Tribunal of the Prefect of the Praetorium. Further, you must observe, that Valens Augustinus came to Caesarea twice, and made an attempt to vanquish Basilus: His first journey thither was when Basilus was no more than a Presbyter; which (as we have shewn before) was in the year 370. This is evidently confirmed by Sozomen in his sixth Book. When he came the second time thither, 'tis not certain. But I conjecture it was on the year of Christ 371, or 372. Which I collect from Molestus's Praetudure, which falls on those years. Nazianzenus distinguishes these two journeys of Valens in his twelfth Oration, pag. 346. of his Works, Edit. Paris. 1609. Valef.

(f) Sozomen took this out of Rufinus, Book 2. Chap. 9. Eccl. Hist. But Gregorius Nyssenus, in his first Book against Eunomius, says, that Basilus stood before the Tribunal of Molestus the Prefect twice; once when he was Presbyter, and a second time when he was Bishop. But Nazianzen makes no mention of Basilus's former Examination. Valef.

(g) In Rufinus (Eccl. Hist. Book 2. Chap. 9.) this passage is thus worded; *Utinam te non mutaret, i. wish you would not have changed your self.* In which Words Basilus reproves Molestus, because from being a Catholick he was become an Arian, that he might please the Emperor. We are indeed told by Gregorius (in his funeral Oration) that Molestus was an Arian. Valef.

(h) Here Valentinianus Junior is called by another name, as we have observed before, Chap. 10. of this Book, note (A.) He was surnamed Galates, because he was born in Galatia. Further, in regard Sozomen does here term him *puer*, a young Child; our Opinion (which we have given in before) is very much confirmed, to wit, that these things were done about the Year of our Lord 371, or 372. For Valentinianus Junior was born in the year of Christ 366; as we have remarked before: From which year to the year 372, are six years complet. So Valentinianus Junior, called also Galates, died at six years old. For a Child of that age is rightly termed *puer*. Valef.

ter constituted Bishop over the people at Constantinople, by the suffrage of many Bishops. When therefore what \* both these persons did came to the Emperor Valens's ears, he forthwith order'd (e) Basilus to be brought from Caesarea to Antioch. Immediately therefore he was convey'd thither, and by the Emperor's order was set before the Tribunal of the Prefects: (f) when the Prefect put this question to him, *Why he would not embrace the Emperor's Faith?* Basilus with a great deal of confidence found fault with the Emperor's Religion, and commended the Homousian Faith. But when the Prefect threatened him with death, *would to God* (said Basilus) *it might happen to me, to be delivered from the Roads of the Body upon account of the Truth!* Then, upon the Prefect's admonishing him to inspect and consider the matter more seriously with himself, 'tis reported that Basilus said, *I am the same this day that I shall be to-morrow:* (g) *I wish that you would not have changed your self.* After this Basilus continued that day in custody. Not long after, it hapned, that Valens's Son, a young child, whose name was (b) Galates, was seized with a sore distemper, in so much that his recovery was despaired of by the Physicians. The Empress Dominica, his Mother, did positively affirm to the Emperor, that she had been sorely disquieted with fearful and horrid Visions in her Dreams; and that the Child was visited with sickness, because of the Bishop's injurious usage. The Emperor, taking these things into consideration, sends for Basilus. And to make trial of him, expresses himself to him after this manner: *If your Opinion be true, pray that my Son may not die.* If you will believe, O Emperor! (replied Basilus,) as I do; and if [you will assent that] the Church shall be united, the Child shall live. When the Emperor would not consent to that, the will of God therefore be done (said Basilus) concerning the Child. After Basilus had spoken these words, [the Emperor] order'd he should be dismiss'd. But the Child died not long after. Let thus much be compendiously said concerning these persons.

Moreover, each of them wrote and published many, and those incomparable Books. Some of which Rufinus says were by \* him translated into Latin. Basilus had two Brothers, Petrus and Gregorius. Petrus imitated Basilus's Monastic course of life: but Gregorius [followed] his eloquent way of teaching. He also finish'd that Book concerning the six days work, (which Basilus had taken pains about, and left imperfect) after his Brother's death: and recited a Funeral Oration [in praise of] Meletius Bishop of Antioch, at Constantinople. There are also several other Orations of his extant.

## C H A P. XXVII.

## Concerning Gregorius Thaumaturgus.

BUT, in regard how are apt to mistake, because of the likeness of the name, and by reason of the Books which in their Title are ascribed to Gregorius, you are to know, that there was another Gregorius of Pontus; who had his original extract at Neocaesarea in Pontus, and was ancients than these [Gregorius's.] For he was \* Origen's Scholar. This Gregorius's fame is very great at Athens, at Egvryta, over the whole (a) Pontick Diocess, and (I had almost said) over the whole World. For having left the Schools at Athens, he went to Berytus, (4) at this time studied the Civil Law. Where being informed that Origen did interpret the sacred Scriptures at Caesarea, he went in great haste to that City: And having been an hearer of the Magnificent Exposition of the sacred Scriptures, he bid farewell to [his study of] the Roman Laws, and in future became wholly addicted [to Origen.] By whom he was instructed in the true Philosophy, and after that, his Parents recalling him, he returned into his own Country: Where first of all, whilst he was a Laick, he did many miracles; sometimes healing the diseased; at others driving away Devils by \* Letters; [in fine,] he brought over the Professors of Gentilism [to the Faith,] not only by his words, but much more by the works he did. He is mentioned also by Pamphilus the Martyr, in the Books he wrote (b) concerning Origen. Whereto is annexed (c) Gregorius's Oration, wherein he returned thanks to Origen at his departure from him. There were therefore, that I may speak briefly, [many] Gregorius's. The first is this ancient, Origen's Scholar; the second, Nazianzenus; the third, Basilus's Brother. There was also another Gregorius at Alexandria, whom the Arians constituted Bishop [of that City] during the time of Athanasius's Exile. Thus much concerning these persons.

for he means Pamphilus's Apologetic in defence of Origen: concerning which consult I borius, in his Bibliotheca. Valef.

(e) In the Greek, 'tis thus worded: *οὐδὲν ἄλλος ἱεροποιῶν ἡμεῖς* which Origenius renders thus; *Liber Gregorii quo Origen commendavit, Gregorius hoc, ubi in eo has commendat Origen. Christophorus trauitales it thus: Oratio Gregorii in Origenis commendationem inscripta, Gregorius's Oration written in praise of Origen.* But, I cannot approve of this Version: For that Oration was not written by Gregorius Thaumaturgus in commendation of Origen, to return thanks to his master, when he left his School. Indeed, the *Commentary Letters* are termed *οὐρακτικά*. But there were not any *Orationes ouerakal*, commendatory Orations. Wherefore, I doubt not but it should be *οὐρακτικά*; although Nicephorus confirms the vulgar reading. Now, *ἀλλοις ἐκτακτικῶς* is a *Valerianus Oration*, as we have remarked in our notes on Euseb. Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 21. note (A.) Valef.

Valentinianus and Valens.

C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning Novatus, and those from him termed Novatians. And, that those Novatians who inhabited Phrygia, altered [the time of celebrating] the Festival of Easter, and kept it on the same day the Jews did.

About this very time, the Novatians, who inhabited Phrygia, altered the day of celebrating the Feast of Easter. How this was done, I will declare; having first of all told you, upon what account the accurate and exact Canon of their Church does at this present flourish in the

(1) The Greeks usually term him Novatus, whose right name was Novatianus. Concerning whole Hæcclie, you may consult Eusebius, (Eccles. Hist. Book 6. chap. 41.) Epiphanius, the Author of the questions on the Old and New Testament, and Theodoret. Valef.

Persecution, which the Emperor Decius raised against the Churches. Becoming a Separatist therefore upon this account, and being elected to the Bishoprick [of Rome] by such Prelates as embrac'd the same sentiments with him, he wrote to the Churches every where, that they should not admit such persons as had sacrificed, to the [sacred] Mysteries; but should exhort them to repentance, and leave the pardoning of their offences to God, who is able, and has power to remit sins. The Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these, gave their Judgments of the things therein signified, according to their own\* dispositions and humours. For whereas Novatus had given notice, that those were not to be vouchsafed the participation of the † Mysteries, who after Baptism had fallen into [any] deadly sin; the promulgation of this Canon seem'd severe and cruel to some; but others admitted of this Rule, as just and equitable, and [of great use] for the establishing a pious and more regular course of life.

(b) In the interim that this great controversy was in debate, arrive the Letters of Cornelius Bishop [of Rome], promising indulgence to those who had sinned after Baptism. Upon these two persons writing thus contrary to one another, and each of them confirming what he asserted by testimony of the sacred Scriptures, (c) every inhabitant of the Provinces betook himself to that party, whereto he had before entertained a greater propensity and inclination. For, such persons as delighted in sin, laid hold of the Indulgence then granted, and in future abus'd it to all manner of impiety. [Moreover,] the people of Phrygia seem to be more sober, and persons of better Morals than other Nations. For,

\* Or, Modestly.

(c) The expression in the original is, *ἐκαστος κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ*; which Musculus renders thus, *seu fieri solet*, as it is usually done; and Christophorus thus; *ut moris est*, as the manner is. But I cannot approve of these Versions. For the Grecian Writers makes use of (not κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ, but) *ἐκ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ*, to signify, as it is usually done, or, as the manner is. Wherefore, I am rather of opinion, that it should be *ἐκαστος κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ*, every inhabitants of the Provinces; to Epiphanius Scholasticus read it. For he renders it thus; *Singuli Provincialium*, &c. Every Subject of the Provinces. κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ has the same import with κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ, which phrase Socrates has made use of a little before, in this Chapter; where his Words are, *τοιαύτας τὰς ἐπιστολὰς οἱ κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐπέμψαν*, the Inhabitants of every Province having received such Letters as these. Valef.

the Rising Sun, are more addicted to the serving of their Lusts. But the Paphlagonians and Phrygians are not prone to either of these vices. For neither Cirque-Sports, nor Theatrical-Shews, are at this present \* esteem'd amongst them. On which account, as well these persons, as others who embrace the same Sentiments with them, in my judgment seem to have given their assent to what was then written from Novatus. For, amongst them Whoring is reputed a most enormous wickedness. 'Tis apparently known, that the Phrygians and Paphlagonians do live more modestly and temperately, than any other Sect of Men whatever. I am of opinion, that it was the very same reason likewise [which prevail'd] with those that inhabit the Western parts, who also have follow'd Novatus's opinion. But Novatus (although he was a Separatist upon account of an accurate and more strict course of life, yet) made no alteration in [the celebration of] the Feast of Easter. For he always celebrated that Festival, after the same manner that those in the Western parts did. Now, the Inhabitants of those parts do always keep that Feast after the *Aequinox*, agreeable to an usage very anciently delivered to them, even from the time that they first embrac'd Christianity. [Further,] this \* person suffer'd (d) Martyrdom afterwards, [to wit] in the Reign of the Emperor Valerian, who rais'd a Persecution against the Christians. But those in Phrygia who from his name that are called Novatians, (e) having an aversion even for that Communion, they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholics] in the celebrating] of this [Festival,] a-and they about this time changed the Feast of Easter also.

(d) The person who suffer'd Martyrdom afterwards, was a Phrygian, who rais'd a Persecution against the Christians. But those in Phrygia who from his name that are called Novatians, (e) having an aversion even for that Communion, they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholics] in the celebrating] of this [Festival,] a-and they about this time changed the Feast of Easter also.

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(e) This place is strangely corrupted. Nor is this fault new; but the Copies were faulty even in Epiphanius Scholasticus's time; for thus he renders it: *Hi vero qui ex eo nomine habuerunt, ejusque suæ participes, &c.* But those who had their name from him, and were partakers thereof, &c. How Nicephorus read this passage in Socrates, 'tis uncertain, in regard his Greek Text at this place defective. But Lipsius, who had seen a Greek Copy of Nicephorus, renders it thus: *Qui vero ejus nomine in Phrygia Confessor, &c.* But those that are accus'd of his name in Phrygia, when by indulging themselves, they had degenerated from his Institutions and Communion, at this time altered the Paschal Festival also. I say nothing concerning the other Translators, in whose Versions you will find nothing of soundness. I am of opinion, that the place, by a small alteration, is thus to be made good: *ὁ δὲ κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν τῶν πατρῶν ἐπέμψαν*. That is, having an aversion even for that Communion they were permitted [to hold with the rest of the Catholics] in the celebrating] of this [Festival,] There is nothing more plain than this sense. Before Valen's time, the Novatians in Phrygia kept Easter at the same time the rest of the Catholics did. After that, they began to shun the Communion and Society of the Catholics in this matter also. Further, although I do very much approve of Socrates's judgment, who gives an account why the Phrygians more especially embrac'd the Novatian Hæcclie; yet there may another reason be given here. For, Novatus, or rather Novatianus, was (as 'tis said) by Country a Phrygian; to Philostorgius asserts, Book 8. Wherefore, 'tis no wonder, that he had many followers of his own opinion in that Province. Valef.

Valentinianus and Valens. Or, *Fountain. garius.*) promulgated a Canon, that it should be observ'd [yearly on what day] the Jews celebrated their Feast of Unleavened Bread, and that together with them the Feast of Easter should be kept. These things were told me by a certain (f) old man, who said that he was the son of a Presbyter, and was together with his Father present at the foresaid Synod. At which Synod, neither *Agellus* Bishop of the Novatians at Constantinople, was present, nor yet *Maximus* of Nicaea; neither were the Bishops of *Nicomedia*, or *Cotacium* at it: altho' these persons were the chief Regulators of the Novatian Religion. These things were after this manner transacted at that time. But, not long after the Church of the Novatians was divided into two Parties upon account of this Synod, as we will declare in due place. We must now pass from hence, to [a relation of] what hapned at this very time in the Western parts.

we must not here omit *Nicephorus*'s words concerning our *Socrates*: he says thus, Book 11. Chap. 14. *Hæc sibi remissima esse Socrates qui hoc loco non abhorre re se Novatianorum institutis palam præ se ferre, a sene quodam scribit, &c. Socrates (who in this place plainly shews himself not to be a detractor of the Novatian Principles) relates that these things were told him by a certain old Man, &c. Notwithstanding, I am not of Nicephorus's opinion. Valef.*

## C H A P. XXIX.

Concerning *Damasus* Bishop of Rome, and *Ursinus*. How, a Disturbance and Sedition hapning in Rome upon their account, there followed a great slaughter of Men.

WHilst the Emperor *Valentinianus* lived in peace, and tranquillity, and was voracious towards no Sect; *Damasus* succeeded *Liberius* in the Government of the Bishoprick of Rome.

(a) Under whom the Church of Rome hapned to be disturb'd, upon this account. One *Ursinus*, a Deacon of the same Church had been a Competitor, when the Election of a Bishop was made. But, in regard *Damasus* was preferred [before him,] *Ursinus*, unable to bear the being frustrated of his expectation, made it his business to (b) hold assemblies that were schismatical and separate from the Church; and perfwades certain mean Bishops to ordain him [clandestinely] in a secret place. And he is ordained, not in a Church, but in an obscure place, in that called (c) *Sisinnius*'s Pallace. Upon the doing hereof, a dissention was raised amongst the Populace. They disagreed among themselves, not upon account of the Faith, or [any] Herefie, but about this only, [to wit,] who ought to be put in possession of the Episcopal Chair. Hereupon there hapned [frequent] conflicts of the multitudes; in so much that many were killed, on account of that variance. For said to which reason, many persons as well Laicks, as

Altar contrary to another. Hence comes the term *μυσθωμενισμός*, a sort of Schism, concerning which *Basilus* speaks, in his Canonical Epistle to *Amphyloctius*, de *Baptismo Hæreticorum*. Valef.

(c) *Ann. Marcellinus* (Book 27. pag. 337. Edit. Valef.) calls it *Sisinnius*'s Pallace; where, says he, there is a little private assembling place of [the Professors of] the Christian Religion; in which [during the conflicts between *Damasus* and *Ursinus*'s Parties] there was in one day an hundred and thirty seven dead Bodies found, &c. Read the Historians following Words; from the whole passage 'tis plain, how disorderly the Elections of a Bishop of Rome then were, and at what an

Ecclesiasticks, were punish'd by (d) *Maximus* Valentinianus and the then *Præfect* [of the City] and so both *Ursinus* at that time ceased from [prosecuting] his attempt, and also those who had a mind to be his Followers, were quieted.

out of *Rufinus*, Book 2. Chap. 10. *Eccles. Hist.* In that year, whereon *Ursinus* raised his Schism, *Ursinus*, not *Maximus*, was *Præfect* of the City, as *Ann. Marcellinus* attests, Book 27. pag. 337. But, in regard this Schism lasted many years, 'tis possible that *Maximus* (who was *Præfect* of the *Annona*,) might take cognizance of this business, and torture some Ecclesiasticks, as *Rufinus* relates. This *Maximus* was *Præfect* of the *Annona*, in the seventh year of *Valentinianus* as *Socrates* does assert in his *Chronicon*. *Marcellinus* speaks much concerning this *Maximus*, in his 28th Book. Valef.

## C H A P. XXX.

How (after the Death of *Auxentius* Bishop of Millain,) a Sedition hapning on account of the Election of a Prelate to succeed in that See; *Ambrosius*, President of the Province, going with a military Force to appease these Tumults, was by a general Suffrage (the Emperor *Valentinianus* having given his consent also) preferred before all persons, and elected Bishop of that Church.

ABOUT the same time there hapned another thing worthy to be recorded, which came (a) Surprize to pass at Millain. For, (a) *Auxentius* Bishop of that Church being dead, who had been ordained by the *Arians*, the Inhabitants of Millain were again disturbed about the Election of a Bishop: and there was a great contention amongst them, some making it their business to elect one person, others another. When a Sedition was raised about this matter, the Governour of that Province (a person vested with a Consular Dignity, whose name was *Ambrosius*, bearing lest some absurdity might happen in the City, [caused] by that tumult, ran into the Church, in order to his appealing of the uproar. After that these people upon his coming thither were quieted, and that he had repress the ir-

rational fury of the multitude by a long and very useful exhortatory Oration; there hapned on a sudden an unanimous agreement amongst all persons; who cried out, that *Ambrosius* deserved the Bishoprick; and all made it their request that he might be ordained. For, by that means only, [twas said] the People would be united, and embrace a concordant opinion concerning the Faith. In regard therefore, this unanimous consent of the People seemed to the Bishops that were present, to proceed from some divine [order and appointment,] without delay they laid hold of *Ambrosius*: and having baptized him, (for he was then but a Catechumen,) they forthwith went about the promoting of him to the dignity of that Bishoprick. But, because *Ambrosius* (though he received Baptism with much willingness, yet) refused the Episcopal dignity with all imaginable earnestness; [the Bishops] acquaint the Emperor *Valentinianus* with what hapned. The Emperor, admiring the unanimous consent of the people,

word for word out of *Rufinus*'s Book 2. Chap. 11. *Eccles. Hist.* For, he observes the same order that *Rufinus* does, after *Damasus*'s ordination forthwith subjecting *Ambrosius*'s promotion. But, although *Rufinus* and *Socrates* have conjoined their two Ordinations, as if they had been made at one and the same time; yet there was a great interval of time between each ordination. For *Damasus* entered upon the Bishoprick of Rome in the Consulate of *Lupicinus* and *Febricius*, on the year of Christ 357. But *Ambrosius* was promoted to the Episcopate of Millain in the year of our Lord 354 in the third Consulate of *Gratianus*, which he bore with *Equitius*; as *Baronius* has observed from *Saint Jerome*'s *Chronicon*. Valef.

people, and acknowledge what had come to pass to be the work of God, declared to the Bishops, that they ought to obey God, who commanded he should be Ordain'd; for that he was elected by the suffrage of God, rather than of Men. *Ambrosius* being after this manner constituted [Bishop,] the Inhabitants of *Milaine*, who had been at variance before, were by his means reduced at that time to unity and concord.

## C H A P. XXXI.

## Concerning Valentinianus's Death.

**B**UT after this, when the *Sarmatæ* made incursions into the *Roman* Territories, the Emperor undertook an Expedition against them, at the head of a vast Army. The *Barbarians* informed of these great preparations for a War, and being sensible of their own inability to make a resistance, sent an Embassy to the Emperor, and requested that they might obtain a Peace upon certain conditions. When the Embassadors were introduced into the Emperor's presence, and appear'd to him to be vile and despicable Fellows, he ask'd, whether all the *Sarmatæ* were such sort of persons. The Embassadors made answer, that the noblest Personages of their whole Nation were come to him: Whereupon *Valentinianus* was highly incens'd, and crying out with a very loud voice, said, That he was very unfortunate to have the *Roman* Empire devolve upon him, when such a Nation of Barbarians, so vile and contemptible, was not satisfied to continue in safety within its own limits; but would take up arms, || depopulate the *Roman* Territories, and audaciously break out into a War. And he tore himself in such a manner by his crying out, that all his Veins were open'd, and every one of his Arteries broken. [A vast quantity of] Blood gushing out after this manner, he died in the Cattle called *Bergition*, after *Gratianus*'s third Consulate [which he bore] with *Equitius*, about the seventeenth of the month *November*; when he had liv'd fifty four years, and reigned thirteen. *Valentinianus* therefore having ended his life, the *Milice* in *Italy*, on the sixth day after his death, proclaimed his Son (who had the same name with his Father)

*Valentinianus* (a very young child) Emperor, in (a) *Ancinum* a City of *Italy*. The Emperors, informed hereof, were displeased, not because *Valentinianus* Junior (who was Brother to the \* one Emperor, and the father's Nephew) was made Emperor: but in regard he had been proclaim'd without either of their being acquainted with it, whom they themselves were about

to proclaim. Notwithstanding, both of them gave their consent to his being made Emperor. After this manner was *Valentinianus* Junior seated on his own Father's Throne. Further, you must know, that this *Valentinianus* was begotten by *Valentinianus* Senior, of *Justina*, which Woman \* he married whilst *Severa* his former Wife was living, on this occasion. *Justus*, his Father to *Justinus* Senior, na, (who heretofore, to wit, in *Constantius*'s

Reign, had been Governour of the Province *Pi-Valentinianus* and *Valens*.  
centum, had a Dream, wherein (to his own thinking) he saw himself delivered of the Imperial Purple [which he brought forth] out of his right side. This Dream being divulged at length came to *Constantius*'s hearing also. He guessing at the meaning of the Dream, to wit, that an Emperor should \* descend from *Justus*, sent one who dispatch'd him. His Daughter, *Justina*, bereaved of her Father, for a considerable while continued a Virgin. Some time after, she became known to *Severa*, Wife to the Emperor *Valentinianus*, and was continually conversant with the Empress. And a firm familiarity was contracted between them, she bathed herself also together with her. When therefore *Severa* had seen *Justina* washing her self, she was + won- Or, in derfully taken with the Virgins beauteous composition of body, and discoursed concerning her in the Emperor's presence; [saying] that that Virgin, *Justus*'s Daughter, was endow'd with so admirable a completeness of body, that she herself, altho' a Woman, was notwithstanding enamoured with her delicate shape. The Emperor treasured up his Wife's discourse in his mind, and consulted about his marriage of *Justina*; yet so as not to divorce *Severa*, of whom he had begotten *Gratianus*, and created him *Augustus* but a little before. He therefore dictated a (b) Law, and made it publick throughout (b) There every City, that any one that would, might have two lawful Wives. This Law was promulg'd. And he married *Justina*, by whom *Valentinianus* Junior, and three Daughters, any where: *Justa*, *Grata*, and *Galla*. The two former of which perished in their resolution of continuing Virgins: but *Galla* was afterwards married to the Emperor \* *Theodosius* the Great, of whom he begat a daughter, Or, The has with by name *Placidia*. For he had *Arcadius* and *Honorius* by (c) *Placidia* his former Wife. But we shall speak in particular concerning *Theodosius*, and his Sons, in due place, not in this fair. Indeed such a Law as this (in my judgment) is in no wise agreeable to *Valentinianus* a serious Prince, and a Christian. Therefore this whole story of *Justina*'s marriage, is in my opinion, of a credit doubtful and uncertain. Vale.

(c) *Euphanis* Scholasticus calls her (not *Placidia*, but) *Flavilla*; which is true: For to the ancient Coins term her. But, 'tis strange that Greek writers should so frequently be mistaken in this name. For we have rememb'd before, that *Placidus* is by *Socrates* often u. d. instead of *Flavillus*, who was Bishop of *Antioch*. Further, this *Flavilla* was the daughter of that *Anomius*, who was Consul with *Silvius*, as *Themistius* informs us, in his *Gratiani* *Adiuncti*, to *Theodosius*, for the Peace made with the Goths. Vale.

## C H A P. XXXII.

Concerning the Philosopher *Themistius*: And, that *Valens*, appeas'd by the Oration he spake to him, did in some measure mitigate his Persecution against the Christians.

**V**ALENS, making his Residence at *Antioch*, continued in the interim undisturbed by foreign Wars. For the *Barbarians* did on every side contain themselves within their own Territories. But he \* persecuted those who embraced the *Homocousan* Opinion, in a most grievous manner, and every day invented greater and more acute punishments [to be inflicted] on 'em. Till such time as the Philosopher *Themistius* reduced his great cruelty to something of a moderation,

(a) We meet with a double mistake here, the one committed by *Socrates*'s Transcribers, the other by *Socrates* himself. We have corrected the Transcriber's error (a), in stead of *Ancinum*, had made it *Ancinum*, from the authority of the *Sporian* and *Florian* MSS. It will be sufficient not to take notice of *Socrates*'s mistake here; who calls *Ancinum* a City of *Italy*, whereas it belongs to *Paenonia*. Vale.

\* That is, to *Gratianus*.

† To wit, *Valens*'s Brother's Son.

\* That is, *Valentinianus* Senior, na, (who heretofore, to wit, in *Constantius*'s

Or, should be born of.

Or, in love with.

(b) There is no mention of this Law of *Valentinianus*, any where: Not in *Amm.*

*Marcellinus*, who has with *adodius* *Severus* great accuracy.

(c) *Flavilla* is not in *Themistius*.

Or, The has with *adodius* *Severus* great accuracy.

Or, The has with *adodius* *Severus* great accuracy.

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Or, The has with *adodius* *Severus* great accuracy.

Valens.

(a) This  
Oration  
of Them-  
istius, is  
valens, i  
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time ex-  
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lished in  
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Duditis.  
of.] And  
Socrates  
says Them-  
istius spoke  
in that O-  
ration  
concern-  
ing the  
difference  
of Philo-  
sophy.  
Opinions  
occurs in  
Duditis'.  
at length,  
this fury  
of his al-  
so was re-  
pressed  
by this  
accident.

ration, by that (a) Speech he spake to him; wherein the Philosopher advertises the Emperor, That he ought not to admire at the disagreement of Opinions amongst the Christians. For, that the discrepancy of Sentiments amongst them was small, if compared with the multitude and confusion of Opinions amongst the Grecians. For they entertained above three hundred Opinions. [Further,] that as touching Opinion there would of necessity arise a wonderful dissent [from the variety thereof.] And yet that God is delighted with this difference of Opinion [concerning himself,] to the end that all persons may more highly revere his Majesty, even upon this very account, because 'tis not obvious and easy to have a knowledge of him. The Philosopher having spoken these and such-like words as these, to the Emperor, he became more mild in future. Notwithstanding, his rage was not hereby perfectly and entirely appeased; but, instead of Death, he imposed Exile as a punishment, upon Ecclesiastick persons; till at length, this fury of his also was repressed by this accident.

The words are these; *Atres quidem, quorum magnus in vita usus & delectatio est, &c.* Indeed, those Arts, of which there is great use in this life, and which are very delightful had never arrived at such an height and elegance, had there not been a discrepancy of judgments, and a certain little amongst the Artists themselves. For, had not Philosophy in itself the Mother of all valuable Arts, raised from mean and small beginnings, increased by the dissent of Learned Men in such a manner, that nothing may seem wanting to its absolute perfection? Further, what Socrates says is spoken to Themistius in that Oration, to wit, that God is desirous of this variety of opinions concerning himself, that Men may have a greater reverence for the Majesty of his Deity, because the knowledge of his Divinity is in no wise obvious and easily attainable; occurs in Duditis's Version, at page. 508. where 'tis thus worded: *Quocirca quod a cognitione nostri à se longissime removet, &c.* Wherefore, in regard he has removed himself at the greatest distance from our Knowledge, nor does humble himself to the capacity of our wit; 'tis a sufficient argument, that he does not require one and the same Law and Rule of Religion from all persons, nor leaves every Man a Licence and faculty of thinking concerning himself, according to his own, nor another Man's liberty and choice. Whence it also happens, that a greater admiration of the Deity, and a more Religious veneration of his Eternal Majesty, is ingendered in the minds of Men. For, it is usually comes to pass, that we loath and disregard those things which are readily apparent, and prostrate to every understanding, &c. Valc.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

How the Goths, under the Reign of Valens, embraced Christianity.

THose Barbarians who dwell beyond the Danube, having kindled a Civil War amongst themselves, were divided into two Parties; the one of which was headed by *Fritigernus*, the other by *Athanarichus*. When 'twas apparent that *Athanarichus's* Party was the stronger, *Fritigernus* flies to the Romans, and implored their assistance against his Adversary. This is made known to the Emperor *Valens*; and he orders those Soldiers, who were engarrison'd all over *Thracia* for the defence of that Country, to assist the Barbarians being at War against the Barbarians. And they obtain a Victory over *Athanarichus* beyond the Danube, having routed his Forces. This was the reason, that many of the Barbarians became Christians. For, *Fritigernus*, that he might express his thankfulness to the Emperor for the kindness he had done him, embraced the Emperor's Religion, and persuaded those under his command to the same. Wherefore, many of the Goths are even till this present addicted to *Arianism*, having at that time become Adherents to that Heresie upon the Em-

peror's account. At the same time also, *Ulfila*, Bishop of the Goths, invented *Gothick* Letters, and having translated the sacred Scriptures into the *Gothick* Language, undertook the instruction of the Barbarians in the Divine Oracles. But, in regard *Ulfila* instructed not only those Barbarians under *Fritigernus*, but them also who paid obedience to *Athanarichus*, in the Christian Religion; *Athanarichus*, \* as if violence were offer'd to the Religion of his Ancestors, inflicted punishments on many of those who professed Christianity; in so much that at that time several *Arianizing* Barbarians were Martyrs. Indeed, *Arius*, unable to refute the Opinion of *Sabellius* the Lybian, fell from the true Faith, and asserted (a) the Son of God to be a new God. But the Barbarians, embracing Christianity with a simplicity of mind, despised this present Life in respect of the Faith of Christ. Thus far concerning those [Goths] who came over to the Christian Religion.

the *Syrian* and *Florent*. M. SS. the reading is [the Son of God to be a new God;] accordingly we have rendered it. Valc.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

That the Goths vanquished by other Barbarians, fled into the Territories of the Romans, and were received by the Emperor. Which [Reception of theirs] was the occasion, both of the Destruction of the Roman Empire, and also of the Emperor's own Overthrow.

BUT, not long after, the Barbarians having entered into a league of friendship with one another, were again vanquish'd by other Barbarians their Neighbours, called the *Huns*; and being driven out of their own Country, they fly into the Roman Territories, promising they would serve the Roman Emperor, and do whatever he should command them. This came to *Valens's* knowledge; who foreseeing nothing, gave order that the Suppliers should have a kind and merciful reception, shewing himself in this one instance only, mild and compassionate. He assigns therefore to them [for their habitation] the parts of *Thracia*; judging himself to be in a most especial manner fortunate upon this account. For, it was his sentiment, that he should in future be in possession of a ready and well-furnish'd Army against his Enemies; and he hoped, that the Barbarians would be a more terrible Guard [to the limits of his Empire] than the Romans. Upon this account, he in future neglected the increasing and filling up of the Roman *Milice*. He despised those old Souldiers, who in former Wars had fought against his Enemies with much courage and gallantry; and he (a) put a money-value upon that *Militia*, which the Inhabitants of Pro-

Florus.  
M. S. the  
reading is [*quod pene, &c.*, he reduced into money,] which, it I mistake not, is the truer. Notwithstanding, the common reading [to wit, *quod pene, &c.*, he put a money value upon,] is found, and needs no alteration. For *Chrysostom* uses this term in this sense, in his 67 *Homily* on *Matth.* 21. The old Glosses expound *quod pene, &c.* by *Attus*, he values by money. Further, what *Socrates* remarks here, (b) *quod Valens*, instead of supplies of Souldiers, did afterwards, &c. is of Gold of his Province; is also related by *Zmm. Marcellinus*, book 10, page. 441. which place, because 'tis corrupt even in our Edition, I will here let down, as it ought to be amended: *Eruditi adulatoris in majus fortunam principis extollentibus: quod ex ultimis servis in pecunia* [not *Thracensis* nec opinati essent, *bi*] *valens*, et non opinanti offerret, et collatis in annum suis & alienigenis milibus, iterum habere exercitum; & pro militum supplemento quod provinciam annum pendebatur, thesauris accedere auri cumulus magnus. Valc.

vines

\* Or, being routed the Enemy.

*Edessa*, not at the latter end of *Valens's* Reign. And I had rather follow *Aufidius's* opinion, than that of *Socrates* and *Socumen*. The most we have to say of this opinion, is grounded on *Socrates's* words at the close of this chapter, where he says, that *Maxima* the Queen having made a Peace with the *Romani*, betrothed her daughter to *Vilior* the *Roman* Lieutenant General. Now, *Vilior*, about the latter end of *Valens's* Reign, "was too old to have any thoughts of marrying a Wife. *Valef*.

*That the Emperor, by reason of his Care and Soli-  
tude about a War with the Goths, remitted some-  
thing of his Persecution against the Christians.*

For, the *Barbarians* having been put into possession of *Thracia*, and quietly enjoying that *Roman Province*, could not [with moderation] bear their fortunate success: but enter upon a War against those who had been their Benefactors, and subverted all places throughout *Thracia* and the adjoining Countries. These things falling out after this manner, came to *Valens's* hearing, and made him desist from banishing those that embraced the *Homöusian* Opinion. For, being troubled at this news, he left *Antioch* forthwith, and came to *Constantinople*. Upon the same account also, the War [he had waged] against the *Christians* in that City, was finish'd. Moreover, at the same time *Eugenius*, Bishop of the *Arrian* Faction at *Antioch*, departed this life, in the fifth Consulate of *Valens*, and in *Valentinianus Junior's* first. And *Dorotheus* is constituted [Bishop] in his place.

tion. But in regard he was brought before Lucius, who at that time was in possession of the Churches there, he refused Ordination, and exhort himself after this manner to Lucius! Indeed, I account my self unworthy of the Sacerdotal Function; but if this thing be advantageous to the Affairs of the Publick, Lucius shall not \* Ordain me, for his Right Hand has been filled with Blood. When Lucius told him, that he ought not to give reproachful language, but should rather learn the Points of Religion from him; Moses replied; An account of the Points [of Religion] is not now required. For the villainous Actions you have committed against the Brethren, do sufficiently demonstrate, how Christian-like Sentiments you have. For a Christian strikes not, reviles not, does not fight; for a Servant of the Lord ought not to fight. But your Facts do loudly cry out, by those who have been exiled, who have been cast to the Wild Beasts, and who have been committed to the Flames. [Moreover,] things seen by the Eyes contain a greater and more convincing demonstration, than what is receiv'd by hearing. When Moses had said these and such-like words as these, his Friends carried him to the Mountain, that he might receive Ordination from those [Bishops] who lived in Exile there. Moses therefore having been after this manner consecrated at that time, the Saracen-War had an end put to it; and for the future Maria continued to strict an \* Alliance • Or, with the Romans, that she betrothed her Daughter to Victor the Roman Lieutenant-General. Thus much concerning the Saracens.

*That the Saracens also at that time embraced the Faith of Christ, (a Woman, by name Mavia, being their Queen,) and took one Moses, a pious and faithful Person that led a Monastick life, to be their Bishop.*

After the Emperor's departure from Antioch, the Saracens, who before had been their Allies, revolted from the Romans at that time; they were led by one Marcia a Woman, [the King] her Husband being then dead. All places therefore (a) towards the East, were at that time destroy'd by the Saracens. But an Act of Divine Providence repress'd their fury by this means. A person whose name was Moses, by extracting a Saracen, leading a Monastick life in the Solitudes, became exceedingly eminent for his Piety, Faith, and Miracles. Marcia, Queen of the Saracens, requesting she might have this person to be Bishop over her Nation, [promising] upon this condition to put an end to the War. The Roman Commanders hearing this, supposed it would be grateful, if a Peace were made upon these terms; and forthwith gave order for the performance hereof with all possible celerity. Moses therefore was seized, and brought (b) from the Solitudes to Alexandria (b) in order to his being initiated into the Sacerdotal Function; as soon as he was initiated, we read [ἐκτεθειμένος, in order to his being initiated, &c.] Further, the story concerning Moses's being made Bishop of the Saracens, and concerning the Peace made with them, Socrates has taken out of Rufinus, Book 2. chap. 6. Eccl<sup>e</sup>s. Hist. but has not observed Rufinus's order. For Rufinus has placed it about the beginning of Lucius's Episcopate, after the persecution of the

*That after Valens's departure from Antioch the Orthodox in the East ( more especially those at Alexandria ) took courage ; and having ejected Lucius, restored the Churches again to Peter, [who was returned] fortified with the Letters of Damasus Bishop of Rome.*

AT the same time that the Emperor *Valens* left *Antioch*, those persons in all places who had been persecuted, were mightily encouraged, especially the *Alexandrians*; (*a*) *Peter* at that time returning from *Rome* with the Letters of *Damasus* the *Roman* Bishop, whereby the *Homoiousian* Faith and *Peter's* Ordination were confirm'd. The Populace therefore refusing courage, turn out *Lucius*, and substitute *Peter* in his place. *Lucius* went immediately on the board a Ship, and sail'd to *Constantinople*. But *Peter*, having lived but a little while after this died, and left *Timotheus* his Brother to succeed him in his See.

returning;] and the full-point, which is (in some copies) placed before these words, must be expunged. Epiphanius Scholasticus seems to have followed this reading. *Valf.*

returning : ] and the full-point, which is (in some copies) placed before these words, must be expunged. Epiphanius Scholasticus seems to have followed this reading. *Vale!*

Valens.

## C H A P. XVIII.

That the Emperor arriving at the City Constantinople, and being reproach'd by the People upon account of the Goths, marches out of the City against the Barbarians: And coming to an Engagement with them near Adrianople, a City of Macedonia, is slain by them; after he had lived fifty years, and reigned sixteen.

[**M**oreover,] the Emperor *Valens* coming into Constantinople about the thirtieth of May, in his own sixth, and in *Valentinianus Junior's* second Consulate, finds the People in a very sad and dejected condition. For the Barbarians, who had already over-run and ruined Thracia, did now plunder and destroy the very Suburbs of Constantinople; there being then no Forces ready that were fit to make a resistance against them. But when the Barbarians attempted to make nearer approaches, even to the very City-Walls, the Citizens were grievously troubled thereat; and murmur'd against the Emperor, as if he himself had brought the Enemy thither, because he did not forthwith march out against them, but deferred the War against the Barbarians. Moreover, when the *Cirque-Sports* were exhibited, all with one consent exclaim'd against the Emperor, because he was negligent of the publick affairs. They cried out: therefore with a great deal of earnestness, *Give us Arms, and we our selves will fight.* The Emperor was highly incensed at the hearing of these Exclamations against himself; and about the eleventh of June (a) marches out of the Ci-

(a) The reading must

be [*ὁ γενναίως, marches out;*] not [*ὁ γενναίως, passet by.*] Moreover, the same days [which *Isocrates* here assigns for *Valens's* entry into, and

march out of Constantinople,] are recorded in *Idaius's Fasts*, in these words: *Valens VI. & Valentinianus II. &c.* In *Valens's* sixth and *Valentinianus's* second Consulate, *Valens Augustus* entered Constantinople, from the East, on the third of the Calends of June [that is, the thirtieth of May.] And on the same year *Valens Augustus* went out of the City to the Forts, on the third of the Ides [that is, the eleventh] of June. *Valen-*

ty, threatening that if he return'd he would punish the Constantinopolitans, both for the reproaches they then cast upon him, and also because they had heretofore been Abettors of *Procopius's* Tyranny. Having therefore said, that he would totally demolish the City, and \* Plough it up, he march'd out against the Barbarians: Whom he drove a great way from the City; and pursued them as far as *Adrianople*, a City of Thracia, situate in the Frontiers of Macedonia. Ingaging the Barbarians at that place, he ended his life on the ninth of August, in the now mention'd Consulate. This was the fourth year of the (b) two hundred eighty ninth Olympiad. 'Tis reported by some, that he was destroy'd by fire, after he had taken refuge in a certain Village, which the Barbarians assaulted and burnt. But others affirm, that having changed his Imperial habit, he ran into the midst of the main body of Foot; and when the Horse attempted a defection, and refused fighting, the Roman Foot were surrounded [by the Barbarians,] and wholly cut off in the Engagement: Amongst whom (c) it is said the Emperor lay, but was not known, his Imperial habit (whereby it might have been manifested which was he,) being not upon him. He died after the fiftieth year of his age, having govern'd the Empire thirteen years with his Brother, and reign'd three years after him. This Book contains [an account of Affairs during] the space of sixteen years.

*διανορδς, and τελανορδς, instead of διανορδς, and τελανορδς. Val-*



THE  
FIFTH BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

The P R E F A C E.

**B**Efore we begin the History of our Fifth Book, we make a request to those who shall read this Work *Gratissimi*, of ours, that they would not blame us; because designing to write an Ecclesiastick History, we in-  
*terminis* terminis therewith the Wars also which have at several times hapned, so far as we could procure a  
*an* true Relation thereof. For we do this upon several accounts. First, to bring [the Readers] to a knowledge  
of what has been transacted. Secondly, that our Readers may not be cloy'd,  
(a) by being continually detained with [a perusal of] the contentious Disagree-  
ments of Bishops, and with the Designs they framed against one another. But  
most especially, that it might be made apparent, that when the Affairs of the  
State were disturbed, those of the Church also (by a certain Sympathy as it  
were,) became distemper'd and disorder'd. For, let any Man make an Obser-  
vation, and he will find, that the Mischiefs of the State, and Troubles of the  
Church, have gather'd Strength and spread together. For, he will perceive, that  
they have either had their rise at one and the same time, or else have immediately  
followed one another. And sometimes [the Calamities] of the Church led the way; then follow the [Com-  
mations of the] State: at others, on the contrary. So that I cannot persuade myself, that the interchang-  
able Course [of these things] does proceed from any fortuitous Accident, but that they take their be-  
ginnings from our Iniquities: And that Calamities are sent for the chastisement thereof. For, ac-  
cording to the Apostle † Some Mens Sins are open before-hand, going before to Judgment: † 1 Tim.  
and some [Men] they follow after. Upon this account therefore, we have interwoven some  
Affairs transacted in the State, with our Ecclesiastick History. What was done in the Wars during  
the Reign of Constantine, because 'tis so long ago, we could not find an Account of. But we make  
a cursory mention of the Actions done since, according to the Relation thereof, which we have received  
from Persons yet living. We do without intermitting any one of them, include the Emperors in this  
our History, because from such time as they began to embrace the Christian Religion, the Affairs of the  
Church have depended upon them; and the greatest Synods have been, and at this present are  
\* convened by their determination and appointment. Moreover, we have made mention of the Arian  
Heresie, because it has disquieted the Churches. Let this be sufficient to have been said by way, of der may  
Preface. We will now begin our History. observe  
from this

Passage, in whose power it was in those days to summon General Synods.

C H A P. I.

How (after the Death of Valens) when the Goths  
laid siege to Constantinople, the Citizens sal-  
lied out of the City against them, having those Sa-  
racens who were under Mavia's Command, to  
be their Auxiliaries.

**A**FTER the Emperor Valens had ended his life  
by an unknown sort of death, the Barba-  
rians made their approaches again to the very  
Walls of Constantinople, and ruined the Suburbs  
on every side of it. The Citizens, sorely vexed

thereat, on their own accord sallied out a-  
gainst the Barbarians, every one taking what  
came next to hand for Arms. \* Dominica, the  
Emperor's Wife, gave every one that went out  
upon this piece of service, such pay out of the  
Imperial Treasury, as was usually allow'd to  
Soldiers. Some few Saracens, their Confede-  
rates, assisted them; being sent from Mavia,  
whom we have mentioned before. When the  
Citizens had after this manner made a resistance  
against them at that time, the Barbarians re-  
treated farther off from the City.

Gratianus.  
Valens. Jun.  
Theodosius.

## CHAPTER II.

That the Emperor Gratianus, having recalled the Orthodox Bishops from their Exile, drove the Heretics out of the Churches, and took Theodosius to be his Colleague in the Empire.

(a) Some men mention this Law of Gratianus's book 7. chap. 1. and so does Theodor.

**G**ratianus being together with Valentinianus Junior in possession of the Empire, and detesting his Uncle Valens's cruelty towards the Christians, recalled those who had been Exiled by him. Moreover, he made a (a) Law, that persons of all Sects might, without any distinction, securely meet together in their Oratories; only the Eusebians, Photinians, and Manicheans, were excluded out of the Churches. Being also sensible of the languishing condition of the Roman Empire, and of the growth of the Barbarians; and [perceiving also] that the State was in want of a valiant and courageous Man, he chooseth Theodosius (a person descended of a noble Family in Spain, who had perform'd many a brave piece of service in the Wars, and upon that account had by all men been long since judg'd worthy of the Empire, even before Gratianus's Election of him) to be his Colleague in the Empire. Having therefore proclaimed him Emperor in Sirmium, a City of Illyricum, in the Consulate of Ausonius and Olybrius, on the sixteenth of January he divides with him the care of managing the War against the Barbarians.

That happened in the year of Christ 378. This Law of Gratianus's is not now extant. And yet it seems to be mentioned in the fifth Law in the Theodosian Code, de fide Catholicâ. Vale.

## CHAPTER III.

What Bishops were in possession of the Precedency over the greater Churches at that time.

**A**T this time Damasus presided over the Church at Rome, who had succeeded Liberius. Cyrillus was as yet in possession of the Church at Jerusalem. The Antiochian Church (as I have said,) was divided into three parts. For Dorotheus the Arian, Successor to Eusebius, was possessor of the Churches. Of the rest one part paid obedience to Paulinus, the other to Melitius, who was recalled from Banishment. Lucius, altho' living in Exile, presided over the Arians at Alexandria: The Professors of the Homoiousian opinion in that City were headed by people of Timotheus, Successor to Peter. Demophilus was in possession of the Churches at Constantinople, who succeeded Eudoxius in the presidency over the Arian Faction. Those that abominated Communion with him, celebrated their Assemblies apart by themselves.

\* Ev. p. 179. § 1. living in Exile. Lucius was not banished; the Homoiousian opinion in that City were headed by people of Timotheus, Successor to Peter. Demophilus was in possession of the Churches at Constantinople, who succeeded Eudoxius in the presidency over the Arian Faction. Those that abominated Communion with him, celebrated their Assemblies apart by themselves.

## CHAPTER IV.

How the Macedonians, who had sent an Embassy to Damasus [Bishop] of Rome in defence of the Homoiousian Creed, returned again to their old Heresie.

**T**HE Macedonians, after their Embassy sent to Liberius, for some time held a perfect and entire communion with the Churches throughout every City; intermixing themselves with

those, who from the beginning had embraced Gratianus's that Draught of the Creed [publish'd] at Nicæa. But when the Emperor Gratianus's Law [was promulg'd, which] allow'd a Liberty to [several] Sects, they made it their business \* to hold separate assemblies again. Being met together at Antioch in Syria, they determined again, that the term Homoiousios was to be abominable, and that a communion was not in any wise to be held with those who embraced the Nicene Creed. But they proceeded not in their attempt. For many of their own party, finding fault with their [inconstancy,] because sometimes they decreed one thing, at others another, left them, and in future became firm Adherents to those that embraced the Homoiousian Creed.

Concerning what hapned at that time at Antioch, upon Paulinus's, and Melitius's account.

## CHAPTER V.

**M**oreover, at the same time arose a great difference at Antioch in Syria, upon Melitius's account. We have told you \* already, that Paulinus Bishop of Antioch, by reason of his eminent Piety, was not banish'd; and that Melitius, after he had been restored by † Julianus, was again banish'd by \* Valens, and at length recall'd in † Gratianus's Reign. At his return to Antioch, he found Paulinus very much decay'd by reason of his great age. Immediately therefore all those who were Melitius's Favourers, used their utmost endeavours to make Melitius Paulinus's \* Coadjutor. But, upon Paulinus's saying, that it was contrary to the Canons, to admit of a Coadjutor who had been Ordained by the Arians; the People make use of force, and cause him to be Consecrated in one of the Churches without the City. Hereupon a great difference arose; but afterwards the People came to an agreement upon these terms. Having assembled † those persons that were reput'd fit to be intrusted with the Bishoprick, they find them to be in all six; of which number Flavianus was one. They bound these Men by an Oath, that none of them should make an interest for the Bishoprick, after the death of one of the \* Prelates; but that they should permit the Survivor to continue possessor of the See of the Person deceased. Having given them an Oath after this manner, the People came to an agreement, nor was there any further dissention amongst them. But, the † Luciferians made a separation from the rest, for this reason, because Melitius, who had been Ordained by the Arians, was admitted to the Bishoprick. Whilst affairs at Antioch were in this posture, a very urgent occasion oblig'd Melitius to take a journey to Constantinople.

† The City is in Syria. † See Book 3. Chap. 9.

## CHAPTER VI.

That Gregorius of Nazianzum was, by a general Suffrage of the Orthodox, constituted Bishop of the Constantinopolitan Church; at which time the Emperor Theodosius (after his Victory over the Barbarians,) fell sick at Theſſalonica, and was baptized by Ascholius the Bishop.

**A**T which time, Gregorius was translated from the Bishoprick of Nazianzum to that of Constantinople, by the common suffrage of many Prelates.

Ff 3      They

Gratianus  
Valen. Jun.  
Theodosius.

They were in all an hundred and fifty. The principal Persons of the Macedonian Party, were *Eusebius* of *Cyzicum*, and *Marcianus* [Bishop] of *Lampfacus*. [Of this Sect] there were thirty six [Bishops], most of whom came from the Cities about the *Hellepont*. They met therefore in the Consulate of *Eucharius* and *Evagrius* in the month of *May*. The Emperor and the Bishops that embraced his Creed, did their utmost to bring *Eusebius* and his Followers over to their own side; putting them in remembrance of the

\*Embassy, which they had sent by *Eusebius* to *Liberius* heretofore Bishop of *Rome*; and (b) that not long since they themselves had entered into a promiscuous Communion [with the Orthodox,] on their own accord: And that they, having once acknowledg'd and profest an agreement in the [points of] Faith, did not do what was right and honest, now to attempt a subversion of what had been well and wisely determin'd by themselves. But the *Macedonians*, little regarding either admonitions, or reproofs, chose rather to profest the *Arian* opinion, than to give their assent to the *Homoeusian* Creed. Having made this answer, they departed from *Constantinople*, and wrote to their followers in every City, ordering them in no wise to give their consent to the Creed of the *Nicene* Synod.

But the [Prelates] of the other party staid [at *Constantinople*] and entred into a consult about the Ordination of a Bishop. For *Gregorius*, as we have told you a little before, refused the *Bishoprick*, and prepared for his departure to *Nazianzum*. There was a person, by name *Nestarius*, [a descendant] of a Senatorial Family, a sweet-temper'd Man, admirable for his whole course of life, (c) although he bore the *Prætor's* Office. This person the people seized upon, elected him Bishop, and he was Ordained by the hundred and fifty Prelates then present. Moreover, at the same time [the said Prelates] promulg'd a Sanction, that the Bp. of *Constantinople* should have the (d) privileges of honour after the Bishop of *Rome*, because that City was

the seat of the *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(c) Instead of [the] *Prætor's* Office, [the Bp. of *Constantinople*] had rather read [the] *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(d) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

New-Rome. They did again confirm the *Nicene* Creed, and constituted (e) Patriarchs, having made a (f) division of the Provinces; that so

(e) The first mention (if I mistake not) of *Christian Patriarchs* (so I term them, because the *Jews* had grand Officers among them thus termed, long before this time;) in any Author worthy of credit, is at this place in our *Socrates*. However, there is no small stir among Learned Men, about defining the time wherein these Patriarchs were first constituted in the Christian Church. *Valefius*, in his *Notes* on this Chap. and in his third Book of *Ecclesiastical Observations* upon *Socrates* and *Sozomenes* does in a great many words assert, that the Patriarchal Authority was confirmed by the sixth Canon of the *Nicene* Synod. This assertion of his is sufficiently confuted by Dr. *Beveridge*, in his *Annotations* upon that sixth Canon, pag. 52, &c. At which place, and in his notes on the second Canon of the *Constantinopolitan Council*, pag. 93-94 the said Learned Doctor is of opinion (agreeable to our *Socrates* here,) that Patriarchs were first constituted by this second Œcumenical Council held at *Constantinople*. Nevertheless, he grants, that most of those privileges, which Patriarchs afterwards challenged were given them by other Councils. Lastly, Dr. *Barrow's* sentiment is, that this *Dioecesan* (or Patriarchal) Form did soon after the *Nicene Council* creep into the Church, without any solemn appointment, by a spontaneous assumption and jurisdiction. See his excellent Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, pag. 240, &c.

(f) The *Roman* Emperors who preceded *Constantine* the Great, committed the chief management of affairs in the Civil State of the Empire to one, or at most to two *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*. But *Constantine* the Great introduced a new partition of the Empire, (as *Sozomenes* tells us, Book 2. of his *Hist.* pag. 439, 440 Edit. Lugd. 1611.) and divided the management thereof amongst four *Præfects* of the *Prætorium*; one whereof was *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* in the East, a second of *Asyriam*, a third of *Italy*, and a fourth of the *Gallies*. Each of these *Præfects* had several *Dioeceses* under them: every single *Dioecesis* was a Combination of divers Provinces together into one Territory. What *Dioeceses* every one of these *Præfects* had under their District, and what and how many Provinces were included in each *Dioecesis*, the learned Reader may see in *Guidas Panciroli's* *Notitia imperii, dignitatum, &c.* Edit. Lugd. 1668. From which Author we will transcribe the five *Dioeceses* (for so many he had under him,) of the *Præfect* of the *Prætorium* of the East, as they occur at fol. 3 and 4, of his Comment: because they are necessary, in order to the clear understanding of what we have to say further here. Sub dispositione virorum Illustrum *Prætorii per Orientem*, &c. Under the dispose of the Illustrous the *Præfects* of the *Prætorium* throughout the East, were these *Dioeceses*, under whom: The East, Egypt, the Asian, Pontick, and Thracian *Dioeceses*.

The Provinces of the East [or Eastern *Dioecesis*] are XV.

The Provinces of Egypt [or Egyptian *Dioecesis*] are VI.

The Provinces of the Asian *Dioecesis* X.

The Provinces of the Pontick *Dioecesis* XI.

The Provinces of the Thracian *Dioecesis* VI.

In conformity to this Model of Government in the Civil State, the Regiment in the Church (which before had been Metropolitick when the Provinces were independent on each other in Ecclesiastical Administrations,) was adapted. This *Dioecesan* Form of Government might, 'tis probable, privately creep into the Church; in that interval of time between the *Nicene* and *Constantinopolitan* Councils which is the opinion of Dr. *Barrow* (See Note (e.) in this Chapter) But, 'tis certain, it was confirm'd by the Fathers convened in this second Œcumenical Synod; which Sanction they made upon this occasion. A little before the summoning of this Synod, *Melchior* Bishop of *Antioch* in the East, took a journey to *Constantinople*, whence, together with some other Bishops, promoted *Gregorius* of *Nazianzum* to the *Constantinopolitan* See. So *Sozomenes* tells us, Book 7. Chap. 3 and 7. Soon after *Melchior* had done this, *Peter* Bishop of *Alexandria* sent some Bishops from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, who claimed *Maximus* the *Cynick* Bishop of that City. See *Sozomenes* Book 7. Chap. 9. Now, in the Political Partition of the *Roman* Empire, (as you may see by that Draught we have here given you of the

Gratianus  
Valen. Jun.  
Theodosius.

\*See Book 4. chap. 12. to what *Sozomenes* has remarked concerning this Matter in Chap. 4. of this Book. *Valef.*

+ That is, the *Orthodox*.

(c) Instead of [the] *Prætor's* Office, [the Bp. of *Constantinople*] had rather read [the] *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(d) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(e) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(f) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(g) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(h) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(i) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(j) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(k) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(l) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(m) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(n) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(o) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

(p) The *Prætor's* Office. [The Bp. of *Constantinople*] was to be consecrated by the Bishop of *Rome*, and to have the same honours as the Bishop of *Rome*.

Gregory

*Gratianus* *Gregorius* [Bishop] of *Nysa*, a City also in *Capadocia*, (who was *Basilius*'s Brother; and *Orreus* [Bishop] of *Meletina* in *Armenia*, had the (b) Patriarchate of the *Pontick Diocese* for their allotment. To *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*, and *Optimus* [Bishop] of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, was assign'd the *Asian* [Diocese]. To *Timotheus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* was given [the Superintendency over the Churches] throughout *Egypt*. The administration of the Churches throughout the *East* was committed to the Bishops of that Region, [to wit] to *Pelagius* of *Laodicea*, and *Dionorius* of *Tarsus*; but to the *Antiochian Church* were reserv'd the Privileges [of Honour], which were given to *Meletius* then present. They likewise decreed, that if need required, a Provincial Synod should determine the Ecclesiastick affairs of every Province. These Sanctions were confirm'd by the Emperor's own consent. Such was the conclusion of this Synod.

his own name; which Church the embracers of *Macedonius*'s opinion were heretofore in possession of, at such time as they were Separatists from the *Arians*; but were then expelled by the Emperor, because they refused embracing of his Faith. Moreover, at the same time *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* fell into a Distemper, and died: in praise of whom *Gregorius*, *Basilius*'s Brother, spoke a (a) Funeral Oration. *Meletius*'s Body was by his Friends convey'd to *Antioch*. Such as were favourers of *Meletius*, did again refuse to be subject to *Paulinus*; but caused *Flavianus* to be substituted in the place of *Meletius*. By reason whereof a new division did again arise amongst the People. Thus the *Antiochian Church* was afresh divided into two Parties, on account of their Bishops, not of their Faith.

## CHAP. X.

That the Emperor ordered a Synod of all the Sects to be convened, at which time *Arcadius* his Son was proclaimed Augustus; and that the *Novatians* (who as to their Faith embraced the same Sentiments with the *Homöusians*) were the only persons that had permission to hold their Assemblies within the City. But the other Hereticks were forced from thence.

BUT, there were disturbances in other Cities also [which hapned] at such time as the *Arians* were ejected out of the Churches. On account whereof I cannot choose but admire the Emperor's Judiciousness and Prudence. For he suffered not (so far as it was in his power [to prevent them,]) the Cities to be filled with tumultuous disturbances: But within a short space of time, order'd a Synod of all the Heretics to be again convened, supposing that by a mutual conference of the Bishops, one concordant opinion would prevail amongst all men. I am of opinion, that this design of the Emperor's was the cause of that fortunate success he [then] had. For, about the same time, by a particular dispensation of Divine Providence, the barbarous Nations were reduced to a subjection to him. And amongst others, *Athanasius* King of the *Goths* made a surrender of himself with all his own people unto him,

(a) who soon after died at *Constantinople*. Moreover, at that time the Emperor proclaim'd his son *Arcadius*, Augustus, in the second Consulate of \* *Morobaudes* which he bore with *Saturninus*, on the sixteenth of January. Not long after these things, the Bishops of every Sect arriv'd from all places, in the same Consulate, in the month June. The Emperor therefore having sent for *Nectarius* the Bishop, consult'd with him, what project should be made use of that the Christian Religion might be freed from diffentions, and the Church reduc'd to an union. And he said, that that controversy which caus'd a separation in the Churches, ought to be discuss'd, that so by a removal of the discord, an agreement might be effected in the Churches. At the hearing of this, *Nectarius* was full of anxiety and sollicitude. And having sent for *Agellus* then

(a) *Athanasius* King of the *Goths*, entered *Constantinople* in the Consulate of *Eucherius* and *Evagrius*, on the eleventh of January, and died on the twenty fifth of the same Month, as is recorded in *Isidore*'s *Epist.* and in *Aurellinus*'s *Chronicon*. On the year following, which was the year of Christ 382, when *Amatius* and *Syzgirus* were Consul, the whole *Gothick Nation* surrendered itself to *Theodosius*, on the 3d of October, as says the same *Isidore*. Vale.

\* In the Greek he is called *Morobaudes* here, and hereafter.  
† His name in the Greek is *Saturninus*.

## CHAP. IX.

That the Emperor *Theodosius* [ordered] the Body of *Paulus* Bishop of *Constantinople* to be honourably translated [from the place of his] Exile. At which time also *Meletius* [Bishop] of *Antioch* departed this life.

AT that time the Emperor translated the Body of *Paulus* the Bishop from the City *Ancyra*; whom *Philippus* Prefect of the Praetorium had banish'd upon *Macedonius*'s account, and had order'd him to be strangled in *Cucusus* a Town of *Armenia*, as I have \* already mention'd. [Theodosius] therefore, having receiv'd [his Body] with much honour and reverence, deposited it in the Church which now bears note (a.)

\* See *Socrates*, Book 2. Chap. 26. & Book 2. Chap. 16. note (a.)

(a) This Funeral Oration of *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* is now extant amongst the Works of *Gregorius*, Nysaeus, Vale.

Grati- then Bishop of the Novatians, (in regard he was  
Valen. then a person that embraced the same sentiments  
Jan. with him as to the Faith) he makes known to  
Theodas him the Emperor's intent. He, as to other things,  
was indeed a very pious person; but being not  
very able to maintain a dispute concerning the  
Doctrine [of Faith], he proposes his Reader  
to manage a Conference. But *Sisinnius* (an eloquent  
Man, and well-experienced in affairs, one who  
had an accurate skill in the Expositions of the  
Sacred Scriptures, and in Philosophick opinions)  
knew that these Disputations do not only  
not unite Diffinitions, but also raise Heresies to  
an higher degree of contention. Upon which  
account he gave *Neftarius* this advice: In regard  
he very well knew, that the Ancients avoided  
the attributing a beginning of Existence to the  
Son of God; (for they apprehended him to be  
co-eternal with the Father;) he advises him to  
shun Logical disputes; and to produce for evi-

(b) Τὰς λαμβάνειν τῶν παλαι-  
ων. *Christophorus* renders these  
words thus: The forms of the Creed  
delivered by the Ancients. *Epi-  
phanus Scholasticus* thus: The Tra-  
ditions of the Ancients. I like nei-  
ther Version. For *Socrates* means  
the Books of the Ancient Doctors  
of the Church; and more espe-  
cially, the interpretations of Sa-  
cred Scripture put forth by them.  
[This certain, what he terms  
*ἐκδόσεις* [Expositions] here, he  
does a little after call τὰς ἀ-  
κριβῆς ἀποδείξεις, the Books of  
the Ancients. Wherefore I have  
here chosen to render it Ex-  
positions, as *Misulus* does. For,  
what *Socrates* here calls ἀκριβῆς,  
a little lower he terms ἀ-  
κριβῆς ἀποδείξεις, the Exposition  
of the Ancients. Valc.]  
(c) Instead of ἀνεσχηματισ-  
τος, accommodated; it must un-  
doubtedly be σερραματισθῶν,  
flourished.] Which Emendation  
is confirmed by *Epiphanius Schol-  
asticus*: non tunc hic renders it:  
De antiquis Ecclesiæ Doctrinis,  
qui ante divisionem floruerunt,  
constantem the Ancient Doctors of the  
Church, who flourished before the  
Division. Valc.]

*Neftarius* having heard all this from *Sisinnius*,  
goes in great haste to the Palace; and makes  
the Emperor acquainted with the advice which  
had been given him. The Emperor embraces  
it with much eagerness, and handled the mat-  
ter prudently. For, without discovering his de-  
sign, he ask'd [the Chiefs of the Hereticks] this  
one question, Whether they had any respect for,  
and admitted of those Doctors of the Church  
[who lived] before [the rise of] the diffenti-  
on? Upon their non-refusal of them, and their  
affirming that they highly revered and honour'd  
them as being their Masters; the Emperor en-  
quired of them again, whether they would ac-  
quiesce in them as witnesses of the Christian  
Religion worthy be credited? When the Chiefs  
of the Sects and their *Legicians* (for they had a-  
mongst them many persons well-provided for  
the combat of dispute;) heard this, they knew  
not what to do. For every one of them fell  
into a disagreement of opinion; some affirming  
that the Emperor's Proposal was good; others  
[thinking] it not conducive to their design:  
For some were one way affected towards the  
Books of the Ancients, others another. Nor

could they any longer agree amongst them-  
selves; and they differed not only from other  
Sects, but those of the same Sect differ'd one from  
the other. Concordant malice therefore, like  
the tongue of those ancient Giants, was divided,  
and their Tower of mischief demolish'd. After  
the Emperor perceived their confused + Or, Dis-  
tention, and [was sensible] that they confided in  
diffipation only, and not in the exposition of  
the Ancients, he betook himself to a second pro-  
ject: And orders every Sect to (d) set forth [and o-  
Cynel deliver in] to him in writing a draught of that  
Creed which they own'd. Then those [of every  
Sect] amongst them that were skillfullest and  
most eloquent, wrote their own opinion, making their  
use of a great deal of caution and circumspection  
in their expressions. A day also was pitcht upon  
whereon the Bishops of each Sect upon summons  
hadra, he met at the Palace. At which time were present read,  
as *Neftarius* and *Agellus*, Prelates of the *Homoeousian* *Nicophorus*  
Creed; of the *Arians*, *Demophilus*; of the (e) *Eunomi-  
ans*, *Eunomius* himself; of those that embraced  
*Macedonius*'s opinion, *Eusebius* [Bishop] of *Cyzicum*. And he,

(d) [and deliver in] to him in writing, a Draught,] &c. *Valc.*  
(e) This Draught of the Creed, which *Eunomius* then presented  
to the Emperor *Theodosius*, I have by me in Manuscript; for which I  
am obliged to the most Famous and Learned *Emilius Bigotius*. In  
the *Bavarian Manuscript*, and in *Livingius*'s Copy, this Draught of  
the Creed was placed at the latter end of *Gregorius Nyssenus*'s Books a-  
gainst *Eunomius*, as *Gresser* attests. But, in the *Florentine Copy*, from  
which *Bigotius* transcribed this Creed, it was placed at the close of the  
Books. Nor will it be useless, to insert it here. For, though it  
contains *Eunomius*'s whole Impiety; yet some things occur in it, as  
no wise despicable.

## EUNOMIUS'S CREED.

Τὸ ὄν ὡς ἑαυτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ οὐκ ἰσχυροῦ Χριστοῦ, We Whereas God and our Sa-  
vour Jesus Christ, according to a most just sentence, has said, that he will  
confess before God and the Father, those which should confess Him before  
men, and that he will deny such as should deny Him; and whereas the A-  
postolick Doctrine does exhort us, to be always ready to give [an account  
to everyone that asketh it: Whereas [lastly,] the Imperial commands do  
require this Confession; with all readings We confess, what our Sentiments  
are, and that We Believe in one only true God, according to his own Do-  
ctrine, not honouring Him with a false voice. For He cannot lie: But is  
by nature and Glory truly one God; without beginning, always, and eter-  
nally alone. Nor parted or divided into many as to his Substance, according  
to which he is one; nor existing sometimes one, at others another, nor  
receding from what he is: nor formed from our Substance into three Per-  
sons. For he is altogether and wholly one, continuing always alone in one  
and the same manner. Having no companion of his Divinity, no partaker  
of his Glory, no Consort of his power, no Assessor of his Kingdom. For  
he is one and the only Omnipotent God, God of Gods, King of Kings,  
and Lord of Lords. The Highest over all the earth, the Highest in the heavens,  
the Highest in the Highest, the Heavenly things, true in being what he  
is, and always continuing so. True in his Works, true in his Words.  
The beginning of all Subjection, Power, Empire. Above Conception and  
free from change, as being incorrupt. Not dividing his own Substance in  
begetting, nor being the same begetting and begotten, or existing the same  
Father and Son. For he is Incorrupt. In working no wife moving  
matter, or members, or natural instruments. For he stands in need of no-  
thing. WE BELIEVE also in the Son of God, the only Begotten God,  
the First begotten of every Creature, Christ the true God, who subsistent  
not (before he was,) named the Son without Generation, begotten before  
every Creature. Not increased. The Beginning of the Ways of God [in  
order to his] Works, and being the Word in the beginning; not with-  
out a beginning. The living Wisdom, the operating Truth, the subsisting  
Power, the begotten Life; as being the Son of God giving life to the liv-  
ing; and restoring Life to the dead; the true Life enlightening every  
Man that cometh into the World: Good, and the Author of Good things;  
in regard he is begotten of the Goodness and Power of the Father: who hath  
not divided with him that has imparted the Dignity, nor with any other,  
his Father's Substance, or Kingdom. But by Generation is made: Glorious,  
and the Lord of Glory. Who has received Glory from the Father, but has  
not partaken of the Father's Glory. For, the Glory of the Almighty  
is incommunicable, as he himself has said, I will not give my Glory to  
another. Who has been glorified by the Father before ages. Who has  
been glorified by the Father through ages, and throughout the whole ra-  
tional and created Substance. Whom the whole celestial Shire dar-  
dard. For he is the Lord and King of Glory, as being the Son of God and  
God; the Framer of things immortal and mortal, the Framer of spirits  
and of all flesh. For all things were made by him, and without him  
nothing was made. The King and Lord of all Life and breath of those  
[Creatures] that were made by him. For all things were de-vised  
unto him by the Father, according to his holy expression, and the Father  
hath





*Gratianus* *Fufina*. (Mother to *Valentinianus Augustus*.) a Woman that was a *Arian*, during her Husband's life, had no power to be mischievous towards the Embracers of the *Homoian* Creed. But after [her Husband's death,] when her Son was very young, she went to *Millain*, and raised great disturbances against *Ambrosius* the Bishop, issuing out an Order that he should be banish'd. And whilst the People made a resistance [against this Order,] out of their excessive love to *Ambrosius*, and oppos'd those that endeavour'd to hale him away into Exile; in that interim news came, that *Gratianus* was treacherously slain by the Tyrant *Maximus*. For *Andragathius Maximus's* Lieutenant (being hid in a Carriage put into the form of a woman's Horse-litter, and carried by Mules; and having given the Guards a Command, that they should before-hand spread abroad a report, that the Emperor *Gratianus's* Wife was in that Litter;) meets the Emperor before *Lyons*, a City in *France*, passing the River. The Emperor supposing it to be his Wife, was not aware of the Treachery: but, as a blind man does into a Ditch, fell into the hands of his Enemy. For *Andragathius* leapt out of the Litter on a sudden, and slew *Gratianus*. *Gratianus* therefore ended his life in the Consulate of \* *Marobaudes* and *Saturninus*, after he had reigned fifteen years, and lived twenty four. This accident cool'd the Emperor's Mothers heart against *Ambrosius*. Moreover, *Valentinianus*, though against his will, complied with the necessity of that juncture, and admitted *Maximus* to be his Colleague in the Empire. At which time *Probus*, afraid of *Maximus's* power, resolves upon a retreat into those parts of the Empire nearer to the East. Immediately therefore he departs out of *Italy*; and arriving in *Illyricum*, he fix'd his residence (b) in *Thessalonica* [a City] of *Macedonia*.

\* Or, *Marobaudes*.

(b) I will here propose my doubt to the Reader. I am of opinion therefore, that *Thessalonica*, which was the chief City of *Macedonia*, was under *Theodosius's* Empire. My reasons are; (1.) because *Theodosius*, after he had been Proclaimed *Augustus* by *Gratianus* at *Sirmium*, went to *Thessalonica*, resided there a long while, and receiv'd the Embassies of the Cities of the East; and when he fell sick, he was baptized by *Abolus* Bishop of that City, as *Zosimus*, *Prosser*, *Socrates*, and others do relate. (2.) During his Residence in that City, he published many Laws, which are extant in the *Theodosius Code*, in the *Titles de file* *Civilibus*, and *de Hæreticis*; which Laws are dated at *Thessalonica*. (3.) Lastly, in the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, at which 'tis manifest the Eastern Bishops only were present, *Abolus* Bishop of *Thessalonica* is reckoned, as may be seen in the eighth Chapter of this Book. After *Theodosius's* times, there is no doubt but *Thessalonica* was under the Eastern Emperors. For 'twas the chief City of the Oriental *Illyricum*, which contained *Macedonia* and *Dacia*, as we are informed from *The Notitia* of the Roman Empire. But, whether or no it was under the Eastern Emperors, about the beginning of *Theodosius's* Reign; may, as before, be doubted. For *Aurelius Victor*, and *Zonaras* do expressly affirm, that *Gratianus* gave *Theodosius* only the East and the *Indies*. And *Zosimus* relate, that *Valentinianus Junior* (upon his division of the Empire with his Brother,) had *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum*. Neither had *Constantius*, or *Valens* (who governed the Eastern Empire before *Theodosius*) *Illyricum* under their Dominion. In the times of *Valens*, 'tis certain, *Misernius Præfekt* of the *Pretorian*, governed *Italy*, *Africa*, and *Illyricum* at the same time; as *Amm. Marcellinus* attests. Notwithstanding, *Valens* (after his Brother *Valentinianus's* death) seems to have annex'd *Macedonia* and *Dacia* to his own Empire, by the consent of his Brother's Sons. Which Collection I make from the close of *Amm. Marcellinus's* thirty first Book; where he says, that *Valens's* Soldiers and Palatines, who had been besieged by the Goths at *Adriople*, went out after that Siege was broken up, and hasten'd some two *Dacia*, others into *Macedonia*, supposing, that *Valens* had retired thither. See *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 468. Edit. Par. 1636. Valef.

## C H A P. XII.

Valen. Jun.  
Theodosius.

That the Emperor *Theodosius* having provided a numerous Army against *Maximus*, (at which time *Flaccilla* bore him his Son *Honorius*;) left *Arcadius* at *Constantinople*; but went himself to *Millain*, where he came to an Engagement with the Tyrant.

BUT the Emperor *Theodosius* was extremely full of care and sollicitude, and formed a very powerful Army against the Tyrant; being afraid lest he should treacherously murder *Valentinianus Junior* also. At the same time arrived Embassadors from the *Persians*, requesting Peace of the Emperor. Moreover, then also a Son was born to the Emperor, named *Honorius*, of whom his Wife *Flaccilla* was deliver'd, in the Consulate of \* *Richomerus* and *Clearchus*, on the \* Or, ninth of September. In the same Consulate died *Agelius* Bishop of the *Novatians*, a little before [ *Honorius's* birth. ] On the year following, whereon *Arcadius Augustus* bore his first Consulate with *Bauton*, *Timotheus* Bishop of *Alexandria* ended his life, who was succeeded in that See by *Theophilus*. A year after this, *Demophilus* Bishop of the *Arians* Herefe, concluded his life. The *Arians* sent for one *Marinus*, a Bishop of their own Herefe, out of *Thracia*, whom they intrusted with the Bishoprick. But *Marinus* sat [Bishop] not long. For under him the *Arian* Sect was divided into two Parties, as we shall declare hereafter. Wherefore they sent for *Deotobus* out of *Antioch* in *Syria*, and constituted him their Bishop. In the interim, the Emperor proceeded to a War against *Maximus*, and left his Son *Arcadius Augustus* at *Constantinople*. Arriving at *Thessalonica*, he finds (a) *Valentinianus* and those about him in great sadness and anxiety, because out of necessity they had admitted the Tyrant to be Emperor, as it were. But *Theodosius*, in outward appearance, gave no indication of his mind [in favour of either side.] For he neither (b) rejected, nor admitted *Maximus's* Embassy. But he could not endure the sight of a Tyrannical Government over the *Romans*, cover'd with the specious pretence of an Imperial name. Having therefore musterd his Military Forces, he march'd to (c) *Millain*. For thither *Maximus* was already come.

(a) The Phœcis, τὰς εὐδαίμονας, which Theodosius renders ill, thus, Valentinian's Soldiers. For himself.

who was on this year (when *Valentinian* himself was the third time Consul, with *Eutropius*), conquer'd by *Maximus*, (as *Sulpicius* informs us, in his first Book concerning the *Life of Marinius*) and together with his Mother *Fufina*, his *Præfekt* and *Comites*, fled to *Thessalonica*. Valef. (b) But *Zosimus* says, that *Maximus's* Embassy was received by *Theodosius*, and that he acknowledged him to be Emperor and admitted of his Statues; and ordered *Cyregius Præfekt* of the *Pretorian* in the East, that *Maximus's* Statues should be propoed to publick view at *Alexandria*, and that he should declare to the people that *Maximus* was Colleague of his Empire. Which thing *Sigonius* (in his Book de *Occidental Imperio*) has done ill to place on the year of Christ 364, when *Richomerus* and *Clearchus* were Consuls; in regard it was done in *Valentinianus's* third Consulate, which he bore with *Eutropius*, on the year of Christ 367. For, on this year *Cyregius* was *Præfekt* of the *Pretorian*. Valef.

(c) He should rather have said *Aquileia*: For thither *Maximus* went, as *Zosimus* and the other *Chronologers* do inform us. Valef.

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Disturbance raised at *Constantinople* by the *Arians*.

ABOUT the same time that the Emperor was busied in the War, the *Arians* in *Constantinople* raised a disturbance, by this Artifice. 'Tis usual

Valen. usual with \* Men to frame stories of things they  
Theodofius. are ignorant of. And if at any time they have  
\* This Cha gotten an occasion, they spread greater Ru-  
raller does mours concerning the things they have a mind  
well befit to, being always extremely desirous of Changes  
too many and Alterations. This was the case of *Conflan-*  
Persons of tinople at that time. For some framed and divul-  
our own ged one thing concerning the War which was  
Nation at waged at that great distance, others another ;  
this jun- always presuming upon the worst event of af-  
dure. fairs. And when nothing of action had hap-  
pened in the War, as if themselves had been Specta-  
tors upon the very Spot, they discours'd concern-  
ing things which they knew not : [to wit.]  
that the Tyrant had gotten a Victory over the  
Emperor's Army, That thus many were slain on  
this side, and so many on that ; and that the Em-  
peror was just upon falling into the Tyrant's  
hands. Then the *Arians*, at that time highly in-  
censed, (for they were sorely vex'd because those  
that had been persecuted by them heretofore,  
were now in possession of the Churches with-  
in the City : ) began to enlarge the Reports.  
But afterwards, some of the stories that were  
told, induced even the Coyners themselves of  
these false rumours to believe, that the reports  
they had framed and divulged, were not feign'd  
but undoubtedly true. For, such persons as had  
taken them up upon hear-say, affirmed to the  
Authors of these Lies, that the account of Af-  
fairs was exactly agreeable to what they had  
heard from themselves. Whereupon, the *Arians*  
became embolden'd, brake out into an irrational  
violence ; threw fire into the Palace of *Nectari-*  
*us* the Bishop, and burnt it. This was done  
in *Theodofius's* second Consulate, [which he bore]  
with *Cynegius*.

## CHAPTER XIV.

*Concerning the Emperor Theodosius's Victory, and  
the Tyrant's Overthrow.*

But whilst the Emperor was upon his march towards the Tyrant, the Forces under *Maximus's* Command, inform'd of the great military preparations, could not so much as resist an assault of the same thereof ; but, being put into a consternation, bound the Tyrant, and deliver'd him to the Emperor. He was slain in the same Confularé, on the (a) twenty seventh of *August*. But *Andragathius* (he that slew *Gratianus* with his own hand,) after he understood that *Maximus* was routed, cast himself into the adjacent River, and was drowned. Then, both the Victorious Emperors made their Entry into *Rome*. *Honorius*, *Theodosius's* Son, a Child very young, was with them. For after *Maximus* was vanquish'd, his Father sent for him

from Constantinople. They continued therefore at Rome, celebrating their triumphal Festivals. At which time Theodosius the Emperor shewed a signal instance of his Goodness and Clemency; towards (b) Symmachus, a person that had been Consul. For, this Symmachus was the eminentest person of the Senate at Rome, and was admired for his great skill in the Roman Literature. There are now extant many Orationes of his written in the Latin tongue. But, in regard he had composed an Oration in praise of Maximus whilst he was alive, and had spoken it to him in publick, he was afterwards charg'd with the crime of High-treason. Upon this account he was afraid of a capital punishment, and took sanctuary in the Church. But the Emperor had so great a reverence for the Christian Religion, that he not only highly honour'd the Prelates of his own Faith; but gave gracious reception to the Novatians also, who embraced the Homousian Creed. Therefore, that he might gratifie Leontius Bishop of the Novatian Church at Rome, he pardon'd Symmachus's crime. Symmachus having his pardon granted him, wrote an Apologeticke to the Emperor Theodosius. Thus this War, which at the beginning seem'd to threaten [the Empire] with great calamity, was terminated by this sudden conclusion.

## CHAPTER XV.

*Concerning Flavianus of Antioch.*

AT the same time these affairs were transacted (a) at Antioch in Syria. After the death of *Paulinus*, the people who had been his Followers, had an aversion for *Flavianus*. Upon which account they caus'd *Euvagrius* to be ordained Bishop of their own party. He having not long surviv'd his Ordination, no other person was afterwards constituted in his place; which was effected by the diligence and endeavours of *Flavianus*. Notwithstanding, those that had an aversion for *Flavianus*, in regard he had violated his \* Oath, kept their assemblies apart by themselves. But *Flavianus* left no stone unturned, (as the saying is), that he might bring these persons also to own a subjection to him. Which he effected soon after, [to wit:] when he had appeased the anger of *Theophilus* then Bishop of *Alexandria*, by whose intercession *Flavianus* procured a reconciliation also with *Damasus* Bishop of *Rome*. For both these Prelates had been incensed against *Flavianus*, not only on account of his perjury, but also in regard he had given an occasion of a separation, amongst that people who had been brought to an agreement. *Theophilus* therefore being pacified, sent *Isidorus* a Presbyter, and reconciled *Damasus*, as yet offended; telling him, 'twas very conducive for the effecting an union amongst the people, to pass by the fault which *Flavianus* had committed. Communion being after this manner restored to *Flavianus*; the people of *Antioch* were within a small space of time reduced to a reconciliation. Such was the conclusion of this affair at *Antioch*. For the *Arians* in that City were ejected out of the Churches, and had their meetings in the Suburbs thereof. Moreover, in this interim died *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, who was succeeded by *Johannes*,

ver'd him to the Emperor. He was slain in the same Confulate, on the (a) twenty feventh of Auguft. But *Andragathus*, the thawful *Gratianus* with his own hand, after he underftood that *Maximus* was routed, caft himfelf into the adjacent River, and was drowned. Then, both the Victorious Emperors made their Entry into Rome. *Honorius*, *Theodofius*'s Son, a Child very young, was with them. For after *Maximulus* was vanquifhed, his Father fent for him in *Hydruntum*. The fame is recorded in thofe *Fefiti*; which *Jacobus sirmondus* has publifhed under *Maximus*'s name. For, in thefe words there: *Theodofius Aug. II. & Cynegio Cof. &c.* In the fecond Confulate of *Theodofius Auguftus* [which he bore] with *Theodofius Auguftus*, the Tyrant, that publick Enemy, slain by *Theodofius Auguftus*, three Miles from Aquileia, on the fifth of the Calends of Auguft [that is, on the 28th of July] *Alfo*, his Son *Viftor* is slain a few days after, in the Gallia, by *Theodofius*'s Comes. Further, this *Viftor* had been created firft *Cefar*, and then *Auguftus*, by his Father; as we are informed from this old Infcription recorded by *Sigonius*, in his 9th Book, de *Occidentalibus Imperio*. DD. NN. MAG. C. C. MAXIMO, ET FL. VICTORI PIISS. FELICIBUS SEMPER AUGUSTIS BONO R. P. NATIS. Where you fee *Maximus* has two *Pranominis*, to wit, *Magnus Clemens*, *Sulpitius Severus* (Book a. *Hiſtor. Sacr.*) calls him *Clemens Maximus*. But, by *Oroſius* he is termed *Magnus Maximus*. Valef.

## CHAPTER XVI.

*Concerning the demolition of the Idol-Temples at Alexandria; and concerning the Fight betwixt the Pagans and Christians, which hapned on that account.*

At the very same time, this disturbance also happened at *Alexandria*. By the solicitation of *Theophilus* the Bishop, the Emperor issued forth an Order, for the demolition of the Heathen Temples at *Alexandria*; and gave command, that this Order should be put in execution by *Theophilus*'s care. *Theophilus* being thus empower'd, us'd his utmost endeavours in order to the exposing the Heathen Mysteries to ignominy and contempt. He cleans'd *Mithra's* Temple, and destroy'd that belonging to *Serpis*. He also expos'd to publick view the bloody Mysteries

\* That is, *Mitra's Temple*: what their Mysteries were, *Jarman* has told us, Book 3, chap. 2.

+ Pieces of Wood made in fashion of a Man's privities.

at *Alexandria*, more especially those that profess  
Philosophy, upon sight of the doing hereof, were  
unable to repress their discontent; but made  
\*Sec Bouk  
3: chap. 2,  
an addition to the \* former tragic actions which  
they had perpetrated. For, upon a sign given  
which they had agreed on before-hand, they  
made an unanimous assault upon the *Christians*,  
and murder'd every one they met: Moreover,  
the *Christians* defended themselves; and thus  
mischief was attended with mischief. This fight  
was continued so long, till a satiety of slaughter  
put an end to it. Few of the Heathens were de-  
stroy'd in this conflict; but of the *Christians*  
[here fell] a great many. The wounded on  
both sides were innumerable. After the perpe-  
tration of this action, a fear seiz'd the Heathen  
who dreaded the Emperor's anger. Wherefore,  
having done what they pleas'd, and satiated  
their minds with slaughters, they absconded,  
some in one place, others in another. More-  
over, many of them fled from *Alexandria*, and  
dispers'd to themselves into several Cities. Amongst  
which number were the two *Grammarians*. (a)

(c) Some  
etymology  
of this Hel-  
ladius the Gram-  
marians, are  
extant in  
Petrus of  
Bibbione's  
Valer.

† Πιεστης; that is, *The Ape's Priest*. For the *Egyptians* worship an Ape, as *Lucian* tells us, in his piece, *De Συστήν*.

(3) Strabo (Geog. 17.806) tells us that his friend, the Prefect named Euvargis, is the Commander-in-chief of the Militia in Egypt; he names Romanus Eumypius likewise (in the Life of Aelius), names both these persons; and attests that they gave a great assistance to Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, in destroying the Temple of Serapis. I will relate Eumypius's own Words here, because they want correcting; (the Eunap. in Vita Aedifici. p. 63. Edit. Colon. Allobrog. 1616 : ) καὶ τὰς τοῦ Κισσοῦ ἱερὰ ταύτης ἐσάραξαν· ἐπὶ οὐδ' αὖτε τὴν βασιλείαν, ὅθεν καὶ ὁ θεοσεβὴς καὶ ἀπεργασθεὶς τὸν καταρτισμὸν τῆς πόλεως ἐπέστειλε· καὶ τοὺς ἀποστάτας πάλιν αὖτις καταλάβετο· "Εὐμύριος δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἀφ' οὗρου Ποντοῦ ἀπὸ τῆς ναυῆς ἀγέρωντος ἐγένετο· ἀπόδοξεν· That is, the Temples about the City were destroyed; and the King was slain; and the Emperor, who had undertaken the Conquest, fled; and the People, who were the Emperor's Enemies, returned home; and the exorable Persons, who were certain Eumyrians, that reign'd over the haughty Giants: Eucteus being then Governor of the Civil affairs, and Romanus intrusted with the Command of the Militia throughout Egypt. On my peril, correct it

thus: "Εὐαγγέλιον τῆς πόλεως Ἰερουζαλὴμ, Εὐαγγέλιον being then Governor of the Civil affairs. In the Theodosian Code, (cited de Paganis), there is a Law extant of Theodosius, directed to this Εὐαγγέλιος Prefect of Egypt, and to Romulus Comes of the Illiriae throughout Egypt; which Law was dated at Aquileia, in the Consulate of Tetastianus and Symmachus. From which Law it may be concluded that Severian's Temple was demolished at Alexandria, in the year of Christ 390. And that the Temple was destroyed in 390, and says, this Temple was destroyed when Timotheus and Prometheus were Consul; which was the year of Christ 380. And this, in my judgment, is the truer. For Οὐγενιος Prefect of the Praetorium, at his being sent into Egypt, had a command from Theodosius, that he should pull down the Hearen-Temples; as Zosimus relates in his first Book. And he had executed that command, as Idatius attests in his 388. Note Οὐγενιος died in his own Consulate, on the year of Christ 388. Valse.

The Temples therefore were ruin'd, but the Images of their Gods were molten into Caldrons, and into other utensils necessary for the *Alexandrian Church*; the Emperor having given [the Images of] the Heathen-Gods [to that Church,] for the relief of the Poor. Wherefore *Theophilus* brake in pieces all [the Images of] the Gods, gave one, to wit, the Image of the fore-mention'd God, which he order'd to be preserv'd unmelted, and caused it to be set up in a publick place; lest (said he) the Heathens should in Ages to come deny, that they had been Worshippers of such Gods. At which action [of *Theophilus's*,] *Ammonius the Grammarians* was, to my knowledge, highly disgusted: for he was wont to say, that the Religion of the *Gentiles* had suffer'd most horrid abuses, (c) because but one Image only was not melted down; but was preserv'd merely to render *Gentilism* ridiculous. But *Helladius* made his boasts in some persons hearing, that in the Conflict he had slain nine men with his own hand. Such were the doings in *Alexandria* at that time.

(c) Instead of [ *lra mñ xj* ] it should be [ *ʃti mñ xj* ], because but, &c. ]

Image of their God *Simius*, which *Theophilus* had ordered to be reserved on purpose. And thus *Epiphanius*, *Scholasticus* has explained this place in *Socrates*, much better than *Christopherson*; who understood those Words of *Socrates* [Ἰσθὺς τῶν Θεῶν] as spoken concerning a certain (or rather uncertain) God. *Vale!*

**Socrates**  
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## CHAPTER XVII.

*Concerning the Hieroglyphical Letters found in the Temple of Serapis.*

[Moreover,] at such time as Serapis's Temple was rifled and demolish'd, there were Letters found [in it] engraven on stones; (a) which [Letters] they call Hieroglyphical. These characters had the forms and resemblances of Crosses. When the *Christians* and *Heathens* saw these characters, each party \* adapted them to their own Religion. For the *Christians*, who affirm that the Cross is the sign of Christ's salutary Passion, thought this Character was properly and peculiarly theirs. The *Heathens* alledg'd it was some thing [that belonged in] common both to *Christ*, and to *Serapis*; for a Character [said they] made in form of a Cross, betokens something amongst the *Christians*, another amongst the *Heathens*.

(4) Instead of [τὰ καλὴ γλῶσσις] *εὐλογημένη*, called an *Hieroglyphick*;] it ought rather to be thus written [τὰ καλὴ μῦθα *ἱερα* γλῶσσις], which [Letters] they call

*Hieroglyphical* : ] to Epiphanius *Scolasticus* seems to have read. *Inde*, *sacres* and *Sacramen* do relate, that these *Hieroglyphical* Letters were found in the Temple of *Serapis*, cut upon the Wall thereof. But *Africanus* does not say they were found there: He tells us rather, that they were kept and expounded at *Canopus*. At his second Book Eccles. Hist. chap. 26; these are his Words: Jam vero Canopi quæ enumerat superfluitatis flagitia ! &c. But now, who can enumerate the superfluous impieties at Canopus? Where, under a pretext of their sacerdotal Letters, (for so they call the ancient Letters of the Egyptians :) there was in a manner a publick School of Magic Art. Valef.

G g Whilest





in force to this day amongst other Heresies; where the term Canon is manifestly taken for a Rule and Decree. But Petavius is not of Petavius's opinion. His reasons are. (1) The propriety of the Greek tongue admits not of this sense. (2) If a new Canon were then made concerning the institution of a Penitentiary Presbyter, he queries, where, and in what Council it was published. Valerius's Sentiment therefore is; that the term Canon is here to be taken for the *Maricula*, or Roll of Ecclesiastical Officers belonging to the Church. In which sense, he says, 'tis taken in the 2<sup>d</sup> Can. Council. Chalcedon. pag. 112. Edit. Bevereg. where ('tis true) it must be taken in a more comprehensive sense, than to signify the Clerus only; that is, those who are ordained by imposition of hands: because the Fathers in that Canon speak of all the Ecclesiastical Officers, such as were the *Oeconomus*, the *Defensores*, the *Manfionarii*, &c. concerning whom see Dr. Bevereg's Notes, pag. 109. But, whether it is to be used in this sense here, I determine not; let the Learned judge.

Valen. Jun. Theodosius. such Persons as had sinned after Baptism, might make a confession of their Crimes (c) before this Presbyter instituted for that purpose. This Canon is in force to this day amongst other Heresies. Only the *Homosufians*, and who embraced the same Sentiments with them, as to the Faith, the *Novatians*, have refused [making use of] the Penitentiary Presbyter. For the *Novatians* admitted not of this \* additional Function at its first institution. But [the *Homosufians*] who are at this present in possession of the Churches, after they had retained [the Office of the Penitentiary] for a long time, abrogated it in the times of Neftarius the Bishop, on account of this accident which happened in the [Constantinopolitan] Church. There came a (d) Gentlewoman to the Penitentiary [of the Church of Constantinople];

we have declared at note (a.) in this chapter, mostly in Mr. Hooker's own words. Which incomparable Author, in the forecited Book of his Eccles. Polity, has by unexceptionable authorities made it evident, (whatever the Learned Reader may find said to the contrary by Baronius at the year of Christ 56, by Petavius in his *Diatriba* about this point, which occurs at pag. 225. of his notes on Epiphanius, or by Bellarmine;) that the ancient *ἐξουσιαι*, or confession, which the Primitive use to speak of in the exercise of repentance, was made openly in the hearing of the whole both Ecclesiastical Consistory and Assembly. After the institution of Penitentiary Presbyters in every Church, this public confession was abrogated; and such as were guilty of Crimes, confessed them not *πρὸς τὸ λαὸν*, in the presence of the people, but (as Socrates here says) *πρὸς τὸν ἐπισκοπὸν καὶ τὸν πρεσβύτερον*, before this Presbyter instituted for that purpose. The same is confirmed by Sozomen, Book 7. Chap. 16. where he tells us, how a Presbyter Elected to the Office of a Penitentiary, was to be qualified. One of his qualifications was, that he ought to be *ἐκκλησιαστικός*, a person that could hold his tongue: by which 'tis plain, that the confessions made to him were private, and to be kept concealed.

\* That is, the Office of the Penitentiary. For these Hereticks admitted no Person to their Communion upon any repentance, who was once known to have sinned after Baptism: See Engeb. Eccles. Hist. Book 6. Cap. 43. which practice of theirs, how fair lower their pretence might seem, made sinners not the fewer, but the closer, and the more obdurate.

+ To wit, from the Persecution under the Emperor Decius, till after the Election of Neftarius to the Episcopate of Constantinople.

(d) Valerius, in his note here, starts this query; whether the confession made by this Gentlewoman were publick, or private? In order to the answering whereof, he remarks, that the confit twice before the Penitentiary. At her first confession, she made known all her sins; whereupon the discoverer her having been deputed by the Deacon. These two confessions (continues Valerius) were different both in time and manner. The first was of all her faults *κατὰ μέρος*, particularly (as Socrates words it;) the second was of one crime only. All which may perhaps be true. After this remark made, Valerius concludes both these confessions to have been secret; and which (says he) is apparent from these two reasons; (1) because publick confession was never in use in the Church: (2) in regard Socrates says, that this Woman accused not herself before the People, but before the Penitentiary. Valerius's first reason appears evidently false, not only from Mr. Hooker's Words quoted before, and the unquestionable authorities he there produces to prove what he asserts; but from a passage in Sozomen, Book 7. Chap. 16. where that Ecclesiastical Historian, (giving reasons of the alteration which the *Grecians* made, by abrogating publick confession, and instituting Penitentiaries throughout all Churches to take the confessions and appoint the penances of secret offenders,) assigns this for one: *ὅτι τὸν λαὸν, καὶ ἐκείνους, καὶ ἀποκρύπτει τοὺς ἁμαρτίας*, &c. It did from the beginning deservedly seem burlesome to the Priests, that sins should be declared before the whole congregation of the Church as witnesses, in a Theatre as it were; from which Words 'tis evident that publick confession was once in fashion in the Church. Valerius's second reason we have before cleared and confirmed by the joint Testimony of Socrates and Sozomen. See note (c.)

sinople; to whom] she made particular confession. Valen. Jun. on of those sins, which she had committed after her Baptism. The Presbyter advised the woman to fast, and pray continually, that together with her confession, she might have some (c) work also worthy of Repentance to shew.

(f) Some time after this the woman detected her sins as she felt of another crime. For she confessed that she had been a Deacon of that Church had lain with her. Upon her discovery hereof the Deacon was ejected out of the Church; and the (g) people were in a kind of tumult disturbed. For they were not only offended at what was done, but also because that fact had brought an infamy and disgrace upon the Church. When therefore Ecclesiastical persons were reproached upon this account, one Eudemon a Presbyter of that Church, by birth for this an Alexandrian, advised Neftarius the Bishop, (1) to abolish the Penitentiary Presbyter's Office; and to leave every person to his own conscience, rarely for the participation of the [Holy] Mysteries; (2) to do publick penance, the Church being indulgent towards the modesty of Matron. (3) Nothing occurs at this passage, which may make us think this Matron's penance was publick. (3) in regard she is enjoined to fast and pray continually; that may be understood of private satisfaction, which she performed at home and in secret. To which reasons of Valerius's, a fourth may be added, drawn from the Penitentiary's Office: which was to take the Confession of secret sinners, to advise them the best way to be could for their souls health, to comfort and counsel them, but not to lay on them more than private penance. See note (a.) in this chapter.

(f) In the original 'tis thus express'd, *ἡ δὲ γυνὴ μετὰ τὸν ὁρισμὸν αὐτῆς*, has the same import here with *μετὰ τὸν*, That is, in pursuance of time, or some time after this. For Socrates's meaning is, that this was the woman's second confession. Which is confirmed by Nicephorus and Sozomen; who (in his Eccles. Hist. Book 7. Chap. 16.) words this passage thus; *τὴν δὲ λαβὼν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησιαστικῷ, διεκρίθη, καὶ ὡς ἐποίησε τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τὴν ἐν τῷ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἐποίησε τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἐποίησε τὴν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ*, &c. But the woman came to [the Penitentiary,] and deputed, &c. Val.

(g) Here arises a difficulty, to wit, how this fact could come to the people's knowledge, if the woman's confession were secret? How else the Bishop could know this wicked fact, who degraded the Deacon on account thereof? My Sentiment is, that the Penitentiary Presbyter, to whom the woman had confessed this impious act, first sent the Deacon, reproving him before the woman, and forced him to a confession of his Crime; then, he made a report of the whole matter to Neftarius the Bishop, by whom he had been set over the penitents, and whole deputy he was in that Office. For the Bishop himself reconciled penitents. Nor ought any one to make this objection, if we admit what you have said to be true, it follows that the secrets of confession may be discovered. I deny that confession. For the Penitentiary Presbyter made known the Deacon's wickedness only to the Bishop; the Matron's name he concealed. Further, the Deacon's degradation does plainly confirm what I have asserted. For Neftarius the Bishop could not have deposed him, had he not had intimation from the Penitentiary, who had detected the Deacon of what he did. Val.

(b) The Learned Reader must have observed, that there is nothing wherein the *Romanists* do more disagree amongst themselves, than in their accounts of this fact of Neftarius. Petavius (in his notes on Epiphanius, pag. 243.) does maintain, that Neftarius abrogated publick penance only, but continued confession, that is, private confession for publick, he says, was never in use in the Church. Valerius (in his note at this place) does assert, that neither confession, nor penance were abolished by Neftarius; but that the Bishop removed this particular Penitentiary Presbyter only, and that but for a time, because of the discontented people's indignation. One *Agellinus*, (who is mentioned by *Pacellinus*, in his 92<sup>d</sup> Note on *Saint Cyprian's Treatise de Lapsis*.) wrote a Book on purpose to shew that Neftarius did but put the Penitentiary from his Office, and abrogated not the Office itself. But all these assertions are palpably contradicted (1) by the whole advice which Eudemon gives Neftarius in this chapter, to wit, of leaving the People from that time forward to their own Consciences; (2) by the Conference between our Socrates and Eudemon, which follows in this chapter; wherein complaint is made of some inconvenience which the want of this Office would breed; (3) by that which the History declares concerning other Churches, who did as Neftarius had done before them, not in deposing the same Man (for that was impossible) but in removing the same Office out of their Churches, which Neftarius had abrogated in his. All these particulars are evident from this chapter in Socrates's which whom Sozomen (Book 7. chap. 16.) agrees, and adds further, that

More-





in no wise be observed. Besides, in his *Epistle to the Colossians* he does loudly affirm, that [such] Observations are a shadow. Wherefore he says, \* *Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of any holy-day, or of the new moon, or of the sabbath-days; which are a shadow of things to come.* And in the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, this very [Apoll] does confirm the same things in these words, † *For the priesthood being changed, there is made of necessity a change also of the law.* The Apostle therefore, and the Gospels have no where imposed the yoke of servitude on those who have approached the preaching [of the Faith:] but have left the Feast of *Easter*, and the other Festivals, to be honoured by their gratitude and benevolence, who have had benefits conferred upon them [on these days.] Wherefore, in regard Men love Festivals, because thereon they have a cessation from their labours, each person in every place, according to his own pleasure, has by a certain custom celebrated the memory of the saving Passion. For neither our Saviour, nor his Apostles, have enjoyn'd us by any Law to observe this Festival. Nor have the Gospels, or the Apostles threatened us with any Mult, Punishment, or Curse, as the *Mosaic Law* does the *Jews*. For, 'tis merely for the History's sake, in order to [a publishing of] the reproach of the *Jews*, (because they polluted themselves with blood on their very Festivals,) that it has been recorded in the Gospels, that our Saviour suffered even on the Days of unleaven'd bread. Moreover, it was not the Apostles design, to make Laws concerning Festival-days, but to introduce good Life and Piety. And it seems to me, that, as many other things in several places have been establish'd by custom, so the Feast of *Easter* also had a peculiar observation amongst all persons from some old usage, in regard none of the Apostles, as I have said, have made any determinate Decree about it. Now, that the observation of this Festival had its original amongst all Men in the primitive times from Custom rather than Law, the things themselves do demonstrate. For, in *Asia the Less*, most people kept the fourteenth day of the Moon, disregarding the Sabbath-day. And *tho'* this was their practice, yet they never made a separation from those who celebrated the Feast of *Easter* otherwise; till such time as † That is, anger, sent an \* *Excommunicatory Libel* to the effect that † *Quarodecimani* in *Asia*. For which fact Irenaeus Bishop of Lyons in France severely reprov'd † *Vicior* by Letter; and blaming him for his immoderate heat; and informing him, that altho' of the Ancients differ'd in their celebration of the Feast of *Easter*, yet they did in no wise separate from a mutual communion. Also, that Polycarp Bishop of *Smyrna*, (a) who afterwards suffer'd Martyrdom under *Gordianus*, communion in *Gordianus*'s reign, but that of *Marcus Antoninus*, as 'tis manifest from *Eusebius*, and other Writers. 'Tis certain, that *Irenaeus* does relate, (in his third Book against *Heretics*, which piece he wrote during *Eleutherius*'s Prebendancy over the *Roman Church*;) that is, in the times of *Marcus Antoninus*, that Polycarp had at that time suffer'd Martyrdom. Wherefore these Words [who afterwards suffer'd Martyrdom under *Gordianus*] are rather to be placed a little above, after these [Irenaeus Bishop of Lyons in France.] For they are more accomodate to *Irenaeus*, than to Polycarp. But let the prudent Reader, determine hereof according to his own arbitrement. I know indeed, that in *St. Benignus Divionensis*'s Chronicle, the Martyrdom of *Irenaeus* Bishop of Lyons is placed before Polycarp's. For the Author of that Chronicle does relate, that *Irenaeus*, after his Martyrdom, appeared to Polycarp Bishop of *Smyrna* in his sleep, and commanded him to send *Benignus* into the *Gallia's*. But these are meer trifles. *Valef.*

dated with *Anicetus* Bishop of *Rome*, and made *Valef. Jun.* no separation from him on account of this Festival, altho' Polycarp himself, according to his own Country-usage [prais'd] in [the Church of] *Smyrna*, kept *Easter* on the fourteenth day of the Moon, as *Eusebius* lays in the \* *Fifth Book of his Ecclesiastical History*. Some there-fore in *Asia the Less*, as I have said, kept the fourteenth day of the Moon. Others in the

(b) *Eastern parts*, celebrated that Feast on the † *Sunday* indeed; but they differ'd concerning the Month. Those [first mentioned] were of opinion, that the *Jews* were to be followed, altho' they observed not an exact Rule. (c) These celebrated *Easter* after the *Aequinox*, refusing to keep that Feast with the *Jews*. For they affirm that *Easter* must always be kept when the Sun is in *Aries*, on that Month which the *Antiochians* term *Xanthicus*, and the *Romans* *April*. And in their practise hereof, they followed [as they affirmed] not the modern *Jews* who mistake almost in all things, but the Ancients of that Nation, and *Jesephus*; agreeable whereto are the words of that Author in his *Third Book of the Jewish Antiquities*.

And thus these Persons disagreed amongst themselves. But all other [Christians] in the Western parts, as far as the Ocean it self, are found to have celebrated *Easter* after the *Aequinox*, from a very ancient Tradition. For all these persons kept it after this manner, and have never disagreed amongst themselves. Nor the *Nicene* did the \* *Synod* under *Constantine* alter this *Synod*. Festival, as (d) some have noised it abroad. For *Constantine* himself writing to those persons who differ'd about this Festival, advis'd them, in regard they were but few, to become Followers of those who exceeded them in number. You will find the Emperor's Letter entire, in the *Third Book of Eusebius*'s *Life of Constantine*. But that part of it [which treats] concerning the Feast of *Easter*, runs thus: — \* And since 'tis a \* See *Euseb. Hist. lib. 10. c. 22.* *Constantine* the Great, who kept *Easter* indeed after the *Aequinox*. But always fixt that Festival on the month *Xanthicus*, or *April*, before the eighth of the *Idea* (that is, the sixth day) of *April*; as *Socrus* attests, book 7, chap. 18. *Valef.*

(e) He means (I think) the *Mons missa*, and *Pepusian*, who kept *Easter* indeed after the *Aequinox*. But always fixt that Festival on the month *Xanthicus*, or *April*, before the eighth of the *Idea* (that is, the sixth day) of *April*; as *Socrus* attests, book 7, chap. 18. *Valef.*

(d) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

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(f) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(g) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(h) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(i) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(j) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(k) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(l) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(m) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(n) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(o) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(p) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(q) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(r) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(s) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(t) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(u) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(v) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(w) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(x) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(y) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*

(z) To wit, the *Audians*. For these Heretics affirmed that the *Nicene Synod* first altered the *Paschal solemnity*; as *Epiphanius* attests, p. 822. *Edit. Petr. v. Valef.*



(q) In *Rob. Stephens's* Edition, this place is pointed thus :  $\frac{3}{2} \frac{2}{2} \frac{2}{2} \frac{2}{2}$

(iv) I doubt not but instead of *ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς* Sozomene wrote *ἡμετέρας ἐκ τῆς καθολικῆς*, but they are in most things conform; and so Nicephorus has worded it. *Musculus* and *Christophorus* read thus also. For *Musculus* has rendered it thus: *Sed in multis se imperiali conformant Ecclesie*, but in many things they conform themselves to the Imperial Church. *Christophorus* translates it after this manner: *Sed tamen ex multis majorē partē, primariā apud illos Ecclesia cōfitecundam sequuntur*, but yet much the greater part, they follow the custom of the Primary Church amongst them. Neither of these

these Translators understood what was meant by these Words here, to wit, *in ædificandis Ecclesiis*. *Socrates* usually gives this appellation to the Catholic Church, because at that time it had gotten the chief power and authority. So in chap. 19. of this Book, of the *Novatians* he opposeth *the ædificandis Ecclesiis* to *the Novatians* who are in possession of the Churches, that is, the Catholics: *Ναυατιανὸν εἰς τὸ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τοῦ ἐκκλησιασμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, &c. For the *Novatians* admitted not of this additional Function at its first institution. But [the *Homocousians*] who are at this present in possession of the Churches, &c. *Valef.*

In sum, in all places, and amongst all Sects, you will scarcely find two Churches exactly agreeing about their Prayers. At *Alexandria*, a Presbyter does in no wise Preach. And this [usage] had its beginning from such time as *Arius* raised a disturbance at that Church. At *Rome* they fast every (x) Saturday. (y) At *Cæsarea* in *Capadocia* they exclude those from Communion who have sinned after Baptism, as the *Novatians* do. The same is also practised by the *Macedonians* in the *Hellepont*, and by the *Quartodecimani* in *Asia*. The *Novatians* in *Phrygia* admit not of \*

\* That is, those who have had two Wives successively one after another.

\* *Digamists*. Those *Novatians* who inhabit *Constantinople*, neither openly admit,

nor openly reject them. But in the Western parts they are openly † received. The Bishop, who in their several

times presided over the Churches, were (in my judgment) the Occasioners of this diversity. And those who received these Rites and Usages, transmitted them to posterity in manner of a Law as 'twere. To

give in a Catalogue of all the Rites and Customs in use throughout all Cities and Countries, is a thing difficult, or rather impossible. But these we have produced, are sufficient to demonstrate, that the Feast of *Easter* was by reason of some certain usage celebrated in a different manner in every particular Province. Wherefore, they are too profuse in their talk, who have spread abroad a rumour, that [the time of celebrating] *Easter* was alter'd in the *Nicene* Synod. For the Fathers conven'd in that Synod made it their business to reduce the people, (who at first differed from the far greater part of the Church,) to an agreement. Now, that there hapned many differences upon this account, even in the Apostles times, was a thing not unknown even to the Apostles themselves, as the Book of the *Acts* does attest. For when the Apostles understood, that a disturbance was raised amongst the faithful, by reason of a dissention of the *Gentiles*; being all met together, they promulgated a Divine Law, drawing it up in form of a Letter: whereby they freed Believers from a most burthenfome servitude and vain contention about these things; and taught them a most exact \* way of living better, which would lead them to true piety; mentioning to them only such things as neces-

family ought to be observed. The Epistle it self is recorded in the *Acts* of the Apostles: yet no thing hinders but we may insert it here. \* The Apostles, and Elders, and Brethren, send Greeting unto the Brethren which are of the Gentiles in *Antioch*, and *Syria*, and *Cilicia*. For as much as we have heard, that certain which went out from us, have troubled you with words, subverting your souls, saying, ye must be circumcised, and keep the Law, to whom we gave no such commandment: it seemed good unto us, being assembled with one accord, to send chosen Men unto you, with our Beloved *Barnabas* and *Paul*: Men that have hazarded their lives for the name of Our Lord *Jesus Christ*. We have therefore sent *Judas* and *Silas*, who shall also tell you the same things by mouth. For it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessary things: that ye abstain from meats offered to Idols, and from blood, and from things strangled, and from fornication: from which if you keep yourselves, ye shall do well: fare ye well. These things pleased God. For these are the express words of the Letter, It seemed good to the Holy Ghost to lay upon you no greater burthen than these necessities to be observed. Notwithstanding there are some, who disregarding these [Precepts], suppose all Fornication to be a thing indifferent; but contend about Holy days, as if it were for their lives: [these persons] invert the commands of God, and make Laws for themselves, nor valuing the Decree of the Apostles; nor do they consider, that they praise the contrary to those things which seemed good to God. It were indeed possible, to have extended our discourse concerning *Easter* much farther, and to have demonstrated, that the *Jews* observe no exact Rule, either in the time, or manner of [celebrating] the Paschal solemnity; and that the *Samaritans*, who are a Schism of the *Jews*, do always celebrate this Festival after the *Æquinox*. But this Subject requires a particular and more copious Treatise. I only say this, that they who so affectedly imitate the *Jews*, and are so solicitously accurate about Types and Figures, ought in no wise to dissent from them, [in any particular whatever.] For, if they have taken a resolution of observing all things with an accuracy; they must not only observe days and months, but all other things also, which Christ (constituted under the Law) did after the manner of the *Jews*, or which he suffered unjustly from the *Jews*; or [Lastly], which he wrought typically whilst he was doing good to all Men. [For instance,] he entered into a Ship and taught: He ordered the passover to be made ready in an upper room: He commanded the *Ass* that was tied to be loosed: He proposed him, who bore a pitcher of water, as a sign to them for hastening their preparations of the passover: [these things, I say they must observe] and infinite others of this nature which are recorded in the Gospels. And yet they who suppose themselves to be justified by this Festival, make it their business to observe none of these things in a bodily manner. For no Doctor ever preach'd out of a Ship: no Person ever went up to an upper room, and celebrated the Passover there: they never tyed, and again unloosed an *Ass* that was tyed: [in fine] no person ever enjoyed another to carry a pitcher of water, to the end that the Symbols might be fulfilled. For they thought that these and such like things as these \* favoured rather of *Judaism*. For the *Jews* are solicitous about keep-

\* Or, form of good life.

\* Or, manner of living Jewishly.

ing their (x) solemn Rites and Ceremonies in their bodies, rather than in their souls. Upon which account they are obnoxious to the Curse, because they conceive the Law of Moses [to consist] in Types and Figures, but [understand it] not according to the truth. But those persons, who are favourers of the *Jews*, do indeed refer these things to an allegorical sense and meaning: But they raise an irreconcilable War about days and months, contemning an allegorical interpretation of them; in so much that, as to this particular, they themselves as well as the *Jews*, are of necessity condemned, and bring the sentence of Excommunication upon themselves. But I think this sufficient to have been said concerning these things. Let us now return to our Subject, whereof we have made mention a little \* before: to wit, that the Church [once divided] rested not in that first division; and that those who were divided, did again engage one another, and taking hold of a small and very frivolous pretence, raised mutual separations

\* See chap. 20. at the beginning.

† Chap. 11. and divisions. The *Novatians*, as I have † said, were divided amongst themselves on account of the Feast of *Easter*: Nor was the division among them concerning this [Festival] single. For some throughout divers Provinces [observed it] after one manner, others after another; and they disagreed amongst themselves not only about the month, but about the days of the week also, and about other matters of a small importance, part of them holding separate Assemblies, and part joyning in a promiscuous Communion:

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning the Arians at Constantinople, who were also termed the Psathyriani.

Moreover, there arose dissensions amongst the *Arians*, upon this occasion. The contentious questions daily [started] amongst them, had reduced their discourses to some absurdities. For, whereas it has been always believed in the Church, that God is the Father of the Son, the Word; there hapned this Query amongst them, whether or no God could be called Father even before the Son existed? And, in regard they asserted, that the Word of God was not begotten of the Father, but existed of \* nothing; being thus mistaken about the first and chiefest Article of Faith, they deservedly fell into an absurd contentions about a bare word. *Dorotheus* therefore † who had been sent for from *Antioch* by them, maintained, that [God] neither was nor could be termed a Father, before the Son existed. But *Marinus* (whom they had called out of *Thracia* before

*Dorotheus*) having got a fair opportunity, (for he was vext because *Dorotheus* had been preferred before him;) undertook to defend the contrary opinion. For this reason there hapned a dissention amongst them; and being divided on account of the aforesaid Term, each party held separate Meetings. Those under *Dorotheus* continued posselt of their own Meeting-houses. But *Marinus's* followers built themselves private Oratories, wherein they had their Assemblies; and asserted that the Father was always the Father, even when the Son existed not. Moreover, the maintainers of this assertion were termed (a) *Theodosians*, because one *Theodotus* by Country a *Syrian*, a \* *Psathyropola* by Trade, was a zealous defender of this Opinion. *Selenas* Bishop of the *Goths* became a follower of these persons Tenets: † He was a Man of a mixt descent, a *Goth* by his father's side, by his mother's a *Phrygian*. And upon this account he taught in the Church very readily in both these Languages. Further, this faction soon after quarrelled amongst themselves; *Marinus* disagreeing with *Agapius*, whom he himself had preferred to the Bishoprick of *Ephesus*. But these two contended not one with another about [any point of their] Religion, but about \* Primacy; the *Goths* divided with *Agapius*. Wherefore, many of the Ecclesiastics under their jurisdiction (abominating the contest raised between them two, as being the product of their vain-glory,) deserted them, and became adherents to the *Homousian* Faith. When therefore the *Arians* had continued divided amongst themselves during the space of (b) thirty five years, afterwards, (c) under the Reign of *Theodosius Junior*, in the Consulate of *Plintha Master of the Milice*, and according to the Heresie of the *Psathyriani*, being persuaded to cease from contending, were again united in one body [with the rest of the *Arians*]. And they made a Sanction [amongst themselves] in form of a Law as it were, that that *Aresdus's* Query, which had caused the separation between them, should in future never be mentioned. But they could bring this to effect no-where save at *Constantinople* only. For in other Cities (if any of these two parties chanced to be inhabitants therein,) they persisted in their former separation. Thus much concerning the division amongst the *Arians*.

here relate) to the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plintha* [or *Plintha*] there are twenty five years. Valef.

(c) Instead of [ἐν τῇ συνόδῳ, in the Consulate] it must undoubtedly be [ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, under the Reign.] For the word *synodus* crept into this place from the following line. Valef.

## C H A P. XXIV.

That the Eunomians also raised Factions amongst themselves, which had various denominations given them derived from the names of their first Founders.

Moreover, neither did the *Eunomians* continue undivided. For *Eunomius* himself had long before this made a \* separation from *Eudoxius*, who † Ordained him Bishop of *Cyzicum*, making this his pretence, to wit, because *Eudoxius* refused to give reception to his master *Atinus*, who was Ejected [out of the Church.] But those Heretics who had their name from him, were after this divided into several Factions. For first, one *Theopromius* a Cap-

\* Or, things which are not.  
† See chap. 12. of this Book.

Valen. Iud. Theodosius.

(a) Theodosians  
res gives an account of these Heretics Book 4.  
† Hæret. Fabul. Valef.  
† That is, a Catechiser.  
† Selenas.

\* Or, Precedence.

(b) It must be twenty five years; and according to the Heresie of the *Psathyriani*, being persuaded to cease from contending, were again united in one body [with the rest of the *Arians*].  
† For, from *Aresdus's* third and second Consulate there are twenty five years. Valef.

which Socrates does

valen. Jun. a Cappadocian (who had been instructed in the Art of disputing by Euthimius, and understood Aristotle's Categories, and his Book concerning Interpretation, but \* indistinctly and imperfectly;) having wrote Books, to which he gave this Title concerning the exercise of the Mind, incur'd the displeasure of those of his own Heresie, and was by them ejected as a Defector of their Sect. This person afterwards held Assemblies separate from them, and left behind him an Heresie which bore his own name. Then, one Eutybius at Constantinople, upon account of

a very † slight Controversie, made a separation has his Meetings apart. Theophrastus's Followers are termed Eunomio-Theophrastiani: and the Adherents of Eutybius are called Eunomio-Eutybiani. What those slight and trifling words were, about which they differ'd, I judge it unworthy to be recorded in this History, lest I should too far digress from my purpose. [I will mention this] only, to wit, that they have adulterated Baptism. For they baptize not into the Trinity, but into the Death of Christ. There was also for some time a Dissention amongst the Macedonians, when one Eutropius a Presbyter held separate Assemblies; and Cartorius would in no wise agree in Opinion with him. And there may perhaps be some other Sects descended from these in other Cities. But in regard I make my Residence in Constantinople, where I was born and educated, I have resolved to be larger in my Relation of what has been transacted in that City; both because I my self have been an eye-witness of some of those transactions, and also in regard the affairs transacted in that City, have been more eminent, and worthier to be remembered. And these things happen'd not at one and the same time, but at different times. Now, if any person be delirious of knowing the names of the various Sects, he may have an account hereof, by reading that Book entitled *Ancoratus*, which Epiphanius Bishop of Cyprus compiled. Let this be sufficient to have been said concerning these matters. But the affairs of the State were disturbed upon this occasion.

## C H A P. XXV.

Concerning Eugenius's Tyranny, and the Death of Valentinianus Junior; also, concerning the Emperor Theodosius's Victory over the Tyrant.

**I**N the Western parts, a Grammarian by name Eugenius, having sometime been a Teacher of the Latin tongue, afterwards left his School, and undertook a Military Employment in the Emperor's Palace, where he was made (a) *Magister of the Emperor's Desks*. And in regard he

(a) *Magister of the Emperor's Desks*. And in regard he was a Person of great eloquence, and upon which I have render'd thus, *Magister Scriniorum Imperatoris*, Master of the Emperor's Desks: for the Greeks call those *ἀρχεις*, whom the Latins term *Magistros Scriniorum*, Masters of the Desks; as Ctesias has truly remark'd. But Salsmasius, in his notes on Vopiscus, pag. 481. affirms, that the *ἀρχεις* were the *Proximi* of the Sacred Desks, not the *Magisters*. For his opinion is, that there was only one Master of all the Desks, who had under him four *Antigraphi* or *Proximi* [that is, Clerks:] to wit, one in each Desk. But Salsmasius is disprov'd, first by the Theodosian Code; and secondly, by the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. For, in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*, there are four Masters of the Desks of the Roman Emperors reckon'd; to wit, the Master of the Memory, the Master of the Letters, the Master of the Libels, and the Master of the Greek Letters. And, in the Theodosian Code, in the sixth Book, there is a particular Title de *Magistris sacrorum Scriniorum*, whom the Emperors will have preferred before the *Vicarii*. But concerning the

*Proximi*, there follows another Title, at a great distance from this wherein the Emperors give order only, that the *Proximi*, after two years space, should leave the *Scrinia*, and be followed by the *Vicarii*. From whence 'tis evident, that the *Proximi* of the Desks are distinguished from the *Magisters*: for the *Magisters* were chosen by the Emperors *Codici* [or *Letters Patent*], as were the rest of the Officers of the Palace. But the *Proximi* came to that place by degrees and order of promotion; and they were more than one in every Desk; whereas there was but one *Magister* in each Desk. The *Proximi* therefore are not the *ἀρχεις*; in regard there were only four *ἀρχεις*, as we are inform'd from the *Glosses of Fulgentius Antecessor*. See *Fe. trus Parisius* in *Excerpt. Legationum*. *Philostorgius* relates, that Eugenius was prefer'd to the dignity of a *Magister*, before he broke out into his Tyranny. Valef.

that account more highly esteem'd than others, Theodosius, he could not with moderation bear his prosperous success. But, taking one *Arbogastes* (born

(b) In stead of [Gallia the Less,] the reading in the Florentine M.S. is truer, thus [Gallia,] *Arbogastes* was not born in Gallia, but in *Francia*, as all *Affricans* agree. Valef. (c) In stead of [from them] promiss of greater places than red. Val.

(d) Valentinianus Junior was murder'd at Vienna, in Arcadius's second Consulate which he bore with Rufinus; as Iadius rightly informs us in his *Fastis*. But *Arcellinus* says, that fact was perpetrated in the Consulate of Taurus and Symmachus, on the 1st of March. Nowwithstanding, this appears to be false, from the fourth and fifth Law in the Theodosian Code de *Apollatio*. Valef.

(e) Zosimus (in his fourth Book) says, that only Arcadius was left by Theodosius at Constantinople; and that Honorius followed his Father in his Expedition against Eugenius. The same is asserted by Marcellinus in his *Chronicon*. But *Philostorgius* agrees with *Socrates*. Valef.

(f) Here there is a defect in the Greek Text; their Words [from Aquileia thirty six miles] being wanting. Which *Valesius* says, he perceived from Antonini's *Itinerary*, and from *Sigisius* in his ninth Book de *Imperio Occidentali*.

(g) Here there is a defect in the Greek Text; their Words [from Aquileia thirty six miles] being wanting. Which *Valesius* says, he perceived from Antonini's *Itinerary*, and from *Sigisius* in his ninth Book de *Imperio Occidentali*.

*Theodosius.* God to be his assistant ; and was in no wise frustrated of his request. For *Bacurius* his own Master of the Milice was so far encouraged, as to run with his Van-guard to that part where the Barbarians were \*hardest prest upon by the Enemy, who broke through their Ranks ; and routed those that a little before were on the pursuit. There hapned another accident also, worthy of admiration. For a very violent wind arose on a sudden, which retorted the Darts cast by *Eugenius's* Forces, upon themselves ; and moreover, it carried those thrown by *Theodosius's* Souldiers with a greater force against the Enemy. So prevalent was the Emperor's Prayer. The success of the Battle being after this manner turned, the Tyrant cast himself at the Emperor's feet, and requested that his life might be saved. But the Souldiers beheaded him, as he lay prostrate at the Emperor's feet. These things were done on the sixth of September, in *Arcadius's* third, and *Honorius's* second Consulate. But *Arbogastes* (who had been the Author of these great mischiefs) being on his flight upon the third day after the Battle ; as soon as he knew there were no hopes of life for him, ran himself through with his own Sword.

[he ordered] that † *Cirque-Sports* should be exhibited, on which very day he died.

\* Or, running of Horses.

\* Or, routed.

BUT, the Emperor *Theodosius* contracted an ill habit of Body, from the Troubles and Disquietudes he underwent in this War. And supposing that his Life would be ended by that Distemper which was upon him, he was more solicitous about the publick Affairs, than [concerned] at his own Death ; considering with himself, how great Calamities do usually befall Subjects after the Death of their Emperor. Wherefore he sends forthwith for his Son *Honorius* from *Constantinople*, being desirous to settle \* the State of the Western Empire. After his Son's arrival at *Millain*, he seemed to be somewhat revived from his Distemper ; and gave order for the celebration of Triumphant *Cirque-Sports*. And before Dinner he was very well, and was a Spectator at the *Cirque-Sports*. But after Dinner he was taken very ill on a sudden, and could not come to see the † Games. † Or, the But, having given his Son order to preside at *the Cirque-Sports*, he died on the Night following, in the Consulate of *Olybrius* and *Probinus*, on the seventeenth day of January. This was the first year of the two hundred ninety fourth Olympiad. The Emperor *Theodosius* lived sixty years, and reigned sixteen. This Book contains [an account of Affairs transacted] during the space of sixteen years and eight months.

\* Or, the Western parts.

C H A P. XXVI

How the Emperor falling ill after his Victory, sent for his Son Honorius to Millain ; and thinking himself somewhat recovered from his Distemper,

THE  
SIXTH BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

The P R E F A C E.

WE have finish'd the Task enjoyed by You (most Sacred Man of God *Theodorus*!) in the Five foregoing Books ; wherein, according to our best ability, we have comprized the History of the Church from the Times of *Constantine*. But you must know, that we have not been curious about our Style ; for we considered, that should we have been careful about an Elegancy of Expression, we might peradventure have mist of our design. Besides, could we have accomplish'd [our design,] yet we were altogether unable to write such things as are extant in the Compositures of Ancient Historians ; whereby any one of them might suppose himself able either to amplify, or disimprove Transactions. Further, such a Style would in no wise have edified the Many and the Simpler sort of Persons ; who are desirous of knowing Affairs only, not

H h of

of admiring the *Stile* for its elegant *Composure*. That therefore our *Work* might not be unuseful to both these sorts of Persons; to the Learned, because 'tis unworthy of being compared with the elegant *Stile* of Ancient Writers; and to the Unlearned, in regard they cannot attain to [the knowledge of] Affairs, being concealed by a *Pride* and *Over-elegancy* of Expression: We have designedly made use of such a *Stile*, as seems indeed to be lower and more mean, but is notwithstanding plainer and more conspicuous.

\* Or, as seems indeed to be plainer and more perspicuous, but is notwithstanding lower and more mean.

(a) This whole Clause [either because (according to the Proverb,) Truth is bitter] is in my judgment to be expunged, in regard it disturbs the Sense.

Or, if it has a place here, it must be put at the close of the period, after these Words [extol not their Actions.] If this displeases any one; 'twill be sufficient, to expunge the particle [i, either,] and put this Clause to the head of that following. *Valef.*

(b) To wit, in the *Comedies of Menander*, and others. You may see the same in *Plautus's* and *Terentius's Latin Comedies*; wherein the Servants do usually call their Masters barely by their Names. *Valef.*

But, before we begin our Sixth Book, we must give this Premonition: In regard we undertake [the writing a Narrative] of the Affairs which have happened in our own Age; we are afraid, lest we should seem to record such things as will displease many Persons: (a) Either because (according to the Proverb,) Truth is bitter; or in regard we mention not their names, whom [all Men] have a great love for, with an Encomium; or, [Lastly] because we extol not their Actions. The Zealots of our Religion will condemn us, because we do not give the Bishops the Title of Most dear to God, or Most Holy, or such like. Others also will [sometimes makes curious Remarks, because we term not the Emperors Most Divine, and Lords; nor [do give them] those other Titles which are usually attributed to them. But, in as much as I am able to prove and demonstrate from the Testimony of Ancient Writers, that a (b) Servant amongst them did usually call his Master by his proper name, and made no account of his Dignity [or Title,] by reason of the urgency of Affairs; and in as much as [my endeavour is] to obey the Laws of History, which do require a sincere, pure, and true Narrative of Transactions, free from all manner of Masks and Covers; I will in future proceed in the same Narration; recording those things which either I myself saw, or could learn from those who had seen them; and making a judgment of the Truth from their not varying in their Relations, who told me them. But, my Labour in discovering the Truth hath been great, in regard many, and those different Persons, gave me an account of Affairs; some of whom affirming they were present at the transacting of these things; and others asserting they knew them better than any other Persons.

## CH A P. I.

That after the Death of the Emperor Theodosius, when his Sons had divided the Empire [between them,] and Arcadius had met the Army returning from Italy, after some short stay there; Rufinus the Praefectus Praetorio was killed by the Souldiers at the Emperor's Feet.

Arcadius and Honorius.

THE Emperor Theodosius having ended his Life in the Consulate of Olybrius and Probinus, on the seventeenth of the month January; his Sons succeeded him in the Roman Empire. Arcadius had the Government of the Eastern Empire, and Honorius of the Western. [The Bishops] who presided over the Churches at that time, were Damasus in the Imperial [City] Rome; Theophilus at Alexandria; Johannes in possession of the Churches at Jerusalem; and Flavianus of those at Antioch. At Constantinople, [termed also] New Rome, Nectarius filled the [Episcopal] Chair, as we have related in the foregoing Book. About the eighth of the month November, in the same Consulate, Theodosius's Body was brought [to Constantinople,] and interred by his Son Arcadius with an honourable and solemn Funeral. Not long after this, on the eight and twentieth of the same month, the Army also arrived, which had been employed in the War against the Tyrant, under the Emperor Theodosius's command. When therefore the Emperor Arcadius (agreeable to the usual custom) had met the Army without the City-gates, the Souldiers at that time slew Rufinus the Emperor's Praefectus Praetorio. For Rufinus lay under a suspicion of turning Tyrant, and 'twas believed, that he had called the (a) Hunni (a barbarous Nation) into

the Roman Territories. For at that time they destroyed Armenia, and some parts of the East, by making Incursions into those Provinces. Moreover, on the same day whereon Rufinus was killed, Marcianus Bishop of the Novatians died. He was succeeded in that Bishoprick by Sisinnius, of whom we have made mention \* above.

were solicited by Rufinus, to invade the Roman Provinces. The same is asserted by Marcellinus in his Chronicon. But Sozomen (Book 8, chap. 1.) agrees with Sozomen. Nor, is there any disagreement between the forecited Authors. For Rufinus called in both those Nations against the Romans; the Goths first, under their Chief, Alaricus: After the Goths were routed by Stilicho, he excited the Hunni to assault the Goths, as Claudian tells us, in his first Book against Rufinus; and in his second Book, he sets forth the same more clearly, near the beginning thereof. But Sigonius, in his tenth Book de Occidentali Imperio, where he makes it his business to relate this whole Story, speaks not one Word concerning this Irruption of the Hunni; which negligence of his is inexcusable. *Valef.*

## CH A P. II.

Concerning Nectarius's Death, and the Ordination of Johannes.

WITHIN a small interval of time, Nectarius also, Bishop of Constantinople, departed this life, in the Consulate of Caesarius and Arterius, about the twenty seventh of the month September. Forthwith therefore, a Contention arose about the Ordination of a Bishop; and some desired one Person, others another. When a Consult had been several times held about this matter, it was at last concluded on, that Johannes a Presbyter of the Antiochian Church, should be sent for from Antioch. For a fame was spread concerning him, for his || Learning and Eloquence. Within some small space of time therefore, the Emperor Arcadius (with the common consent of all Persons, I mean the

\* Or, a trouble, or, earnestness.

+ This Person was termed Chrysostome, that is Golden mouth. || Or, fitness to be Clergy, a readiness.





were situated without the City. But a *Learned Person*, who has lately published the *Life of John Chrysostome* in French, does affirm they were within the City of *Antioch*: to whom notwithstanding, I cannot assent. This more probable, that these *Little Houses* were placed in the *Suburbs*, to the end that Pious and Religious Persons, who were continually employed in Contemplation and reading of the sacred Books, might be far remote from noise and disturbance. But what the same *Learned Person* objects out of *Theodoret*, (to wit, that *Diodorus* was continually conversant in *Antioch*, and made a courageous resistance against the rage and force of the *Arians*;) does in no wise weaken our opinion. For *Diodorus*, as often as he pleased, could easily come out of a Monastery in the *Suburbs*, into the City. *Valf.*

*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.*

Of these two *Diodorus*, afterwards made Bishop of *Tarjus*, wrote many Books, being intent upon the bare Letter [and obvious sense] of the Sacred Scriptures; but avoiding the (d) Allegorical interpretation thereof. Thus far concerning these Persons. Moreover, *Johannes*, (who (e) convert frequently and familiarly with *Basilius* (f) at that time ordained a Deacon by *Meletius*, that *letius*, but afterwards constituted Bishop of *Cæsarea in Cappadocia*) was made Reader of the *Antiochian Church*, by (g) *Zeno* the Bishop in his retires, *εἰς τὸ ἰδιότῃ, literally*; but avoided the more abstruse and mystical sense. *Jerome* says the same concerning him, in his Book de *Scriptis Ecclæ*. Extant ejus in *Apollonius Commentarii*, &c. his Comments upon the *Apostle* are extant, and many other pieces, belonging rather to *Eusebius Emisenus*'s Character: whose sense altho' he has followed, yet it could not imitate his eloquence, because of his ignorance in *Humane* (or *Secular*) Learning. *Jerom* says, that *Diodorus* has followed *Eusebius Emisenus*'s sense, that is, his method in explaining the Scriptures. Let us see therefore, what sense *Eusebius Emisenus* has followed. *Jerome* himself will inform us; whose Words concerning *Eusebius Emisenus* are these: *Magnifique Historiam Scenici, ab eis qui declamare volunt, studiose imitatur legimus, et habere rursus followed* *Effortu, he is most studiously read by those, who have a mind to declaim*. From whence it appears that *Eusebius* in his exposition of the Scriptures, has chiefly followed the *Historical and Literal sense*; but has not touched the *Mythick and Allegorical*. For the term *Scenica* comprehends these senses. *Allegorical* therefore differs from *Theoria*, as a *Species* does from the *Genus*. Indeed, *Diodorus* Bishop of *Tarjus*, of whom we now speak, had written a Book with this Title, *Τὸ διακρίνει Θεορίας καὶ Ἀλληγορίας*, that is, what may be the difference between *Theoria* and *Allegoria*. But I wonder at *Jerome*, who says that *Diodorus* was instructed neither in *Eloquence*, nor in the knowledge of *humane Learning*. And yet *Theodoret* (Hitor. Book 4.) compares his eloquence to a most limpid River; and *Photius* in his *Bibliotheca* does attest, that in his discourses he was clear and perspicuous. *Valf.*

(e) That *Chrysostome* convert familiarly with *Basilius*, 'tis evident from *Chrysostome*'s Books de *Sacerdotio*. But who that *Basilius* was, concerning whom *Chrysostome* speaks in those Books, 'tis uncertain. *Socrates* does in this place affirm, that it was *Basilius Magnus*. *Photius* (in his *Bibliotheca*) says it was *Basilius* Bishop of *Selencia*. *Baronius* (at the Year of Christ 382.) does deservedly disprove both these Opinions. *Chrysostome* ('tis certain) does attest in the beginning of his Book, that himself and the *Basilius*, concerning whom he there speaks, had always the same Masters. Now *Basilius Magnus* learnt Rhetorick at *Arsenis*; but *Chrysostome* was *Libanius*'s hearer at *Antioch* a long while after that. If it were *Basilius* the great, whom *Chrysostome* affirms to have obtained the principal place amongst his own Companions and Friends, doubtless some footsteps of his Friendship would at this day be extant in *Basilius*'s Epistles. But, amongst so many of his Epistles which have been preserved to our times, there occurs not one, written to our *Johannes*. Wherefore I agree with *Baronius*, who says, that that *Basilius* who was companion to *Chrysostome*, was *Basilius* Bishop of *Raphanea*, or else *Basilius* Bishop of *Ephesus*. For both these Persons were *Chrysostome*'s Contemporaries, in regard they subscribed the *Constantinopolitan Council*. *Valf.*

(f) In stead of *τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ διακρίνει*, sometimes made a Deacon, &c. In my judgment it should be *τὸ ἀντὶ τοῦ διακρίνει*, at that time made Deacon, &c. For it follows [but afterwards constituted Bishop of *Cæsarea in Cappadocia*]. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* confirms our conjecture, as 'tis apparent from his Version; for thus he renders it, *qui tunc a Meletio factus erat Diaconus, who was then made Deacon by Meletius*. Further, *Basilius* was made Deacon by *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*. But that Book is full with Fables and Lies. Doubtless, in regard *Basilius* the Great was by lawful degrees promoted to be Reader and Presbyter at *Cæsarea*, (as *Gregorius Nazianzenus* does attest, in his *Funeral Oration* concerning the praises of the same *Basilius*) 'tis scarce credible, that he should have been made Deacon any where else, but at *Cæsarea*. *Valf.*

(g) *Nicephorus* (whit Author he follows, I know not,) makes this *Zeno*, Bishop of *Gaza* or *Majma*. But, whereas *Zeno* was created Bishop of *Majma* in the Reign of *Theodosius*, (as *Socratus* relates Book 3. chap. 8.) he must necessarily be a different Person from that *Zeno* who ordained *Chrysostome* Reader; in regard *Chrysostome* was made a Reader in *Valens Augustus*'s Reign, about the year of our

Lord 370. But *Baronius* (at the Year of Christ 382.) says that this *Zeno* (by whom *Chrysostome* was ordained a Reader of *Antioch*) was Bishop of *Tyre*, the same Person who was present at the *Constantinopolitan Council*; and was then (*Meletius* being absent) his Deputy in the Church of *Antioch*. In which thing I do really assent to *Baronius*. But whereas he reproves *Socrates* there, for his saying, that that *Zeno* was Bishop of *Jerusalem*; therein the Cardinal is evidently mistaken. For *Socrates* does not make *Zeno* Bishop of *Jerusalem*; he only says, that *Zeno* the Bishop, returning from *Jerusalem*, ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*. Now *Zeno* had made a journey to *Jerusalem*, either on the account of Prayer, (as it was the custom of those times,) or by reason of some Ecclesiastick Affair. But neither arises a difficulty. For, if *Zeno* in his return from *Jerusalem*, ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*; the City of which he was Bishop, must necessarily be farther remote from *Jerusalem*, than *Antioch* was; or at least it must lie at the side of *Antioch*. Which cannot be said of the Cities *Tyre*, and *Gaza*. For both those are far nearer to *Jerusalem*, than *Antioch* is. Therefore, this *Zeno*, who ordained *Chrysostome* Reader of *Antioch*, was Bishop of some other City. In *Basilius* the Great's 69th Epistle, there is mention of one *Zeno* a Bishop, who was present at the *Antiochian Council* under *Meletius*; but the name of his See is not set down. I know *Palladius* (in the *Life of Chrysostome*) does relate, that *Chrysostome* was ordained Reader by *Meletius*. But this, in my judgment, is so to be understood, that that may be said to have been done by *Meletius*, which was performed by *Zeno*, supplying his place. *Valf.*

turn from *Jerusalem*. Whilst he continued in the degree of a Reader, he wrote a Book against the Jews. Having not long after obtained the dignity of a Deacon from *Meletius*, he wrote his Books concerning Priesthood, and those against *Sargirius*: Moreover, those concerning the incomprehensible nature of God, and those concerning \* *Subintroductæ* women. After this, when *Meletius* was dead at *Constantinople*; (for he made a journey thither, on account of *Gregorius Nazianzenus*'s Ordination;) *Johannes* made a separation from the † *Meletianists*, nor did he communicate with *Meletius*'s *Paulinus*; but lived quietly for the space of three whole years. Afterwards, when *Paulinus* was dead, he is ordained Presbyter by (b) *Evergirius*, (b) This is *Paulinus*'s successor. This (to speak compendiously) was *Johannes*'s course of life, before his being made Bishop. He was a Person (as 'tis said) sober and morose, by reason of his [over-much] Zeal for temperance; and (as one of his intimados has reported;) from his younger years more addicted to anger, than bashfulness. Because of his \* *Sanctity of Life*, he was not cautious and circumspect in relation to things future; and by reason of his † plainness, he was open and easy. He used too great a liberty in speaking to those who discoursed him. In his teaching, he made it his chief business to improve the Morals of his hearers; and in his conferences, he was supped by those who knew him not, to be proud and arrogant.

\* Or, *Reverence of Life*. † Or, *simplicity*, or *singleness*. *Valf.*

## C H A P. IV.

Concerning Serapion the Deacon, and how by his instigation *Johannes* became offended with, and an enemy to his Clergy.

THIS being the humour and disposition of *Johannes*, after his promotion to the \* *Episcopate*, he was more supercilious and severe towards his Clergy than was fitting; his design in that being (as he expected,) to rectify the lives of those under him. Immediately there-fore

*Arceus  
and  
Eunuchus.  
Hated.*

*+ Or, dis-  
pleas all  
men.*

*|| Or, he  
chose to  
eat with  
no body.*

fore at his very entry [upon the Bishoprick] he seemed rough and austere to the Ecclesiasticks, and incurred their \**Odium*, many of them became his Enemies, and declined him as an angry person. *Serapion* his Deacon incited him to alienate all Mens minds from himself. And on a time, when all the Clergy were present, he spake aloud to the Bishop, after this manner, *You will never be able (O Bishop!) to get the mastery over these Persons, unless you drive them all out with one Rod.* This expression of his excited an *Odium* against the Bishop. Not long after the Bishop ejected many Persons out of the Church, some for one reason, others for another. But they (as it usually happens in such violent proceedings of Governors,) enter into a Combination against him, and calumniated him to the People. That which induced the hearers to a belief of what was spoken against him, was, that the Bishop would not eat with any body, nor would he upon any invitation go to a Feast. Upon which account most especially, the Calumny against him improved, and grew greater. Upon what design || he refused to eat with any Person, no one could ever certainly tell. For those who are desirous of defending him, say that he had a very weak Stomach, and could hardly digest meat; for which reason he did eat alone. Others affirm, he did this on account of his *Astectick* and most severe course of life. Whatever of truth there was in this matter, it was of no small advantage to his Accusers, in order to their calumniating him. Notwithstanding, the People did highly approve of him upon account of the Sermons he preach'd in the Church, loved the Man exceedingly, and disregarded those Persons who attempted to accuse him. Moreover, what his Sermons were, (as well those published by himself, as them taken by the Notaries from his mouth as he preach'd them,) how elegant, inviting and perswasive, it is needless now to declare, in regard those that are desirous may read them, and reap abundant benefit from them.

# C H A P. V.

*That Johannes differed not only with the Clergy, but with the Magistracy also. And concerning Eutropius the Eunuch.*

AS long as *Johannes* was offensive to the Clergy only, the designs framed against him were weak and infirm. But after he attempted to reprove many of the Magistracy also, beyond the bounds of what was fit, then the envy against him was much more enkindled. Many things were spoken against him, most whereof were in future believed by the Hearers. But that which made an addition to the calumny, was the Oration at that time spoken by him against *Eutropius*. For *Eutropius* the Eunuch (the chief Person of the Bed-chamber to the Emperor, the first Eunuch that was vouchsafed the dignity of a *Consul* by the Emperor,) desirous to be revenged upon some persons who had taken sanctuary in the Church, made it his business to get an Edict published by the Emperors, prohibiting any Person from flying into the Churches for sanctuary; but that such as had fled thither should by force be drawn out thence. But [Divine] Vengeance follow'd immediately hereupon: for the Law was pro-

mulged, and not long after *Eutropius* himself, having offended the Emperor, made his escape into the Church. The Bishop therefore (whilst *Eutropius* lay under the Altar, and was terrified with fear,) (a) sitting in the Pulpit (out of which it had before been his usage to preach, in order to his being heard more easily,) made an Oration in reproof of him. Whereupon he seem'd to give a greater offence to some Persons, because he was not only incompassionate towards an unfortunate Man, but on the contrary evenly reproved him. *Eutropius* therefore at that time to the bearing the Consulate, was by the Emperor's order beheaded, for some crimes [he had committed.] His name was raised also out of the *Fasti Consulares*, and only *Theodorus*'s name, who had been his Colleague in the Consulate, was (b) recorded therein. 'Tis reported likewise, that Bishop *Johannes*, making use of his usual freedom and boldness in speaking, did sharply reprove *Gaius* also, at that time *Master of the Miltice*, because he took the confidence to make a request to the Emperor, that one of the Churches within the City might be assign'd to the *Arrians*, who were of the same opinion with himself. He also reprov'd several other of the *Grandeens* upon various accounts, with much freedom and boldness; by reason of which liberty of his, he gained the Ill-will of many Persons. Wherefore, *Theophilus* also Bishop of *Alexandria*, soon after *Johannes*'s Ordination, began to consider, how he might undermine and ruin him. And most commonly the Bishops Preached standing on the steps of the Altar. We are informed hereof from *King Childeric's* Conversation, in which *simonius* has recorded, in his first Tome of the Councils of France, pag. 300; but it is there imperfect. We will make good one defect in it, from the most ancient *Corbetian Manuscript*, after this manner: *Qualiter in sacilegus Dei injuria vindicetur, nostrum est pertractandum. Et quia fides nostra ut verbo de altario sacerdotis faciente quancunque de Evangelio, Propheta vel Apostolo fuerit admittitum, in quantum Deus dat intellectum: ad nos querimonia processit, &c.* The sense of these Words, which are very corrupt, is this: Because the Priests have complained, whilst they make Sermons to the People, that the *Banfarriers* [what the import of that Word is, I cannot find] walk through the fields, and reap the People from the Church; Therefore we command, &c. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 407, number 17. Valef.

(b) Hence 'tis, that in the *Fasti of Prosperus, Idatius, and Cassiodorus*, this year has only *Maulus Theodorus Consul, Eutropius*'s name being expunged. Concerning *Eutropius*'s death, consult *Zosimus*. Valef.

# C H A P. VI.

*Concerning the Tyranny of Gaius the Goth, and the Disturbance raised at Constantinople; and concerning his Death.*

I Will now relate an affair worthy to be recorded, which hapned at this very time; and will demonstrate, how Divine Providence freed the City and Roman State from the greatest danger imaginable, by unexpected assistance. What that was must now be declared. *Gaius* was by extract a *Barbarian*. Having made himself a

H h 3 Sub-

*Arceus  
and  
Eunuchus.  
Hated.*

(a) From this place his application, that the Bishop there before did not usually Preach out of the Pulpit. For this Socrates takes notice of as a thing singular in *Cyril's* Oration, that he went up into the Pulpit, that he might be the easier heard by the People. Most commonly the Bishops Preached standing on the steps of the Altar. We are informed hereof from *King Childeric's* Conversation, in which *simonius* has recorded, in his first Tome of the Councils of France, pag. 300; but it is there imperfect. We will make good one defect in it, from the most ancient *Corbetian Manuscript*, after this manner: *Qualiter in sacilegus Dei injuria vindicetur, nostrum est pertractandum. Et quia fides nostra ut verbo de altario sacerdotis faciente quancunque de Evangelio, Propheta vel Apostolo fuerit admittitum, in quantum Deus dat intellectum: ad nos querimonia processit, &c.* The sense of these Words, which are very corrupt, is this: Because the Priests have complained, whilst they make Sermons to the People, that the *Banfarriers* [what the import of that Word is, I cannot find] walk through the fields, and reap the People from the Church; Therefore we command, &c. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 407, number 17. Valef.

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\* Or, the first of the Eunuchs.



*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius*

those of his Party who could not get out of the City were slain; and perceiving that his sacrifices were unsuccessful to himself, left [St. John's] Church, and went in great haste into Thracia. Being come to Cheronesus, he endeavoured to pass over from thence, and take Lampascus, that from that place he might make himself Master of the Eastern parts. But upon the Emperor's sending Forces immediately both by Land and Sea, there appear'd another admirable effect of Divine Providence. For whilst the Barbarians, wanting Vessels, patch'd up Ships in great haste and disorder, wherein they might make their passage; on a sudden the Roman Navy appear'd in sight, and a West-wind blew hard. The Romans had a safe and easy passage in their Ships; but the Barbarians, together with their Horses in their Ships, were tossed up and down and dispersed by a Storm, and at length perish'd in the Sea. Many of them also were destroy'd by the Romans. After this manner a numerous multitude of Barbarians at that time lost their lives in their passage: But Gaina got away from thence, and flying through Thracia, falls into the hands of another party of the Roman Forces, by whom he is slain, together with the Barbarians in his company. Let thus much be sufficient to have been

(e) The true reading seems to be [ἀπὸ τοῦ δὲ Θεοδοίου καὶ τῶν Ταλίων], curiously concerning Gaina, Vale.

(f) Alvoetes were heretofore titled Scholastic, as we are informed from Justinian's 74th and 75th Novel. The words of Marcian in his 15th Homily, are these: ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς παλαιὸν πρεσβύτερος, &c. He that desires to have a Knowledge in Foreign Languages, goes and learns the Letters. And when he has been the first there, he goes to the School of the Romans, where he is the last of all. Again, when he comes to be the first there, he departs to the School of the Pragmatic [or, Practicants] where he is again the last of all, and Arcarius [or Novice]. Then, when he is made a Scholasticus, he is Novice, and the last of all the Lawyers. Again, when he becomes the first there, then he is made a President [or Governor of a province]. And when he is made a Governor, he takes to himself an Assistant or Assessor. See more in Praxeus Pitheus's Glossary ad Novellus Juliani Antecessoris, and in Theophrastus's Glossary in the term Σχολαστικός, & Ἀρχι-επί-τολ.

\* In the year of Christ 401, April. See Book 6 chap. 11. man State were thus tempestuous, those intrusted with the Prelacy, abstained not in the least from framing designs and plots one against another, to the reproach and disgrace of the Christian Religion: For at this very time the Bishops employ'd their thoughts about raising Tumults and Insurrections against one another. Which mischief took its beginning from Egypt, upon this account.

*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.*

## CHAP. VII.

Concerning the Dissention which hapned between Theophilus [Bishop] of Alexandria, and the Monasticks in the Solitude. And how Theophilus Anathematized Origen's Books.

A Little before this, a question had been started, whether God were a Body, and had a Human shape; or whether He were incorporeal and foreign, not only to an Human, but to any other bodily shape and figure whatever. By reason of this question, Strifes and Contentions were raised amongst many Persons: Some favouring this Opinion; others patronizing that. The greater part of the plainer and simpler sort of Ascetics asserted, that God was corporeal, and had a Human shape. But most [other Persons] condemned their Opinion, affirming God to be incorporeal, and wholly void of all manner of bodily shape. Whole Sentiment was embraced by Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria; inasmuch that he inveighed publicly in the Church, in the presence of the People, against those who asserted God had an Human shape; and did himself expressly determine, that he was incorporeal. The Egyptian Ascetics understanding this, left their Monasteries and came down to Alexandria; and raised a tumult against Theophilus, condemning him of impiety, and were resolved to kill him. Theophilus, acquainted herewith, was sorely perplex'd, and employ'd his Mind about a Device, how he might avoid the Death he was threatned with. Being come into the presence of these Men, he address'd himself to them in a flattering way, and spoke to them on this wise: \* Whilst I behold you, to my thinking I see God's Countenance. These words mollified the fury of the Monks. Their return to him was: If you speak true, [to wit,] that *God's Countenance is like ours*, then Anathematize do behold Origen's Works. For some Persons have disputed the face of out of those (a) Books, and contradicted our Opinion. (b) The But if you refuse to do that, expect from us the treatment in meat due to impious persons and enemies to God. Origen will do whatever seems good to you, (replied Theophilus) and therefore be not incens'd against me: For I my self do abominate Origen's Books, and judge those Persons worthy of reprehension who admit of them. Theophilus therefore having after this manner given the Monks a repulse, dismiss'd them. And perhaps the Controversie about this matter, which had come to this height, might have been quieted and appeased; had there not another accident forthwith hapned of this nature. There presided over the Monasteries in Egypt four pious Men, Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius. These Persons were own Brothers; and from their [stature of] body were termed *The Long*. They were eminent both for their [Sanctity of] life and eloquence: And upon that account their fame was very great at Alexandria. Moreover, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria had an high esteem for these Men. For which reason he constituted one them, to wit, Dioscorus, Bishop of Hermopolis; having by force constrained him [to undertake that Ecclesiastick Charge.] Two more of them he intreated to continue with him, and could scarcely persuade them to it: But in regard he was Bishop, at length he forced them

look upon you in the same manner that I see God. (a) The But if you refuse to do that, expect from us the treatment in meat due to impious persons and enemies to God. Origen will do whatever seems good to you, (replied Theophilus) and therefore be not incens'd against me: For I my self do abominate Origen's Books, and judge those Persons worthy of reprehension who admit of them. Theophilus therefore having after this manner given the Monks a repulse, dismiss'd them. And perhaps the Controversie about this matter, which had come to this height, might have been quieted and appeased; had there not another accident forthwith hapned of this nature. There presided over the Monasteries in Egypt four pious Men, Dioscorus, Ammonius, Eusebius, and Euthymius. These Persons were own Brothers; and from their [stature of] body were termed *The Long*. They were eminent both for their [Sanctity of] life and eloquence: And upon that account their fame was very great at Alexandria. Moreover, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria had an high esteem for these Men. For which reason he constituted one them, to wit, Dioscorus, Bishop of Hermopolis; having by force constrained him [to undertake that Ecclesiastick Charge.] Two more of them he intreated to continue with him, and could scarcely persuade them to it: But in regard he was Bishop, at length he forced them

*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.*

(b) Johannes Lau

noins (in  
true inter)

non of the  
duces this  
page, sh

(c) Instead of [παρηγγίλις τῇ,  
and they refused [I read [παρηγγίλις τοῖς, then they refused.  
Valef.

their frequent disputes with him, [had strongly asserted] that God was incorporeal, and in no wife had a human shape: For, human passions do of necessity accompany an human shape. And this had been diligently inquired into by the Antients, especially by *Origen*. Although this was *Theophilus's* own sentiment concerning God, yet that he might be revenged of his enemies, he was not ashamed of contradicting what he and they had well and truly asserted. But \* he imposed upon most of the Monks; persons

innocent indeed and sincere, but who were un-  
skillful in learning; yea most of them illiterate.  
For he sends Letters to the Monasteries in the  
Solitudes, giving them advice that they ought  
not to be perverted by *Diofcorus*, nor his Bre-  
thren, who affirm God to be incorporeal. For  
God [said he,] according to the [testimony  
of the] Sacred Scriptures, hath eyes, ears, hands,  
and feet as Men have. But those Persons about  
*Diofcorus*, being followers of *Origen*, do attempt  
to introduce an \* impious opinion; to wit, that  
God hath neither eyes, nor ears, nor feet, nor  
hands. With this impudence he deceives most  
of the Monks; and there arises a very hot dissen-  
sion amongst them. Such as had their minds \*  
cultivated with Learning, were in no wise caught  
with this fraud; but continued their adherence  
both to *Diofcorus* and *Origen*. But the simpler  
sort, who were the most in number, and had the  
greatest warmth and zeal, forthwith made an  
insurrection against the Brethren. A division  
therefore was made amongst them; and they re-  
proach'd one another as impious Persons. *Theo-  
philus*'s Party term'd the Brethren *Origenists*; and  
impious Persons. On the contrary, the other  
Faction stiled those instigated by *Theophilus* || *Ant-* || That is,  
*thropomorphite*. Whereupon no small contention *persecution*  
arose, and an irreconcilable war was kindled *affirmed*  
between the Monks. As soon as *Theophilus* un- *God had*  
derstood that his design succeeded according to *an humane*  
his own mind, he went to *Nivria* (where the  
Monasteries are) accompanied with a great  
multitude, and (d) Arms the Monks against *Dio-*  
*fcorus* and his Brethren. They having been in  
great danger of losing their lives, at length with  
the great difficulty made their escape. *Johannes*  
of *Constantinople* was in the interim wholly ig-  
norant of what had been done in *Egypt*; and he  
grew famous for his Learning and Eloquence,  
on account whereof he became eminent [in all  
places.] He was also the first Person that en-  
larged the Prayers [usually made] in the *No-*  
*urnal Hymns*, [which he did] for this reason.

*Nirina by Theophilus.* For, they were forced from thence, but the  
 that were the defenders of Origen, whom, together with his *Serius*,  
*Theophilus* had condemned in the *Alexandrian Synod*. *Socrates* seems  
 to have been impoed upon by some Person that was an *Origenist*,  
 who favouring *Ammونیus* and his Brethren, had given *Socrates*, a Nar-  
 rative of that bulinefs, otherwise than it really was. *Barnabas*, not  
 content to fix the *Noxian Heresie* upon our *Socrates* does openly call  
 him an *Origenist*. But we only by this, that *Socrates* had this re-  
 lation from some one of *Ammونیus*'s friends. I do not, in the least  
 doubt, but that *Theophilus*, and the rest that adhered toward *Origen*,  
 and his brethren, made the Error; of *Origen* and the Crime of  
 Heresie his pretext only; as he did afterwards frame the same Ca-  
 lumn against *Fohn Chrysostome*. Valef.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Concerning the Prayers of the Nocturnal Hymns  
[sung] by the Arians and Homoſuſians; and  
concerning the ingagement which hapned be-  
tween them: and that the ſinging of Hymns  
in parts, wherein one ſang one Verſe, another  
another, had its original from Ignatius (a) The-  
ophorus.

rius is usually filled. This term is differently accented in the Greek, which makes its import different also. For it is written *ὁ ἄνθρωπος* it denotes a *Divine Person*, one whose *Soul is full of God*. It is the *God* one &c., its import is passive, and implies *to be born or carried by God*. We should, therefore, have named *Men*, that *Ignatius* had this title from our Saviour's taking him up in his arms. For, he was that *very Child* (they say) whom our Saviour (*Mar. 9. 26.*) took up, and *lay in the midst of his Disciples*. Others, on the contrary, affirm that this Story to be groundless and uncertain. See *Dr. Cave's Life of Ignatius*.

 $\sim \text{O}_2$  and in

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.Covered,  
of Arcadius  
Walks.

**T**HE *Arians*, as we have said, had their meetings without the City. Every week therefore, as often as the Festival days occur'd (I mean the Sabbath, and Sunday,) whereon Assemblies were usually held in the Churches, they flock'd together within the City, about the publick "Piazas", and sang Hymns adapted to the *Arian* Heresie, answering one another by turns. And this they did for the most part all night long. Early in the morning they sang the same *alternative Hymns*, pass'd through the midst of the City, out of its Gates, and so went to the places where they met. But in regard they would not desist from making use of such terms as gave a provocation to the Assertors of the *Homousian* Opinion: (for they frequently sang such words as these; *Where are they who affirm Three to be One Power?*) *Johannes* being afraid, left any of the more ignorant sort might be drawn away from the Church by such Hymns, in opposition to them appoints some of his own People, that they might employ themselves in singing of *Nocturnal Hymns*, and by that means both obscure the Seditious of the *Arians* about these things, and also confirm his own Party [the Orthodox] in the profession of their Faith. This design of *Johannes* was seemingly good and useful; but the conclusion of it was Disturbance and Dangers. For, in regard the Hymns of the *Homousians*, in their singing them in the night, were performed with more of pomp and show: (for *Johannes* invented Silver-Crosses, whereon were carried Wax-tapers lighted; the Emperess *Eudoxia* being at the charge hereof;) the *Arians*, who were very numerous, and posselt with an envious emulation, resolv'd to be revenged, and to make an attack against them. For by reason of that power and sway which they had formerly had, they were as yet hot and ready for such conflicts, and likewise they despised their Adversaries. Without delay therefore, on one of those nights they engaged. *Brise*, the Emperess's Eunuch, who at that time was the Singers Instructor, received a wound in his Forehead by a Stone: and moreover, some Persons on both sides were slain. The Emperor incens'd hereat, prohibited the *Arians* from singing their Hymns any more in publick. Such, as we have declared, were the Transactions then. We are further to relate, whence this usage of singing *alternative Hymns* in the Church had its original. (b) *Ignatius* the third Bishop of *Antioch* in *Syria* from the Apostle *Peter*, who also convers'd with the Apostles themselves, saw a Vision of Angels, praises the Holy Trinity by singing of *alternative Hymns*, and he deliver'd that way of singing, which he had seen in his Vision, to the *Antiochian* Church. Whence the same Tradition was spread over all other Churches. This is the account we have received concerning *alternative Hymns*.

(b) I cannot imagine whence Socrates has this Story. For singing the Holy Trinity in this manner, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons, who in *Constantius's* Reign divided the Quires of Singers at *Antioch* into two parts, and gave them *David's* Psalms, to be sung *alternatively*, or by turns; which usage being first practis'd at *Antioch*, afterwards spread over all the Churches of the World. *Theodoret* attests this in his *Hist. lib. 2. cap. 24.* as does also *Theodorus Mopsuestenus* (a Person antecedent than he) who lived in the same times with *Flavianus* and *Diodorus*. The odorous words are quoted by *Nicetas in Thesauris Orthodoe fidei, lib. 5. cap. 30.* Altho' that way of singing Psalms seems to have been used by the *Syrians*, before *Flavianus* and *Diodorus's* times. For *Theodorus* writes, that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* were the first Persons, who translated that kind of *Psalmody* which they term *Antiphona*; [That is, when one singeth one Verse, another another] out of the *Syrian* Language into the *Grecian*; and that those two Persons appear'd almost the only Authors of this thing, to all the parts of the World.

What therefore the *Syrians* had done long before *Flavianus's* time, (to wit, in singing of *David's* Psalms *alternatively* in *Syriack*;) that *Flavianus* and *Diodorus* order'd to be done, by the *Grecians* of *Antioch* in their singing the Psalms in *Greek*. Valel.

## C H A P. IX.

Concerning those termed The Long Monks, and Arcadius how Theophilus having conceived an implacable hatred against Johannes upon their account, made it his business to get him deposed [from his Bishoprick.]

**N**OT long after this, the Monks together with *Disforus* and his Brethren, went from the Solitude to *Constantinople*. They were accompanied by *Isidorus*, a Person for whom *Theophilus* had heretofore had a great

\* See the second Chapter of this Book.  
(a) Besides this reason of *Theophilus's* hatred against *Isidorus*, *Sequester* (Book 8. Chap. 12.) relates two other causes. The first was, because *Isidorus* had refused to give evidence in favour of *Theophilus's* S-ster. The second, because he had reproved *Theophilus* for his over-much diligence in building Churches, whereby he wasted the Money of the Church, which ought rather to have been bestowed on the poor. I am easily induced to believe, that these were the Reasons of *Theophilus's* hatred against *Isidorus*; in regard both *Socrates* and *Sequester* do expressly attest it. Notwithstanding, *Isidorus* was not for these reasons ejected out of the Church; but was condemned by the sentence of the Synod, on account of *Origen's* Errors, which he maintained; as *Basilius* has long since informed us from *Palladius* in *Lausica*. Valel.  
(b) *S. Arsenius*, who succeeded *Chrysostom* in his Bishoprick, is term'd a *sequester* by *Sequester*, Chief-Presbyter, in the Acts of the Synod at *Quercum*; and one *Marcellinus* is fill'd *episcopus* *Isidorus*, Chief-Deacon. *Sequester* calls this *Peter Arch-Presbyter*. This is a name of honour, not of indictment. For the Bishops elected whom they pleas'd out of the College of Presbyters to be Arch-Presbyters, as *Libertus* informs us in his *Breviarium*, chap. 14. Valel.

For he had been sent by *Theophilus* to *Damasus*, Bishop of *Rome*, that he might make a reconciliation between him and *Flavianus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For *Melchius's* Adherents made a separation from *Flavianus* on account of his Oath, as has been declared \* before. *Isidorus* therefore being returned from *Rome*, and summons'd by *Peter* to give in his evidence, affirm'd that the *Manichean* Woman was admitted [to the Sacrament] agreeable to the Bishop's consent: and that the Bishop himself admitted the [Sacred] Mysteries to her. Hereupon *Theophilus* was highly enraged, and out of anger ejected them both [out of the Church.] This was the occasion of *Isidorus's* accompanying *Disforus* and his Brethren to *Constantinople*; that the designs which had fraudulently been formed against them, might be impeded and laid open before the Emperor himself, and *Johannes* the Bishop. *Johannes* informed hereof, gave the Men an honourable reception;

*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.*

ption; and excluded them not from communion of the Prayers; but said, he would not allow them a Communion of the [Sacred] Mysteries, before *cognizance* had been taken of their Case. Whilst the affair was in this posture, a false report is brought to the hearing of *Theophilus*, as if *Johannes* had both admitted them to the Sacred Mysteries, and was also ready to give them assistance. Wherefore [*Theophilus*] made it his whole business, that he might not only be revenged upon *Dioscorus* and *Isidorus*, but cast *Johannes* also out of his [Episcopal] Chair. He sends Letters therefore to the Bishops of every City, concealing indeed his own design, and to appearance blaming therein *Origen's* Books only: [notwithstanding,] *Athanasius*, (who lived long before him,) in confirmation of his own Faith, has frequently made use of the authority and testimony of *Origen's* Writings, in his *Orations against the Arians*.

### CHAP. X.

*That Epiphanius [Bishop] of Cyprus being also led away by Theophilus's Fruits, convened a Synod of Bishops in Cyprus, to determine against Origen's Writings; and reproved Johannes for reading Origen's Books.*

**H**E became reconciled also to *Epiphanius* Bishop of *Constantia* in *Cyprus*, with whom he had heretofore disagreed. For *Theophilus* (a) had been angry with *Epiphanius*, in regard he entertained subject thoughts of God, and substituted a Human shape. Altho' *Theophilus* embraced these sentiments concerning God, and reproved those who supposed the Deity had an human shape; yet by reason of the hatred he had conceived against some other persons, he openly denied his own thoughts; and at that time entered into a friendship with *Epiphanius* (with whom he had before been at difference) as if he had altered his mind, and entertained now the same sentiment with him concerning God. He was very earnest with *Epiphanius* likewise, to convene a Synod of the Bishops in *Cyprus*, that therein *Origen's* Writings might be condemned. *Epiphanius* being by reason of his singular piety, a person of a plain disposition, and unacquainted with subtlety, was soon induced into error by *Theophilus's* Letters. And having assembled a Synod of the Bishops within the Island [*Cyprus*]: prohibits the reading of *Origen's* Books. He sent Letters also to *Johannes*, intreating him to abstain from reading *Origen's* Works; and [requesting] that he also would convene a Synod, and make the same determination he had done. *Theophilus* therefore having wound in *Epiphanius*, a person famous for his piety, to embrace his own Opinion; and perceiving that his design thrived according to his wish; became more confident, and he also himself (b) assembled many Bishops; in which Con-

vention (agreeable to what had been done by *Epiphanius*) a sentence of Condemnation was pronounced against the Writings of *Origen*, who had been dead (c) almost two hundred years: Not that this was *Theophilus's* principal design, but [he did it chiefly] to be revenged on *Dioscorus* and his Brethren. *Johannes* gave little heed to what he was acquainted with, either from *Epiphanius*, or *Theophilus* himself; his mind being wholly employ'd about preaching in the Churches; and for that indeed he was extraordinarily eminent: But he altogether slighted the Plots and Designs form'd against him. But after it came to be apparently known to most persons, that *Theophilus* made it his business to divert *Johannes* of his Bishoprick, then all those Men who had an hatred for *Johannes*, joyn'd in their raising calumnious complaints against him. And many, as well of the Clergy, as of the *Grandeurs* who had a great interest in the Imperial Palace, supposing they had a very fair opportunity offer'd them of being reveng'd upon *Johannes*, procur'd a Grand Synod to be convened at *Constantinople*, sending into divers parts [for the Bishops,] partly by Letters, and partly by Messengers.

that *Heresie* in the Year of Christ 399. Which was done after many Conferences concerning that matter, held by the Bishops who came thither, as *Justinianus* informs us in *Sisipius's* Dialogues de l'us B. Marini. After this *Theophilus* sent a Synodick Letter to all the Bishops, and he wrote a particular Letter to *Epiphanius*, beseeching and intreating him that he would convene all the Bishops of the Island, condemn the same *Heresie* himself, and subscribe his Synodick Letter. This Letter of *Theophilus's* is at this day extant, translated by St. Jerome. Valef.

(c) *See* *Staxorior* *de* *seculis* 177. The particle *de* must be expunged. Moreover, *Socrates* here uses a period number for an imperfect. And for this reason he adds the Term *seculum*. That is, almost, or, thereabout. But if we would speak exactly, above fifty Years must be taken from this number. For *Origen* died on the year of Christ 252, as may be made out from what we have said at *us* (b.) and (c.) on *English* *Ecclesiastical* *History*. Book 7. chap. 1. From which Year, to the Year of Christ 399. wherein *Origen* was condemned in the *Alexandrian* Synod, there are 147 Years. Valef.

### CHAP. XI.

*Concerning the [two] Syrian [Bishops] Severianus and Antiochus, how, and for what reasons they disagreed with Johannes.*

**M**oreover, the Odium against *Johannes* was increased by another accident of this nature. There were two Bishops who flourished at one and the same time, by extract they were Syrians, [their names] *Severianus* and *Antiochus*. *Severianus* presided over the Church of *Gabala*, which is a City of Syria; and *Antiochus* over that of *Ptolemais* situate in *Phenice*. Both of them were famous for their eloquence. *Severianus*, though he seem'd to be very learned, yet did not pronounce the Greek tongue exactly and distinctly: But whilst he spoke Greek, his voice had the sound of *Syriack*. *Antiochus* came first to *Constantinople* from *Ptolemais*; and having for some time preached in the Churches [of the Imperial City] with much labour and diligence, and from them procur'd a great sum of Money, at length he return'd to his own Church. Afterwards, *Severianus* being inform'd that *Antiochus* had gotten a great deal of Money at *Constantinople*, made it his business to follow his example. Having therefore exercised himself very much, and made many Sermons, he also comes to *Constantinople*: Where being courtously received by *Johannes*, for some time

(b) *Socrates*  
(and  
*Sozomen*  
who ha:



Arctius and Honorius.  
\* Or, max-  
im of the  
Magistra-  
te.

time he sooth'd and flatter'd him, and was notwithstanding belov'd and honour'd by *Johannes*: In the mean while he grew famous for his Sermons, and on that account came to be taken notice of by \*many great Personages [of that City,] and moreover, by the Emperor himself. It hapned that the Bishop of *Ephesus* died at that time, and *Johannes* was necessitated to make a journey thither, to Ordain a Bishop there. Being come to that City, and finding some endeavouring to promote one person to the Bishoprick, others another, (who also strove very earnestly amongst themselves upon their account, for whom they gave their Suffrages;) *Johannes* perceiving that both Parties contended most pertinaciously, and would in no point be obedient to his admonitions; resolv'd to put an end to their contention † without offending either Faction. He himself therefore prefer'd one *Heraclides* his Deacon, by Nation a *Cypriot*, to the Bishoprick. And so both parties desisted from their mutual contentiousness, and were at quiet. On this account *Johannes* was necessitated to stay at *Ephesus* a long time. In the interim that he resided there, *Severianus* gain'd a greater esteem and affection from his Auditors at *Constantinople*. Nor was this thing unknown to *Johannes*; for he was with all imaginable speed acquainted with whatever hapned. When therefore *Serapion* (of whom we have made mention † before) suggested to him, and told him the Church was disturb'd by *Severianus*, *Johannes* was provok'd to an emulation. And having † incidently taken away many Churches from the *Novatianists* and *Quartodecimani*, he return'd to *Constantinople*; where he renew'd the care of the Churches which were incumbent on him. But no body was able to endure *Serapion's* haughtiness and arrogance. For in regard he was in possession of a great † interest and favour with *Johannes* the Bishop, his insolence towards all persons was immeasurable. For which reason the *Odium* also against the Bishop became more enkindled. Upon a time, when *Severianus* pass'd by him, *Serapion* refus'd to give him the honour due to a Bishop; but continued in his seat, demonstrating thereby that he had but a very slight esteem for *Severianus's* presence. *Severianus* could not bear this contempt of *Serapion's*; but spake with a loud voice to those that were present, If *Serapion* dies a *Christian*, *Christ* hath not been incarnate. *Serapion* having gotten this occasion, did openly render *Severianus* odious to *Johannes*. He conceal'd the first Clause of the Sentence [to wit, this,] if *Serapion* dies a *Christian*; and affirmed that *Severianus* said these words only; doubting *Christ* was not incarnate. He produced a company of his own [Faction] who attested that the words were spoken so. *Johannes* therefore forthwith expels *Severianus* out of the City. This coming to the knowledge of the Empress *Eudoxia*, she reproves *Johannes* severely; and gave order that *Severianus* should forthwith be recalled from *Chalcedon* in *Bithynia*. He return'd immediately. But *Johannes* declined his Friendship; nor could he be induced thereto by the intreaty of any one: (a) Till at length the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church called *The Apostles*, cast her Son *Theodosius* (who now reigns successfully, but was then a very

† Or, Without  
labour, or,  
unable.

† Book 6,  
Chap. 4.  
\* Or, By  
the by.

† Or, Li-  
berty and  
assistance.

(f) Instead  
of [ds  
i Basilius  
as, in so  
much that  
the Empress,  
in my judgment it should be [ds i n Basilius, till at  
length the Empress,] Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* wrote thus. *Ni-*  
cephorus words it expressly according to our Emendation. And in  
sequence the reading is [ds i n, until,] which is the same. Valef.

young Child;) before *Johannes's* knees, and *Arctadius*, (b) having adjured him frequently by her Son, and with much ado prevail'd with him to admit of a friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner (b) *Kas* therefore these two persons were to appearance *ds i n* reconciled: nevertheless they retained a ran- *ds i n* cour'd mind one towards another. Such was the *ds i n* occasion of *Johannes's* grudge against *Severianus*. adjured *ds i n* him by her

Son. The Ancients were wont to swear by their Children. So in *Virgil*,  
*Per caput hoc juro, per spem surgentis illi:*  
*I swear by this head, by the hopes of growing Iulus.*

After the same manner, when they would earnestly outreat others, they beseeched them by their own Children, and whatever they accounted most dear to themselves. In this manner therefore *Eudoxia* spake to *Johannes* *Chrysostome* at that time: By this little Child of mine, and your spiritual Son, whom I brought forth, and whom you received out of the sacred Font; be reconciled with *Severianus*. 'Tis certain *Chrysostome* had received *Theodosius Junior* out of the sacred Font, as *Nicephorus* relates at this place, from *Simeon Metaphrastes*, as I suppose. Further, *Baronius* places this reconciliation between *Severianus* and *Chrysostome*, on the year of *Christ* 401, in the Consulate of *Vincencius* and *Fravitus*. But I had rather place it on the year following. For if it be true that *Theodosius* was then baptized, as we have before related from *Nicephorus*: (which is indeed highly probable; for *Eudoxia* would not have brought her Son into the Church of the *Apostles*, had he not been baptized,) this reconciliation of the Bishops must necessarily happen on the year of *Christ* 402. For *Theodosius Junior* was born in the Consulate of *Vincencius* and *Fravitus*, (which was the year of *Christ* 401,) on the tenth of April. For so 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in *Marcellinus's* which was put forth by *Onfricius*. The reading in *Simondus's* Edition is false, where it is on the eleventh of April. Nor is it credible, that he could be baptized, except in the Easter of the year following. If any one notwithstanding shall maintain, that he was baptized a few days after his birth, (as *Marcus* seems to intimate in the Life of *Porphyrius*;) we will allow this, if he pleases. But who can believe, that *Theodosius* would have been brought into the Church by his Mother, and placed at *Chrysostome's* Knees, before he was a year, or ten months old? Valef.

## C H A P. XII.

That *Epiphanius* coming to *Constantinople*, held Assemblies, and perform'd Ordinations contrary to *Johannes's* mind, that he might gratifie *Theophilus*.

Not long after this, *Epiphanius* the Bishop comes again out of *Cyprus* to *Constantinople*, induced thereto by *Theophilus's* \* Perfwasives: \* Or, Ar-  
He brought along with him † a Copy of a Sen-  
tence of a Synod, wherein he had not declared † *Tà ka*  
*Origen* to be Excommunicate, but had condemn-  
ed his Books only. Arriving therefore at Saint *John's* Church, (which is distant from the City seven miles,) and coming ashore, he celebrated an Assembly, (a) and ordain'd a Deacon; after which he entered into the City. That he might gratifie *Theophilus*, he declined *Johannes's* Invitation, and lodg'd in a little private House. And charge so-  
having called together those Bishops who were *ds i n* then at *Constantinople*, he produced a Copy of the Sentence of Condemnation against *Origen's* a mistake, because he has said, Books, and recited it to them: (b) Having no-  
tained a Deacon at *Constantinople* without the consent of the Bishop of that City. *Epiphanius* had done that before indeed, in the Diocess of *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, as 'tis manifest from *Jerome's* Epistles. *Socrates* therefore, and those that follow him, being deceived by the likeness of the name, thought that was done by *Epiphanius* in the Church of *John* Bishop of *Constantinople*. This device *Baronius* has invented to excuse *Epiphanius*. But, who sees not, that there is no reason, why we should charge *Socrates* with a Lye in those things which he himself was able to see? For what had been once done already by *Epiphanius* in *Palestine*, why could it not afterwards be made use of by the same person at *Constantinople*? For there was not so great a Crime in ordaining a Deacon, whom notwithstanding *Epiphanius* ordained not, but by the entreaty of the multitude that stood by. Valef.

(b) Instead of [ds i n, I have nothing:] it must doubtless be [ds i n, having nothing:] in the next line, we read [ds i n, were pleased:] instead of [ds i n, is pleased.] Valef.  
thing

Acacius  
and  
Honorius.

thing against those Books, only he and Theophilus were pleased to reject them. Some [of the Bishops] out of that reverential respect they bore Epiphanius, subscribed [this Decree of the Synod:] but very many of them refused to do it. Amongst which number was Theotimus Bishop of Sytybia, who made this answer to Epiphanius. I [said he] will neither be injurious (O Epiphanius!) to a person who has long since ended his life piously; nor dare I attempt so impious a fact, as to condemn what our Predecessors have in no wise rejected; and (c) agree specially when I do not (c) know of any ill Doctrine in the Books of Origen. After this he produced a Book of Origen's, which he began to read, and showed the Ecclesiastick Expolitions [of Scripture which occur'd] therein. And then he subjoyn'd these words: *They who are injurious towards these Writings, perceive not that they fix a reproach upon those very Books, concerning which these are written.* This was the return which Theotimus (a person eminent for his piety and rectitude of life) made to Epiphanius.

Notwithstanding, 'tis my opinion, that there is something more wanting here. And after the word [Origen,] I think the place is to be made thus, ταύτα εἰρησ, μενεσίους τὴν βιβλίαν, having said these Words, and produced a Book, &c. Which is confirmed by Sozomen and Nicephorus. And Epiphanius Scholasticus seems to have read thus, as may be collected from his Version. Valef.

### C H A P. XIII.

What this Writer can say in defence of Origen.

BUT in regard such as delight in reproaching have imposed upon many persons, [and dissuaded them] (a) from reading Origen, as being a blasphemous Author; I judge it not unreasonable to discourse a little concerning them. Vile and despicable Men, who of themselves can't arrive at an eminency, are desirous of getting a name from diffamming those who are better than themselves. The first person affected with this distemper was Methodius Bishop of that City in Lycia, named Olympus. Then, Eusebius, who for some small time presided over the Church in Antioch. After him Apollinaris, and lastly, Theophilus. This Mefs of Revilers have calumniated Origen, but proceeded not in one and the same method. For one has broke out into an accusation against him upon one account, another upon another; whereby each of them hath sufficiently demonstrated, that he has fully approv'd of whatever he has not found fault with. For, whereas one blamed him in particular for one opinion, another for another, 'tis manifest that each of them has wholly admitted as true what he had not cavil'd at; his silence approving of that which he hath not found fault with. Methodius indeed, when [in his Books] he had in many passages severely inveigh'd against Origen, does notwithstanding, afterwards unlay as it were what he had written; and (b) admires the

(b) Baro-  
nius, at the

year of Christ 402, does charge Socrates here with a Lye and Calumny, because he has said that Methodius (when he had before reproach'd Origen,) did afterwards unlay what he had written, and set forth his praises. But Baronius affirms, that Methodius did the contrary. For when he had at the beginning praised Origen, afterwards having detected his Errors, he inveigh'd against him. Baronius confirms this by the testimony of Eusebius, who in the sixth Book of his Apology in de-

fence of Origen, writes thus: *Quomodo ausus est Methodius nunc contra Origenem scribere, qui has & hae de Origenis locutus est dogmas: Non daret Methodius scribere against Origen non, who has spoken in these and these things, concerning Origen's opinions.* Which passage in Eusebius St. Jerome quotes in his Apology against Rufinus, to shew that he had done the same thing which Methodius did before. But Eusebius, in the place now cited, does not say; plainly, that Methodius had before spoke in defence of Origen. For he does not say [who had spoken these and these things concerning Origen's opinions:] but only [who has spoken, &c.] which may be taken on either side. Therefore Socrates is not to be charged with a Lye. Valef.

Man in the (c) the Dialogue to which he gave Acacius the title of Xenon. But, I do affirm, that an addition is made to Origen's commendation, from his being accused by these persons. For (c) Methodius wrote his Books commonly in the way of Dialogue, for entertaining of Dissentiments concerning the Holy Trinity; legues, as [these Men, I say,] do most evidently demonstrate and bear witness to his true and orthodox Faith. And by their not blaming him in this particular, they commend him by their own testimony. But Athanasius a courageous Defender of the Homoeopsonian Faith, in his Orations against the Ariens, does with a loud voice cite this Author as a Witness of his own Faith, interweaving his words with his own, after this manner: *The most admirable and laborious Origen, (says concerning he) does by his own testimony confirm our Sentiment the Right concerning the Son of God, affirming him to be co-eternal to the Father.* They therefore who reproach Origen, have forgot themselves [and consider not] that they speak calumniously of great Athanasius, Origen's praiser. But let thus much be said concerning Origen. We will now return to the Sequel of our History.

some Excerptions. Of the same sort also was this Dialogue of his, entitled Xenon, that is, the House of Entertainment, wherein Summers lodge. For, α-σαδενον is a place for Virgins to dwell in: so this is an house for Strangers to dwell in. This Book is mention'd in Rufinus's Bibliotheca, in his Excerptions out of Methodius's Book εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, where these Words occur; οὗτοί τινες οἱ καὶ οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τοὺς μαρτυροῦντας ὑμῶν ἐκπεσόντων τῶν ἡμετέρων, μαρτυροῦνται μὴ τὴν ἐξουσίαν τὴν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἀποκρίσιν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν ἡμετέραν, &c. διότι καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐστὶν, &c. Which place the Translator has rendered very ill; it is thus to be translated: *For passage in the Gospel [saith not that which is Holy to the Dogs, nor Pearls before Swine] is thus explained by Xenon, that by Petrus means the most secret Mysteries of the Religion given by God: But the Hogs, &c. the great Methodius says, &c.* In this Dialogue therefore, the title whereto was μετὰ τὸν οἶκον, at Origen's was introduced, by name Xenon, against whom Methodius disputed, not in his own name, but under another Person, as Plotius attests in the same Excerptum. Hence 'tis apparent, that that Dialogue of Methodius, which Socrates calls Xenon, was the same to which Plotius gives the title of μετὰ τὸν οἶκον; and that Xenon is not to be taken for a place of Entertainment, but rather for a Person of the Dialogue. But (some one will object) that in that Dialogue intitled Xenon, Origen was highly commended by Methodius; but in the Dialogue intitled μετὰ τὸν οἶκον, Methodius terms him a Centaur. For so 'tis extant in two places in Plotius's Excerptum. My answer is, 'Tis possible that in the beginning of that work Methodius might have seem'd sharp upon Origen; but in the end or procedure of it, he might find a Retreat as it were, and quit him highly. Notwithstanding, if any one has a mind still to maintain, that the Dialogue Xenon differed from that intitled μετὰ τὸν οἶκον; then it must be said, that Xenon was not the proper name of any Man, but that thereby is rather meant the whole School of Origen, wherein the Audiens and Scholars, coming from divers parts of the World, were conversant. Which in my judgment is the truest. 'Tis certain, if Xenon was a proper name, it would have the accent in the last syllable have one. Valef.

### C H A P. XIV.

How Johannes (having invited Epiphanius to come to [his Palace] and be refusing, and continuing his holding of separate Assemblies in the Church of the Apolitics,) admonished and reproved him, because he did many things contrary

Aradius  
and  
Honorius.

ry to the Canons. Whereat Epiphanius was  
terrified, and returned into his own Country.

(a) This beginning is too abrupt; especially in regard that digression concerning Origen went before. Therefore in my judgment [i. e. b.] should precede here; and the beginning of the next period should run thus, *ὁ δὲ ἐκ ἐπὶ ἐκ. But his answer was, &c. Valef.*

\* Or, be-  
fore a Ca-  
tholic,  
or, general  
dijuncti-  
on.

† Or, re-  
proach.

(b) Instead  
of [i. e. c.]  
in should  
in my judge-  
ment [i. e. d.]  
[although  
this read-  
ing be dis-  
agreeable  
to all our  
Copies.] For  
it ap-  
pears to  
what fol-  
lows, to  
be right  
and now.  
Valefius.  
(c) The  
reading in  
the Florentine M.S. pleases me best; which is, *ἐλπίσας μὴ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς τὴν  
αὐτῶν αἰτίαν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν, ἐπιστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδι.* Moreover Baroni-  
us does deservedly desire these Predi-  
cations of Epiphanius and Chrysostome, as fabulous and forged. Socrates  
relates them not for true and certain; and in my judgment they are  
altogether misbecoming Holy Men and Bishops. Valef.

(d) Baroni-  
us does indeed place that contest between Epiphanius and  
Chrysostome on the year of Christ 402. But concerning Epiphanius's  
death he differs from Socrates, Sozomen, and the other Writers,  
who tell us that Epiphanius died soon after, in his return to his own  
Country. And yet Baroni-  
us confesses he knows not what year Epi-  
phanus died on. Which I cannot wonder at enough. For, whereas  
Baroni-  
us follows Socrates and Sozomen in the foregoing account of  
that contest which hapned between those two eminent Men, what  
reason had he to differ from them about the death of Epiphanius?  
They might indeed have been mistaken in their relating the mutual  
predications between Epiphanius and Chrysostome; nor is it sufficiently  
manifest, whether or no they predicted those accidents to one ano-  
ther. But the things which hapned to each of them are most certain,  
nor could Socrates and Sozomen be ignorant hereof; the latter of  
whom was born at Salamine, over which City Epiphanius had been  
Bishop; and both of them were almost Epiphanius's Contemporaries.  
It ought therefore to be look'd upon as certain from the Testi-

mony of these Writers, that Epiphanius died at the close of the year  
402, or at least on the beginning of the year following, before the  
Synod at Quercum. Theophilus informs us hereof in his Epistle to Saint  
Jerome, which Epistle Jerome has prefixed before Theophilus's Paschal  
Epistle, which he translated into Latin. For in that Epistle Theophilus  
speaks these Words concerning Chrysostome then condemned: *Sed ille,  
ut ceteris episcopis fugiatis racionem, &c.* But he, not to mention his other  
Crimes, admitted the Origenists to a familiarity with himself, and pre-  
ferred many of them to the Sacred Office, on account of which fact  
he seduced the Hearts of his own of God Epiphanius of Blessed memory,  
(who shined as a bright Star in the World amongst the Bishops;) and  
therefore had deserved to bear, Babylon is fallen, is fallen. Where you  
see Theophilus does speak of Epiphanius, as then dead; for he terms  
him a Man of blessed memory; and he intimates, that he was dead  
before Chrysostome's condemnation. Valef.

Aradius  
and  
Honorius.

# C H A P. XV.

How after Epiphanius's departure, Johannes  
made an Oration against Women; and upon that  
account (by the care of the Emperor and Empreſs,)  
a Synod was convened against him at Chalcedon,  
and he is ejected out of his Church.

FOR, after Epiphanius's departure, Johannes  
received information from some Persons,  
that the Empreſs Eudoxia had animated Epipha-  
nius against him. And being a Person of an hot  
disposition, and of a ready expression; without  
delay he made an Oration in the presence of  
the People, the Contents whereof were the dis-  
commendation of all Women in general. The  
Multitude understands that Oration so, as if it  
had been \* Enigmatically spoken against the \* Dirty,  
Empreſs. This Speech is taken in writing by or, ob-  
malevolent Persons, and brought to the know-  
ledge of the Emperors. The Empreſs, infor-  
med hereof, complains to the Emperor of the  
injury done to herself, and tells him that her  
injury was his. She takes care therefore, that  
Theophilus should forthwith convene a Synod a-  
gainst Johannes: which was in like manner  
urged by Severianus; for he still retained his  
grudge [against Johannes]. Within a small in-  
terval of time Theophilus arrived, accompanied  
with many Bishops of several Cities [whom he  
had summoned together  
by his Letters.] (a) For,  
the Emperor had given  
him this order by his Re-  
script. They flock'd to-  
gether, most especially, who  
were displeas'd with Johan-  
nes, some upon one ac-  
count, others on another.  
They came also, whom  
Johannes had turned out of  
their Bishopricks. For Jo-  
hannes had depofed many Bi-  
shops in Asia, when he went  
to Ephesus upon account  
of ordaining Heraclides. All  
of them therefore by agree-  
ment met together at Chal-  
cedon [a City] of Bithynia.  
One Cyrinus was at that  
time Bishop of Chalcedon,  
by Country an Egyptian;  
he prated [against Jo-  
hannes] before the Bishops,  
terming him an impious,  
arrogant, and (b) inexor-  
able person. With which  
words the Bishops were mightily pleased.  
But Marutha Bishop of Mesopotamia, against  
his will trod upon Cyrinus's Foot: By reason of

(a) Instead of [i. e. c.]  
Basilius, &c. Moreover, the Em-  
peror, [i. e. d.] I had rather it  
should be [i. e. e.] &c. For  
the Emperor, &c. Moreover,  
Chrysostome affirms the contrary  
to what is laid here, in his Epistle  
to Innocentius. For he says that  
the Emperor commanded Theo-  
philus to come to Constantinople  
alone, to plead his cause; but,  
that he came thither, accompa-  
nied with many Bishops. Not-  
withstanding, these things may  
be reconciled, if we say that the  
Emperor gave Theophilus this  
order at the beginning, when the  
Monks had gone to him. But  
afterwards, at the instigation of  
his Wife Eudoxia, the Emperor  
commanded Theophilus to bring  
the Bishops out of Egypt with  
him. Valef.

(b) Aynelol. Musculus ren-  
ders it inflexible. Chrysostom,  
contumacious. I would rather  
translate it inexorable; for we  
fall down at their knees, whom  
we entreat. Valef.

*Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.*

which [bruise] he was in very great pain, and could not accompany the rest of the Bishops in their passage to *Constantinople*. He therefore continued at *Chalcedon*; but the rest failed over to *Constantinople*. None of the Ecclesiasticks went out to meet *Theophilus*, nor shewed him the usual respect and honour: for he was known to be [*Johannes's*] open Enemy: The *Alexandrian* Mariners, whose Corn-fleet hapned to be there at that time, went forth to meet him; and received him with Acclamations of joy. *Theophilus* refused to go into the Church; but took up his Lodgings in one of the Emperor's Houses named *Placidiana*. Thence-forward many Accusations were raised against *Johannes*. Nor was there the least mention now made concerning *Origen's* Books: but they betook themselves to other absurd Criminations. Provision being made before-hand after this manner; the Bishops met at a place \* near the City *Chalcedon*, termed the † *Oak*, whither they cited *Johannes* immediately, that he might make his Defence in reference to the Crimes he stood charged with. Together with him they summoned in *Sedrapion* [his Deacon,] *Tygris* the Eunuch a Prefbyter, and *Paulus* a Reader: For these persons were accused together with *Johannes*. But, in regard *Johannes* made use of an (c) Exception, and refused those that summon'd him in, as being his Enemies, and appeal'd to a General Council; without any delay they cited him in four times. And when he refused to appear, but gave them always the same answer, they condemned and deposed him; laying no other crime to his charge but this only, that upon his being summon'd he would not appear. This business being divulged about Evening, put the Multitude into the greatest tumult imaginable: Wherefore they watched all night long, and would in no wise suffer him to be taken out of the Church; but cried out, that cognizance ought to be taken of his Case in a greater Synod. But the Emperor issued out an Order, that he should be forthwith ejected, and carried into banishment. *Johannes* understanding this, surrendered himself about (d) Noon on the third day after his Deposition, the People not knowing of it. For he was afraid, lest a disturbance might have been raised upon his account. So, he was convey'd away [and banish'd.]

manner they fix'd the occasion of this Calumny upon Theophilus. For his frauds could no longer continue concealed; but [were discovered] both by many other Indications, and also because he communicated with *Discorus* and those termed the Long Monks, (a) soon after *Johannes*'s Deposition. Moreover, at that time *Severianus* also (in a Sermon which he preach'd in the Church,) supposing he had a fair opportunity of reproaching *Johannes*, spake these words, *Although Johannes had been condemned for nothing else, yet his proud and arrogant Disposition was crime* (b) *sufficient [justly to have occasion'd] his Deposition* For Men are forgiven all other sins, but God respects the proud, as the Sacred Scriptures inform us. These words provoked the Populace to an higher degree of obstinacy and contention. Upon which account the Emperor gave order he should be recalled immediately. *Brijo* therefore the Emperess's Eunuch being sent, found him at (b) *Prænetum*, which is a *Mart-Town* situate over-against *Nicomedia*, and ordered him to return to *Constantinople*. But in regard *Johannes*, after he was recalled from exile, refused to enter the City, before he had been declared innocent by a greater Judicature; in the interim therefore he abode in (c) a Village at some distance from the City, termed *Mariane*. Upon his making delays, and refusing to enter the City, the multitude was incensed, and forthwith began to cast forth opprobrious words against the Emperors. For which reason *Johannes* was forced to return. The Populace therefore went forth to meet him with [expressions of] the greatest veneration and honour, and bring him directly to the Church; entreating him to place himself in the Episcopal Chair; and (according to his former usage) pray for peace upon the People. Upon his refusing to do that, and saying that that ought to be done by a determination of the Judges, and that it was necessary his Condemners should acquit him; the Multitude grew more inflamed, they being extremely desirous to see him sitting in the [Episcopal] Chair, and to hear him preach again. At length the People prevailed to have these things done. And *Johannes* after he had seated himself in the Episcopal Throne, according to his usage prayed for peace upon the People: and moreover, being constrained thereto, he preach'd a Sermon to them. This thing gave *Johannes*'s Adversaries an occasion of [raising] another calumnious accusation against him. But concerning that they spake not one word then.

Note (k.) which the *Larines* do sometimes call *Suburbana*. Wherefore *Ortelius* (in his *Theſaurus Geographicus*) is miſtaken, in his ſuppoſing *Mariame* to be the Suburbs of *Conſtantinople*; whereas it was a Village, ſo called from its Builder, *Soromen* (Book 8. Chap. 18.) before this Village was then in the Empreſs *Eudoxia*'s poſſeſſion. *Valeſ.*

## CHAPTER XVI.

*That the People being tumultuous because of Johannes's Banishment, Briso the Empress's Eunuch was sent to bring him back again to Constantinople.*

**B**Ut the people were intolerably tumultuous. And (as it usually happens in such cases) those who had conceived an hatred against him changed it into a compassion, and affirmed him to be calumniated, whom a little before they desired to see deposed. Upon this account therefore they were the most numerous, who exclaimed both against the Emperor, and the Synod of Bishops. But in a more especial

## CHAPTER XVII.

*That upon Theophilus's desiring to discuss Heraclides's Cause absent, and Johannes's refusing to permit him; an Engagement hapned between the Constantinopolitans and Alexandrians, wherein many were slain [on both sides.] At which Theophilus and some other of the Bishops were terrified, and fled from the City.*

**B**UT in the first place *Theophilus* made an attempt to call in question *Heraclides's* (a) Ordi-

(a) Ordination; that so, if possible, he might make that an occasion of deposing *Johannes* [again.] *Heraclides* was not present; but was judged in his absence, as if he had unjustly beaten some persons, bound them with chains, and caused them to be led thorow the midst of the City *Ephesus*.

And when *Johannes* and his Favourers affirmed, that judgment ought not to be \* passed upon those that were able; the *Alexandrians* on the contrary stiffly maintained, that *Heraclides*'s Accusers ought to be admitted, altho' they accused him in his absence. A tumult therefore and a sharp conflict was forthwith raised between the *Constantinopolitans* and *Alexandrians*: And a Fight hapned, wherein many persons received Wounds, and some few were slain. Upon fight hereof, *Theophilus* fled forthwith to *Alexandria*: the same thing was done by the other Bishops, excepting a few who were of *Johannes*'s side. And all of them made their escape and went to their own [Sees.] These things hapning thus, *Theophilus* was condemned in the judgment of all Men. Moreover, the *Odium* against him was increased, by his being in no wife ashamed of reading *Origen*'s Books constantly after this. Being asked therefore by one, Why he would again embrace those Books which he had condemned; his answer was this: *Origen*'s Books are like a Meadow adorned with all manner of Flowers. If therefore I find any thing that is good amongst them, I gather it: But if any thing appears thorny to me, that (in regard it pricks) I let alone. This was *Theophilus*'s answer; but he considered not this saying of wife

*Solomon*: that † the words of the wife are as goads, and they ought not to kick against them, who are pricked by the Precepts [contained therein.] For these reasons *Theophilus* was condemned in all Mens judgments. Moreover *Dioscorus* (one of those termed *The Long Monks*) Bishop of *Hermopolis*, (b) died a little after *Theophilus*'s Flight, and was honoured with a splendid Funeral, being buried in the Church at *The Oak*, wherein the Synod upon *Johannes*'s account had been convened. But *Johannes* employed himself about Preaching: And ordains *Serapion* (for whose sake the *Odium* against him had been raised,) Bishop of *Heraclaea* in *Thracia*. Not long after, these things also hapned.

(b) *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Hermopolis* was dead before the Convention of the Synod at *The Oak*, but was he buried in the Church at the Oak, but in *St. Mocius*'s Church; as *Sozomen* attests Book 8. chap. 17. *St. Mocius*'s Church was at *Constantinople*, as we are informed by *Procopius* and others. Wherefore *Socrates* is mistaken, who attributes that to *Dioscorus*, which was rather to have been laid concerning his Brother *Ammonius*. For, at such time as the Synod at *Quercum* [that is, the Synod at the Oak,] was summoned, *Ammonius* fell into a distemper: And having passed over to *The Oak*, he died soon after, and was honoured with a splendid Funeral, in the Monastery of that place, as *Sozomen* tells us, Book 8. Chap. 17. Valef.

C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning *Eudoxia*'s Silver-Statue; and how *Johannes* was ejected out of his Church again on account of that, and conveyed into Banishment.

(a) *Silver-Statue* of the Empress *Eudoxia*, cloath'd in a Womans Stole, had been erected upon a Pillar of *Porphyry*. It stood upon an high Basis, not very near, nor yet at any great distance from that Church named *Sophia*:

but there was the distance of half the breadth of the Street between them both. At that Statue publick Sports were usually celebrated. *Johannes* supposing what was performed [at those Sports] to be done in contempt to the Church, re-assumed his usual freedom and boldness of Speech, and armed his Tongue against those who did these things. And whereas he ought to have perwaded the Emperors by an Exhortatory Oration, to abstain from such Sports; he did not do that; but made use of his sharp Tongue, and reproach'd those who had ordered these [Sports] to be performed. The Emperess did again apply these Expressions to herself. And supposing *Johannes*'s words [to be spoken] in contempt to her, she makes it her business to have another Synod of Bishops convened against him. *Johannes*, made sensible hereof, preach'd that famous Sermon of his in the Church, the beginning whereof is this: \* *Herodias* rages again, she is again disturbed, she dances again, she again desires to receive John's Head in a Charger.

Hereby the Emperess was more highly exasperated. And not long after the Bishops arrived, to wit, *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia* the Left: *Ammonius* of *Laodicea* which is in *Pisidia*: (b) *Briso* of *Philippi* in *Thracia*: *Acacius* of *Beræa* in *Syria*, and some others. After these Prelates were come, those who had accused *Johannes* before, were set up again. *Johannes* was embolden'd with a greater degree of confidence before these Judges: and desired that the Crimes he was accused of, might be inquired into. [In the interim, the Feast of of] Our Saviour's Nativity approached, and the Emperor, as he had usually done before, went not to the Church; but gave *Johannes* notice, that he would not communicate with him, till such time as he should clear himself of the Crimes he stood charged with. Farther, in regard *Johannes*'s Accusers shew'd a despondency and fearfulness of mind, by reason of his great confidence, the Bishops that were present superseded their researches into any thing else, and affirmed that a scrutiny was to be made concerning this only, to wit, That after his deposition he had thrust himself into his Episcopal Chair, without having had it adjudg'd to him by the authority of a Synod. When *Johannes* made answer, that sixty Bishops who held communion with him, had decreed that; *Leontius* rejoyned [in these

made in the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumoris*, which was the year of Christ 403: his words are these, *Eudoxia* *Arcadii uxoris* *Jupior* *porphyreticam* *Columariam* *argentea* *Statua* *juxta* *Ecclesiam* *pollis* *hædusis* *sistit*; a Silver Statue of *Eudoxia*, wife to *Arcadius*, placed upon a *Porphyry*-pillar near the Church still stands. *Ideophanes* relates the same, who says, that that Statue was erected in that place called *Pistratia*, near the Church of *St. Irenæ*; and that at the dedication thereof the Prefect of the City (who was a *Manichean* and a *Semipagan*) excited the People to shout and dance in such a manner, that the Divine Service could not quietly be performed in the Church, because of the noise made by the multitude of Dancers. Notwithstanding, *Baronius* places the Dedication of this Statue on the year of Christ 404. But in regard *Marcellinus* Comes, in his *Chronicon* does in express Words place it on the Consulate of *Theodosius Junior* and *Rumoris*, I judge it more safe to follow his opinion; provided it be said to have been made after the Synod at *Quercum*, and after *Chrysostome*'s first condemnation, that is, about the close of the year 403. And this is confirmed by *Socrates*: For he adds a little after, that when the Nativity of our Lord drew near, *Arcadius* gave *Johannes* notice, that he could not come to the Church. Now *Johann* was deposed a little before Easter, in the Year of Christ 404. Valef. \* *Παύλῳ* *ἡγουμένῳ* *ὑμῶν*, *καὶ* *ἡγουμένῳ* *ἡμεῶν*, *καὶ* *ἡγουμένῳ* *ἡμεῶν*, *καὶ* *ἡγουμένῳ* *ἡμεῶν*, &c. This Homily occurs at *Tom. 7. pag. 545.* of Sir Henry Savill's Edition of *Chrysostome*.

(b) *This* *Eriso* seems to be a different Person from *Briso* the Bishop, (who (as *Cedrenus* tells us) was one of *John Chrysostome*'s Scholars. And *Socrates* seems to have put *Philippi* instead of *Philippopolis*. For *Philippopolis* is an eminent City of *Thracia*. But *Philippi* is a City of *Macedonia*. Valef.

these words,] (c) But they were the more in number, O Johannes ! who condemned you in the Synod. Again, when Johannes urged, that this (c) Canon was not a Canon of the Catholic Church, (b) but of the Arians making ; (for the Bishops at the year of the Christ 404.) \* See So-  
crast. Book  
2.chap.10.  
heretofore, convened at Amioch in order to the subversion of the Homœo-  
sian Faith, out of their hatred to A-  
rhanasius made that Canon : [Leon-  
tius and his Party] rejected his defence, and pronounced sentence against him ; not considering, that by making use of that Canon, (c) they deposed Arhanasius also. These things were transacted at the approach of the Feast of Easter.

ned *Johannes*; of which twenty nine were Egyptians, the rest were of divers Provinces, as *Theodorus* (in *Palladius*, in his *Dialogue concerning the Life of Chrysostome*;) relates from the *Acts of the Synod at the Oak*. But who he was afterwards recalled to *Constantinople*, he had been admitted to Communion by fifty five Bishops. Either therefore *Socrates* must necessarily be mistaken, who has said that *Chrysostome* was condemned by more Bishops, than those by whom he had been admitted to Communion and reformed; or else it must be said that *Palladius* is out. Unless any one will reconcile these things by saying that, viz. that *Leontius* the Bishop has here reckoned the suffrages of the Bishops together, who had condemned *Johann Chrysostome* in both Synods, as well that held at the Oak, as the other assembled at *Constantinople*. For although, at such time as *Leontius* spake these Words, the Bishops present in the *Constantinopolitane* Synod had not pronounced Sentence against *Chrysostome*, yet *Leontius*, who knew they were incensed against *Chrysostome*, made not the least doubt of their Suffrages. Vale.

(d) *Palladius* tells us, that this very answer was given by *John Chrysostome's* defenders, against the Canon of the *Antiochian Synod*; and to wit, that that Canon was made by the *Arian Bishops*. But *Chrysostome's* Adversaries rejected this defence, asserting that Canon to have been made by the Catholic Bishops. And when *Epiphanius*, a Bishop of *Chrysostome's* party, urged them to subscribe that draught of the Creed then promulged by those Bishops; they answered in presence of the Emperor, that they were ready to subscribe it, but they put off that business to another time. Therefore, what must we determine concerning this question? *Athanasius* indeed, in his *Book de Synodis*, does wholly reject that *Antiochian Synod*, together with its draught of the Creed, as having been held by the *Arians* with a design to subvert the *Nicene Creed*. But to *Athanasius* (who cannot be a sufficient Witness in his own case,) we in the first place oppose *Hilarius*, then *Pope Julius*, and lastly, all the Eastern and Western Bishops, who have now at length by a general consent admitted of that Synod. *Hilarius*, ('t is certain, (in his *Book de Synodis*)) does fully admit of it, and commands that form of the Creed drawn up there, as being useful and necessary, on account of the Heresies which sprang up after the *Nicene Council*. Moreover, *Pope Julius* wrote a *Synodical Epistle* to all the Bishops who had been convened in that Synod <sup>1</sup> amongst whom were *Ephesus*, *Narcissus*, *Theodorus*, and *Otarius*. Which *Synodical Epistle Athanasius* does record intact, at pag. 739, &c. *Tome 1. Edit. Paris. 1626.* In the Title and Body of that Letter, *Julius* terms them *Beloved Brethren*; which undoubtedly he would never have done, had he looked upon them to have been *Arians*. Now, what reason had he to look upon them to be *Arians*, who as yet had not been condemned by the sentence of any Synod; and amongst whom there were many stiff maintainers of the *Nicene Creed*, which *Baronius* himself does not deny? Of which sort was *Anastase Bishop of Gadesse in Gappadocia*, whom *Julius* names in the first place concerning whose praises *Basil the Great* has a peculiar Epistle extant. Lastly, all the Easterns have acknowledged that Synod to be Catholic, and inserted its Sentences into the Book of Canons, soon after *John Chrysostome's* times, as appears from the *Chalcedon Council*. And at length the *Western Church* has by degrees admitted of those Canons, rendered into *Latin* by *Dionysius Exiguus*. Notwithstanding, in *John Chrysostome's* times, they were rejected, in regard they were not received by a general consent of the whole Church, nor as yet admitted by the *Romish Church*. *Pope Innocentius*, in his Epistle to the *Constantinopolitan Church*, (which *Soxomen* has recorded, Book 8. Chap. 26.) does in no wise admit of these Canons. *Valer.*

(e) *Chlorophyllus* supposed that these Words were spoken by *Socrates* concerning the Bishops convened in the *Antiochian Synod*. But he thinks they are to be understood concerning the Bishops then assembled at *Constantinople* against *John Chrysostom*. And in this sense *Epiphanius Scolasticus* and *Ormsluc* took this place: For *Epiphanius* has rendered it thus, *Non intelligentes, quod dum haec regula vertitur, Athanasium quoque deponerent; not understanding, that whilſt they make uſe of this Canon, they depoſed Athanaſius alſo; and Miſculus* has tranſlated it happily after this manner: *Ne cogitantes, non Johanneſem ſe modo, ſed & ipſum Athanaſium hoc Canone uſentes deponere, nor but even Athanaſius himſelf. Valeſ.*

The Emperor therefore gives *Johannes* notice, that (f) he should not come to the Church, because two Synodshad condemned him. Wherefore *Johannes* desisted in future, and went not any more to the Church. On which account those of his Party left the Church immediately, and celebrated *Easter* in the publick Baths termed *Constantiane*. There were with them many Bishops, Presbyters and others of the Ecclesiastick Function; who were termed *Johannite*, because from that time they held Meetings in several places apart by themselves. *Johannes* appeared not at all in publick for the space of two months, till such time as the Emperor issued out an Order for his being carried away into Exile. By virtue whereof he was drawn out of the Church, and convey'd into Banishment. On which very day some of the *Johannite* set the Church on fire. Whilst that was burning, an Easterly Wind blew, which conveyed the Fire to the (g) *Senate-house*, whereby that was burnt. This hapned on the twentieth of *June*, in *Honorius*'s sixth Consulate, which he bore with *Ariftenetus*. Moreover, what mischiefs the *Praefect of Constantimpe* (whose name was (b) *Optatus*, an Heathen as to his Religion, and therefore an hater of the *Christians*) did to *Johannes*'s Friends upon account of this Fire, and how he destroyed many of them by a capital punishment, I think fit to omit.

before in this chapter : where he relates, that *Arcadius* at the approach of *Christmas*, gave *Fohn* notice, that he could not come into the Church, unless *Fohn* (who had been condemned by the sentence of a Synod,) should first clear himself. After the same manner therefore, at the approach of *Easter*, *Arcadius* gives *Fohn* notice, that he could not go to the Church, as long as *Fohn*, condemned now by two Synods, resided therein. *Vale!*

(g) This Edifice was called the *Senate-house*. The author of its *Alexandrian Chronicle*, at the sixth *Consulate of Honorius* in which he bore with *Aspurgantia*, has these words: *ἡ ἀρχαία τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ κράτους καὶ νεκρῶν τῶν διῶν* *ἡ ἀρχαία βουλευτικὴ ἡ καὶ τοῦ κράτους καὶ νεκρῶν τῶν διῶν*. And on a sudden the Great Church was burnt together with the *Senate-house*, [freed] by those who held it, termed the *Xylocrotes*, on the second day, at the sixth hour. See *Chronic. Alexand.* 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 91

(b) This (if I mistake not) is the *Manichean* and *Sempagau* Prefect of the City, who, at the dedication of *Eudoxia's* Statue, had mocked the *Christians*, as we have related before (see Note (a) in this chapter,) from *Theophrastus*. *Palladius* (in the Life of *Chrysostom*) speaks concerning the same *Optatus*; that when he was Prefect of the City, he compelled the Noble Matrons either to communicate with *Arctius*, who had been put into *Sebus Chrysostom's* Bishopric, or else to pay two hundred pounds of Gold into the Exchequer. *Valef.*

## CHAPTER XIX.

Concerning Arfacius, who was ordained Johannes';  
Successor, and concerning Cyrinus [Bishop] of  
Chalcedon.

Some few days after, *Arsacius* is ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*; he was Brother to *Nestarius*, who had been *Johannes's* Predecessor in that Bishoprick, and had governed it well: but he was very aged. For he was above eighty years old. During his calm and peaceable presidency over that Bishoprick, by reason of his singular mildness, *Cyrimus* Bishop of *Chalcedon*, \* whose foot *Maruthas* Bishop of *Meſopotamia* had unawares trod upon, was in so very ill a condition, that his foot putrified, and he was forced to have it cut off. Nor was this amputation performed once only, but it was many times iterated. For † the *Gangrene* preyed upon his whole

\* See chap. 15.  
† Or, the

\* See chap. 15.

+ Or, the  
distemper.

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.

Chap. 15.

+ See the  
close of the  
foregoing  
Chapter.

body, in so much that it seized his other foot, which he was forced to have cut off also. I have mention'd this thing for this reason, in regard many persons did affirm, that *Cyrinus* suffered all this on account of the opprobrious words he had spoken against *Johannes*; for he frequently termed him an inexorable person, as I have said before. And because [about the same time] their fell an hail, [the stones whereof were] of a vast bigness, at *Constantinople* and in the Suburbs round that City; (which hapned in the fore-mention'd Consulate, about the thirtieth of September :) this was said to have been an act of Divine vengeance for *Johannes's* unjust deposition. These reports had more of credit given to them, and were improved by the Emperors death, which hapned soon after. For she ended her life on the fourth day after the hail fell. Others affirmed, that *Johannes* was deservedly deposed, because, when he was in *Asia* and *Lydia*, he had seized upon many Churches belonging to the *Novatianists*, *Quartodecimani*, and some other [Hereticks, to wit,] at such time as he made a journey to *Ephesus* on account of *Heraclides's* Ordination. But, whether *Johannes's* deposition were just, agreeable to their saying who were incensed against him; or whether *Cyrinus* underwent a due punishment for his reproachful language; and whether the hail fell, and the Emperors died, upon *Johannes's* account; or whether these things hapned for other reasons, or for both, God knows, who is the Discerner of things secret, and the just Judge of Truth it self. I have recorded what the common reports of men were at that time.

## C H A P. XX.

How, after *Arsacius*, *Atticus* obtained the Constantinopolitan See.

**B**UT *Arsacius* did not long survive his taking the Bishoprick: For, on the following Consulate, which was *Stillicon's* second, and *Antemius's* first, about the eleventh of November he died. Many persons being exceedingly desirous of obtaining the Bishoprick, and for that reason much time having been spent, on the following Consulate, which was *Arcadius's* sixth, and *Probus's* first, a religious person was promoted to the Bishoprick, his name *Atticus*. By original extract he was of *Sebastia* in *Armenia*, but had followed an *Aseetic* course of life from his younger years; and, besides his being furnished with a competency of Learning, he was endowed with a greater degree of natural prudence. But I shall speak concerning this person hereafter.

## C H A P. XXI.

Concerning *Johannes's* departure to the Lord in exile.

**J**OHANNES being carried into banishment, died at *Comana* upon the *Euxine* Sea, the fourteenth of (a) September, in the following Con-

(a) Instead of [November,] it must be [September,] as it is in the *Sfortian* M. S. and in *Epiphanius Scholasticus's* Version. Nor did *Nicephorus* read otherwise, who adds, that the day whereon *Johann Chrysostome* died, was dedicated to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross. For so it was agreeable, that he who had passed his whole life under the Cross, and had gloried in nothing but in the Cross of his Lord, should be loosed from the Frame of his body on that Festival, as the same *Nicephorus* does elegantly write. Valef.

fulate, which was *Honorius's* his seventh and *Theodosius's* second. He was a person (as I have said before) by reason of his zeal for Temperance, more addicted to anger than bashfulness; and because of his sanctity of life, he always made use of too great a liberty of speech. But it is to me a wonder, how he, who was so zealous a follower of Temperance, should teach in his Sermons, that Temperance was to be contempt'd. For, whereas the Synod of Bishops allowed Repentance but once to those who lapsed after Baptism, he was so bold as to say, [ (b) although] you have repented a thousand times, approach. For which doctrine many of his acquaintance rebuked him; but more especially *Sifinnius* was said Bishop of the *Novatianists*: who wrote a Book against this saying [of *Chrysostome's*,] and reproved him sharply for it. But, these things hapned long before this time.

He had little reason to question *Socrates's* authority, because he lived in the same times, and could have heard the Sermons, as well of *Chrysostome*, as of *Sifinnius* Bishop of the *Novatians*. Moreover, it may be more certainly concluded from this passage, than from any other, that *Socrates* was a *Novatianist*. For he does both put an ill interpretation upon *Chrysostome's* saying, and also openly favours *Sifinnius* Bishop of the *Novatian* party, against *Johann Chrysostome*. You must know further, that this saying was objected to *Chrysostome* by Bishop *Nacian* in the synod ad *Quercum*; because he gave Sinners a liberty, in regard he taught, if you have sinned again, repent again. And, as often as you sin, come to me and I will heal you. Valef.

## C H A P. XXII.

Concerning *Sifinnius* Bishop of the *Novatianists*, what expressions he is said to have used in his discourses with *Johannes*.

**B**UT, I judge it not inopportune, to speak something briefly concerning *Sifinnius*. He was (as I have often said) an eloquent person, and an excellent Philosopher: But in a more especial manner he had taken pains about *Logic*, and was incomparably well versed in interpreting the Sacred Scriptures: In so much that *Eunomius* the Heretick would [out of fear] frequently avoid his judicious and powerful acuteness in discourse. His diet was not slender. But though he was eminently temperate, yet his Fare was sumptuous and magnificent. His way of living was splendid and delicate, [he was clad] in a white garment, and bathed himself twice a day in the publick Baths. Being one time asked by one, why he that was a Bishop would bathe twice a day; his answer was, because I cannot bathe thrice. At another time, when out of respect he went to give *Arsacius* the Bishop a visit, he was asked by one of those about *Arsacius*, why he would wear a garment misbecoming a Bishop? And where it was written, that a Priest should be clothed in a white garment? His answer was, Tell me first where it is written, that a Bishop should wear a black garment? And when he that asked him, was in doubt [how to return answer] to this contrary question, *Sifinnius* added; You, said he, can never shew that a Priest ought to wear black. But *Solomon* is my Author, whose words are, \* Let thy garments be white. And our Saviour in the Gospel, appeared clothed in a white garment. Moreover, *Moses* and *Elias*, wearing white garments, to the Apostles. Having with readiness said these and many other such words as these, he was greatly admired by those that were present. When *Leontius* Bishop of *Ancyra* in *Galatia*

Arcadius  
and  
Honorius.  
Chap. 9.(a) In  
what Ho-  
mily this  
was said  
by Chry-  
ostome,  
I cannot  
find. And  
yet we  
have lit-  
tle reason  
to question  
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For he does  
both put an  
ill interpretation  
upon Chrysostome's  
saying, and also  
openly favours  
Sifinnius  
Bishop of the  
Novatian party,  
against Johann  
Chrysostome.  
You must  
know further,  
that this saying  
was objected to  
Chrysostome by  
Bishop Nacian  
in the synod  
ad Quercum;  
because he gave  
Sinners a liberty,  
in regard he  
taught, if you  
have sinned  
again, repent  
again. And,  
as often as  
you sin, come  
to me and I  
will heal you.  
Valef.\* Ecclef.  
9. 8.  
† Luke 9.  
be shewed  
Moses and  
Elias, wearing  
white garments,  
to the Apostles.  
Having with  
readiness  
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many other  
such words as  
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greatly admired  
by those that  
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When Leontius  
Bishop of Ancyra  
in Galatia





*Arcadius* and *Severianus* could not then bear *Serapion's* contempt; but immediately, even before cognizance had been taken of the Cause in a publick Synod; with an (a) Oath condemns *Serapion*, and not only [divests him] of the dignity of a Deacon, but excommunicates him also from the Church.

*Johannes* hearing this, took it very ill: But afterwards, when the business came under scrutiny before a Synod, and *Serapion* excused the fact, and averr'd that he saw him not, and also produced witnesses [in confirmation thereof;] the whole Synod of Bishops then convened pardon'd him, and entreated *Severianus* to admit of *Serapion's* excuse. But *Johannes*, the Bishop, that he might fully satisfy *Severianus*, removes *Serapion*, and suspends him from the \* Office of a Deacon for a weeks space: although he used him as his Right Hand in all businesses, in regard he was a most acute and diligent person about Ecclesiastick Disputes and Answers. Notwithstanding, *Severianus* could not thus be prevailed with: but made it his whole business to get *Serapion* not only wholly degraded from his Diaconate, but excommunicated also. *Johannes* was sorely vexed hereat, went out of the Synod, and left the Bishops then present to determine the

\* Or, the honour.

Cause, having spoken these words to them: *Do Arcadius and Honorius, you inquire into the Cause, and make such a definitive Determination as you shall think fit. For I refuse to determine the difference between them.* After *Johannes* had spoken these words, and was risen up, the whole Synod arose likewise, and left the Cause in the same state it was in, blaming *Severianus* rather, because he † acquiesced not in what had been said by *Johannes* the Bishop. But *Johannes* admitted not *Severianus* to a familiarity any more in future: but advised him to return into his own Country, signifying thus much to him: *Severianus*, (said he) 'tis not expedient, that the Diocess you are intrusted with should for so long a time continue unlook'd-after, and destitute of the presence of its Bishop. Wherefore, hasten your return to your Churches, and neglect not the Gift [which God hath bestowed] upon you. When *Severianus* had begun his Journey, the Empress *Eudoxia*, informed hereof, reproves *Johannes*, and causes *Severianus* to be forthwith recalled from Chalcedon in Bithynia. He came back immediately. But *Johannes* declined a Friendship with him, and could by no persons entreaty be prevailed upon: till such time as the Empress *Eudoxia*, in that Church called the *Apollon*, cast her Son *Theodosius Junior*, then a very young Child, before *Johannes's* knees, and having conjured him frequently by her Son, with much a-do perswaded him to admit of a Friendship with *Severianus*. After this manner therefore, || &c.

† Or, was not obedient to what, &c.

|| See chap. 11. at the latter end of it.

# THE SEVENTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History

OF

SOCRATES SCHOLASTICUS.

## CHAP. I.

That after the Emperor *Arcadius's* Death, (who left his Son *Theodosius*, then eight years old;) *Anthemius* the Prefect had the chief management of affairs in the Empire.

THE Emperor *Arcadius* having ended his Life on the First of May, in the Consulate of *Basilius* and *Philippus*; *Honorius* his Brother [still] govern'd the Western Empire: the Eastern was under the Government of his Son *Theodosius Junior*, at

\* That is, *Western* Government of his Son *Theodosius Junior*, at

that time eight years of age. *Anthemius* the Prefect of the Praetorium had the chief management of the publick affairs. He was Grandchild to that *Philippus*, \* who in *Constantinus's* Reign ejected *Paulus* the Bishop, and introduced *Macedonius* into his See. (a) He encompassed *Constantinus* (Book 14. chap. 1.) relates that this *Anthemius* enlarged the *Pomerium*, [that is, a space about the Walls of a City or Town, as well within as without, which was not to be built upon] of the City *Constantinople*, demolished the old Walls, and built new ones towards the Continent, which (says he) are now standing: and that he finished the work with incredible swiftness; to wit, within the space of two months. For so *Tender* *Agrippa* relates, that is, Walls to the Landward, and not as *Langus* does, Brick-walls. But *Nicephorus* seems to be mistaken, who attributes that to *Anthemius*, which was done long after

\* See *Socrates* Book 2. chap. 16. (a) *Nicephorus*

Wicer by *Cyrus Præfett of Constantinople*, (as *Codrenus* relates in his *Chronicon*), on the 26th year of *Theodosius Junior*. Further, I would very willingly expunge this whole Clause in our *Socrates*. For it disturbs the sense, and seems to have crept from the Margin into the Text. *Vale!*

*Honorius and Theod. Jun.* tinople with a great wall. Of all the men of his own times, he was accounted, and in reality was the most prudent person. He never did any thing without advice, but consulted with many of his acquaintance concerning what ought to be done ; chiefly, with (*b*) *Troilus the Sophist*, who, besides the (*c*) wisdom that was in him, was *Anthemius's* equal in political knowledge. Wherefore, almost all things were done with *his* chief-*Troilus's* advice.

affrinders, (as beſides *Socrates*) *Syncius* informs us in his *Epiſtles to Troilus*. *Socrates* mentions the ſame *Troilus*, at Chap. 6. Book 6. where he ſpeaks concerning *Eufebius Scholaſticus*, who wrote *Gain's War in Perſe*. *Suidas* has mentioned the ſame Perſon, in the Word *Τρωϊλος*, where he affirms that he wrote *Politick Oraſions*, and *Books of Epiſtles*. Valeſ.

(c) Instead of [*εὐλίας, friendship*] the reading in the *Florentine* M.S. is truer, thus, [*σοφίας, wisdom*]. Which Emendation is confirmed by *Nicephorus*. *Valef.* *Valefius* (in *his accounts of the Life and Writings of Socrates and Szozomen*) reads σοφιστίας, *Philosophy*, which alteration in the reading he makes in *his Appendix to his Notes on Socrates and Szozomen*.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning Atticus Bishop of Constantinople,  
what manner of person he was as to his Temper  
and Disposition.*

**D**uring therefore the Emperors being in the eighth year of his age, *Atticus* was in the third year of his Episcopate over *Constantinople*, and was highly eminent. He was a person (as we have said \* before) besides his great Learning, pious and prudent. Wherefore, he much augmented the Churches under his jurisdiction. For he did not only defended those of his own Creed, but cauled the Hereticks also to admire his prudence. He was in no wise vexatious to them ; but when he had attempted to terrifie them, afterwards he shewed himself mild towards them. Nor was he careless about his studies : For he bestowed much pains in reading ancient Writers, spending whole nights in perusing them. Wherefore he was not unacquainted with the Discourses of the *Philosophers* and *Sophists*. Moreover, to those that address to him, he was pleasant and delectable : He groaned with such as were sorrowful; and, that I may speak summarily, he was a *Pharisee* and a *Prophet*. \* He was

\* Book 6.  
chap. 20.

\* 1 Cor. 9.  
22.

Or, without premeditation.

### CHAPTER III.

Concerning Theodosius and Agapetus Bishops of  
Synnada.

[illegible]

ΔΙΑΥΑΝΔΙΜΟΝ CΤΝΑCΙC.

This *Coyu* was in the *Archibus* of that illustrious personage the Lord Breyntien, concerning the meaning whereof when I was asked by the Learned Franciscus Ogerius, (to whom Patinus had communicated that *Coyu*), my answer was; It was to be read thus, *His wardus quoades*. For the *Symmedanijs* worshipped Jupiter under the name of *Pandemos*, because having heretofore been gathered together out of many sorts of people in *Greece*, by *Acamas*, *Theseus*'s son, they inhabited the City *Synada*. Whence says *Stephanus*, the City was so named, *ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ λαοῦ, ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων*. Further, those people out of whom the Colony of the *Symmedanijs* was first collected, were of two sorts; to wit, the *Macedonians*, and the *Athenians*, or *Ionians*, who were in *Asia*; as the same *Stephanus* relates. Whence we understand, why (in the Emperor *Caracalla*'s *Coyu*, which *Johnes Trifolius* has set forth), the *Symmedanijs*; are termed *Dorians* and *Ionians*. For, this is the inscription, *ὡς ἐκ πολλοῦ λαοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων*. For the *Macedonians*, a Colony whereof *Acamas* brought thither, were originally *Dorians*. But the *Athenians* who went thither with *Athen Theseus*'s son, and the Colonies which *Acamas* is reported to have pitched out of *Asia*, were *Ionians*, so termed from *Ion* the *Athenian*. Val-

(b) It is a famous question, and usually disputed on both sides, whether it be lawful for Catholics, especially Bishops, to persecute Heretics. In the determination whereof, I am of opinion, that a distinction is requisite. For this certain, that on account of clanking Money together it is not lawful for Catholics to molest and vex Heretics; which thing *Theodosius* Bishop of *Synnada* at that time did. Also, to persecute them by criminal sentences, and to strip their blood, is in like manner unlawful; as *Iulian* and some other Prelates of *Spain* did in their persecution of the *Prisillianists*. To whose communion when *St. Martin* had for some time joined himself, he acknowledged that great detriment befell him from that thing; as *Sulpicius Severus* does relate in his *Life*. Notwithstanding, it is and always was lawful for Catholics, to impute the aid of Princes and Magistrates against Heretics, that they be restrained, kept within the bounds of duty; lest they should behave themselves insolently over the Catholics, or lest they should inquit over and look at the Catholic Religion. *St. Augustine* confesses indeed, that therefore this was his sentiment, to wit, that Heretics were not to be molested and vexed by Catholics, but that they were to be invited by all influences of manurance and mercy. But afterwards he altered his opinion, thinking most certainly informed, that the Laws of Princes made against Heretics, are useful to Heretics themselves in their Conversion. And he says this was acknowledged by the *Donatists* themselves, who had afterwards returned to the Catholic Church. For they affirmed, that they had never returned to the Church, but had always continued in their error, had they not been provoked and drawn as it were by those Penalties and Molds contained in the Imperial Laws. There is a most elegant passage of *Augustine's* [about this matter] in his 48th *Epistle to Vincentius*; to which is to be added another passage of the same Author, in his 9th *Book against Gaudentius*, chap. 23. *Vale!*

(c) ΔΙΑΚΟΝΕΙΣ ἡ αὐτῶν μεροειδένως. That is, he drew and bound them as it were to judges tribunals. Traitors thought these words were spoken concerning Bonds, as if Theodosius the Bishop had brought the Heretics bound before the Judges. In which sense Nicetas also took this passage. But Sozomen's words will not bear this meaning Vals.

clit's

Honorary  
and  
Theod. Jun.

ture. More especially, he did several ways disquiet their Bishop, whose name was *Agapetus*. But in regard the Governours of Provinces in no wife had (as he supposes) a sufficient power to punish [Hereticks,] he ran to *Constantinople*, and petition'd for Edicts from the *Prefectus Prætorii*. In the interim therefore that Theo-

(1) Instead of [*ἀποφασισμὸς* *madness*] Nicephorus and Crisostomus, read [*ἐκ τῆς* *course, device, or purpose :*] with which reading am best pleased. Vale!.

(c) We read [*ταπεινότητος*, unguity,] agreeable to the reading in Epiphanius, Scholasticus, and Nicephorus. The other reading is *μεγαλότητος*, contrary to reason, or unexpected. Vales.

## CHAP. IV.

*Concerning the Paralytical Jew, who was cured by  
Atticus the Bishop in Divine Baptism.*

THIS was one useful accident which befel the Church in the times of *Atticus*. Nor was the state of these times without Miracles, or Cures. For a *Jew*, who had been a *Paralytick* for many years, was confined to his Bed. And when all medicinal Remedies had been applied to him, and no prayers of the *Jews* could do him any good; at length he betook himself to *Christian* Baptism, hoping that this would be his only true and salutary Physician. *Atticus* the Bishop was soon acquainted herewith. Having therefore instructed him in the Rudiments of Christianity, and declared to him the hope in *Christ*, he ordered him to be carried in his Bed to the Font. The *Paralytick Jew* receiving Baptism with a sincere Faith, immediately upon his being taken out of the Water in the Font, was freed from his Disease, and continued sound and healthy in future. This [admirable] Cure, the power of *Christ* vouchsafed to shew to men even in our times: by reason whereof many Heathens believed and were baptized. But the *Jews*, although they seek after Signs, notwithstanding could not be induced [to believe,] by present Miracles. Such benefits as these were conferred upon men by *Christ*.

- Trouble with the Pulse.

## CHAP. V.

*How Sabbatius, who from being a Jew had been made a Presbyter of the Novatianists, deserted those of his own Opinion.*

**B**Ut many persons flight these things, per-  
 sisted in their Impiety. For the *Jews* did  
 not only disbelieve these Miracles which hap-  
 ned; but such persons also as were studious fol-  
 lowers of them, were found to hold the same  
 Sentiments they did. For *Sabbatius*, of whom  
 we have made mention a little \* before, not  
 willing to continue in the degree of a Presbyter  
 to which he had been promoted, but being  
 from the beginning ambitious of a Bishoprick,  
 in these times separated from the Church of the  
*Novatianists*, making the observance of the *Jew-  
 ish Passover* his pretence. Holding therefore As-  
 semblies that were schismatical and separate from  
 his own Bishop *Sifinnius*, in a place of the City  
 which is termed *Xerolophus*, where *Arcadius's* *For-  
 um* now is, he attempted an audacious fact \* that  
 deserved many punishments. For, on one of his  
 Meeting-days, he read a passage in the Gospel, *where-  
 at* these words occur, † *Now it was a feast* *of many  
 dangers.*  
*called the Passover of the Jews;* to which he made  
 an addition of his own, that was never written,  
 nor ever heard of before; to wit, these words,  
*Cursed (says he) be that person who celebrates the  
 Passover (a) not on the days of unleavened bread.* (a) *Ege-  
 rephus* *like not the ver-  
 sion of  
 Langus  
 and Chris-  
 tianophorus,  
 who have  
 rendered  
 this place  
 thus: ma-  
 ledictus  
 qui ab his  
 azimis  
 pascha ce-  
 lebrat.*  
*These words of his being heard, spread imme-  
 diately. And the simpler sort of the Novatian  
 Laity, circumvented by this artifice, betook  
 themselves to him. But his fraud proved un suc-  
 cessful to himself: and his forgery had an un-  
 happy event: for not long after (b) he celebrated  
 the Festival by way of Anticipation, when  
 many persons flock'd to him. And whilst they  
 were keeping the (c) *Solemn Vigils* by watching  
 all night in the Church, a *Demoniacal* terror  
 seized them; as if *Sifinnius* their Bishop was  
 come with a great multitude, [to fall] upon  
 them. Hereupon a disturbance was raised, as  
 it usually happens, and they being shut by  
 night in a strait place, trod upon one another:  
 in so much that above seventy persons of them  
 lost their lives. For this reason many deserted  
*Sabbatius*. Notwithstanding, some pos-  
 sessed with a \* rude anticipate opinion,  
 continued with him. But how *Sabbatius*  
 violated his Oath, and got into  
 a Bishoprick, we will declare by and by.  
 \*Or, Ru-  
 stic, or,  
 Clownish.  
 † See Luke  
 22. 1.*

\*Or, *Ru-ed Bread-*  
stick, or, In my  
*Glownish.* judgment  
it must be  
rendred  
thus, be-  
For in the *Greek* it  
which imports *beyond*

(6) The  $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\iota\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . Which *Langus* and *Christophorus* render *anticipa*. Cum *ex anticipa opinione* *Festum Pasche* celebratur, *ante* celebratur the *Paschal Festival* by an *anticipated opinion*. I like *Anticipationis* Verrius better, who translates it thus: per *anticipationem* celebratur, be celebrated [the Festival] by way of *anticipation*. For *Sabbatum* celebrating the *Paschal* solemnity after the *Jewish* manner, prevented the *Christians*, and kept that Festival before the *Sunday*. If these Words are thus to be understood; it must be written,  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$   $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ . *Sorater* uses the same term a little lower in this Chapter; where speaking concerning the same thing, his words are:  $\tau\eta\iota$   $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$   $\kappa\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$ , *posset* with a *rudè anticipa opinion*. Where notwithstanding,  $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\lambda\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\varsigma$  seems to be taken for an *anticipate opinion*. Valef.

(c) I understand *The Vigil* of the Paschal Festival. Nor can it be *your pascha*, or any other than the *Vigil* of the *Paschal Festival*. For *Sabbaths* (although he celebrated *Easter*, and celebrated it with the Jews yet) kept the *Vigils* on the *Paschal Sabbath* with the rest of the *Christians*; with whom also he celebrated *Easter-day* in a dissimbling and negligent manner, as *Socrates* has related before, in Book 5, chap. 21. And thus this passage in *Socrates* was understood by *Nicéphorus*, whose Words his Translator hath not rendered well.

g \* Book. 5-  
chip. 21.

S κινδύνον  
 ἔξω, wor-  
 thy of many  
 dangers.  
 † See Luke  
 12: 32.

words are these : τὴν δὲ ἐκκλησίαν πανοικίαν τὸν ἀρχιεπίσκοπον ἡγεῖν δεσπορεῖσθαι, &c. Which are to be translated thus, But in regard they celebrated the solemn Vigil with a congruous worship merely for fashion's sake, &c. Moreover, why Sabbatists (although he followed the Jews in the observance of Easter, notwithstanding) would feign a celebration of Easter with the Christians, this in my judgment is therefor ; because he feared the Laws of the Emperors who had made a Sanction that they should be accounted Hereticks, who kept not Easter on one and the same day with all other Christians. This was the command of the Emperor Theodosius, in the ninth Law of the Theodosian Code de Hereticis. Valef.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

C H A P. VI.

Concerning those who at that time were the Ring-leaders of the Arian Opinion.

**D**Orotheus Bishop of the Arian Heresie (who had been translated by the Arians from Antioch to Constantinople, as we have related \* before,) having lived an hundred and nineteen years, died in Honorius's seventh and Theodosius Augustus's second Consulate, on the sixth of November. After this person Barba presided over the Arian Sect : In whose time the Arian Heresie was very happy in having two eloquent Men, both whom were dignified with a Presbyterate. The name of the one was Timotheus ; the other was called Georgius. Georgius was furnish'd with more of Grecian Literature : but Timotheus had bestow'd greater pains about the Sacred Scriptures. Moreover, Georgius had Aristotle's and Plato's Books always in his hands ; but Timotheus was an admirer of Origen : And in his Expositions of the Sacred Scriptures in publick, he [shew'd himself] not to be unskilled in the Hebrew Tongue. Timotheus had formerly been an Adherent to the Sect of the P[er]sathyrani. But Georgius had been ordained by Barba. I my self discours'd with this Timotheus, and evidently perceiv'd how ready and expedite he was in returning answers to those who question'd him, and in explaining the most obscure places which occur in the Sacred Scriptures. He always quoted Origen as a most evident Witness of what he asserted. I cannot therefore but wonder, how these two persons should persist [in their adherence] to Arianism ; the one of whom had Plato always in his hand ; and the other had Origen in his mouth. For neither does Plato assert, that the second and third Cause (as he usually terms them) took a beginning of Existence. And Origen every where acknowledges the Son to be co-eternal with the Father. But, tho' they continued in their own Church, yet the Arian Heresie was by them reduced to a better and more moderate temper. For by their own Doctrine they banish'd many of Arius's Blasphemies. But thus far concerning these persons. Not long after this, Sissinius Bishop of the Novatianists died, in the same Consulate, and Chrysanthus is ordained, concerning whom we shall speak hereafter.

C H A P. VII.

How Cyrillus succeeded Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria.

**S**OME little time after this, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria fell into a \* Lethargick distemper, and died in Honorius's ninth and Theodosius's fifth Consulate, on the fifteenth of the month October. And a contention being rais'd there also about the Bishoprick, some endeavour'd to place Timo-

theus the Arch-deacon in the Episcopal Chair ; and others Cyrillus, (a) who was Theophilus's Sister's Son. When a Sedition arose hereupon amongst the People, Abundantius Commander of the Militie [in Egypt] favour'd Timotheus's Party. Wherefore, on the third day after Theophilus's death, Cyrillus was placed in the Chair, and came to the Bishoprick with a greater power than Theophilus had done : For from that time, the Bishops of Alexandria (b) surpassing the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, exercis'd a Principality, and took upon them the [Secular] Government of Affairs. Cyrillus therefore forthwith shut up the Churches of the Novatianists at Alexandria, and in the first place he took away all their sacred Vessels and Ornaments ; after which he deprived their Bishop Theopemptus of all he had. (c)

phelus was Cyrillus's Uncle by the Father's side ; his Words are, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς τοῦ πατρὸς : Theodore terms him only ὁ ἀδελφός, Uncle. Whereas I rather believe he was Cyrillus's mother's brother. In Sequence there is mention of Theophilus's Sister. Eusebius Hieronymus and Epiphanius Scholasticus term Theophilus Cyrillus's Cousin-german ; which is ill done : But from thence 'tis clearly intimated, that Cyrillus was related to Theophilus by his Sister. Valef.

(b) Instead of [ἡγεῖν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ὑπὲρ πάντων, from the Sacerdotal degree and order] it must doublets be [ἡγεῖν τὴν, &c. surpassing [or beyond] the Sacerdotal, &c.] according as Sir Henry Savill had noted at the margin of his Copy from Christophorus's Book. Notwithstanding both Translators have followed the common reading, which is not to be endured. Sozomen, 'tis certain, speaking concerning the same thing at chap. 11. of this Book, uses the Word ἡγεῖν : τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐκκλησίαν (says he) ὁ δὲ οὐλὸς τῆς Ἀλεξανδρινῆς ἡγεῖν ἡγεῖται, ἡ δὲ δυνάμεις ἀπὸ πάλαι ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς ; that is, The Roman Bishoprick, having (like that of Alexandria) surpass'd the Sacerdotal degree and bounds, and degenerated long before into a secular principality. Valef.

C H A P. VIII.

Concerning Maruthas Bishop of Mesopotamia, and how the Christian Religion was by him propagated in Persia.

**A**BOUT the very same time the Christian Religion hapnd to be propagated in Persia, upon this account. Between the Romans and Persians frequent Embassies are continually sent :

(a) for there are several reasons, why they should frequently send Embassies to one another. There hapnd therefore to be a necessity at that time, that Maruthas Bishop of Mesopotamia (whom we have mentioned a little \* before) should be sent by the Roman Emperor to the King of the Persians. The Persian King having found that this person was endowed with an eminency of Piety, honoured him highly, and gave him attention, as being really and truly a Friend of God. The Magi, (b) whose interest is great with the Persian King, were incensed hereat. For they were afraid lest he should persuade the King to turn Christian. For Maruthas by his Prayers had cured the King of a Pain in his Head, wherewith he had been a long while troubled, which the Magi could not cure him of. Wherefore, the Magi betake themselves to the inventing of a fraudulent design. And whereas the Persians worship Fire, and the King was wont to adore a Fire which was always burning in a certain House, they hid a Man under Ground, whom (at such time as the King

(a) Instead of [ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὸς, &c. but there are several] it is better thus, ἡ δὲ ἀδελφὸς, &c. For there are several, &c. Valef.

(b) Instead of [ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, &c. who are numerous, &c.] it must undoubtedly be [ὅς ἐστιν ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, &c. whose interest is great with the Persian King.] Thus Nicephorus reads. Valef.

\* Book 6 chap. 15. and 19.

\* Or, a drouge disease.

Honorius and Theod. Jun. \* Or, praised.

King usually \* worshipped, they ordered to speak [to this effect:] *that the King ought to be thrust out of doors; for he had done impiously, because he supposed a Priest of the Christians to be dear to God. Idigerdes* (for that was the Persian King's name,) having heard these Words, altho' he revered *Maruthas*, notwithstanding, had thoughts of sending him away. But *Maruthas*, a Man truly acceptable to God, was very earnest in putting up his prayers, whereby he detected the fraud which the *Magi* had framed.] He addressed himself [therefore to the King in these words, *Be not deluded, O King! But go into [the house], and when you shall hear the voice, dig up the ground, and you will discover the Fraud. For the fire speaks not, but the invention of men does this.* The King of the Persians is persuaded by *Maruthas*, and goes into the little house again, \* where fire is kept always burning. And when he had heard the same voice again, he order'd the place to be dug up where he that utter'd the words, which were supposed to be God's, was found. Therefore, the King was highly incensed, and gave order that the \* *Tribe of the Magi* should be || decimated. After this was done, he spoke to *Maruthas* to build Churches wheresoever he pleased. From that time the Christian Religion was propagated amongst the Persians. Moreover, *Maruthas* having then left Persia, return'd to Constantinople. But, not long after he was sent Ambassador again to the Persians. And the *Magi* betook themselves to the invention of Plots and Intrigues again, to hinder his being admitted by the King. (c) For by a device they raised a most horrid stink in that place, (d) into which the King usually came; and the calumniously accused the Christians, as if they had caused it. But when the King, in regard he already had a suspicion of the *Magi*, made a more exact scrutiny about the occasioners [of this stink,] the *Magi* were found again to be the causes of this ill smell. Wherefore he punished many of them again: but he had a greater honour and esteem for *Maruthas*. And he loved the Romans, with whom he embraced a friendship. Yea, the King himself wanted but little of turning Christian, after *Maruthas*, together with (e) *Abdas* the Bishop of Persia, had shewed another \* Miracle. For both these Persons, when they had fasted long, and been earnest in prayers, cast out a devil that vexed the King's Son. But *Idigerdes*, before he became a perfect Christian, was prevented by Death. His Kingdom devolved to his Son *Varraanes*: in whose time the League between the Romans and Persians was broken, as we shall declare hereafter.

\* Or, where the unquenchable fire was.

\* Or, Stork, or, Rake, || That is, every tenth man was to death.

(c) We read [Theophrastus] for by a device, &c.] not [Theophrastus] is, And by a device, &c.] Otherwise, a rejection of the same particle would be odious and unpleasant. Many errors in these particles are usually committed by Transcribers of Boet, whilst they write too hastily. Valef.

\* Tryal, or, Expectation.

(d) Here we read *αερόχρησται*, instead of *αερόχρησται*. Valef.  
(e) Epphramus Scholasticus calls this Bishop of Persia *Ablaanes*. Nicephorus terms him *Abdas*. In the *Sforzian* M.S. he is stiled *Anidas*. Valef.

CHAP. IX.

Who were Bishops of Antioch, and Rome at this time.

ABOUT the very same times, *Flavianus* died at Antioch, and was succeeded in that Bishoprick by *Porphyrus*. After *Porphyrus*, *Alexander* Presided over that Church. At Rome, *Damasus* having held that Bishoprick eighteen

years, was succeeded by *Siricius*. After *Siricius* had presided there fifteen years, *Anastasius* governed that Church three years; and after *Anastasius*, *Immacentius*. He was the first that began to persecute the Novatianists at Rome, whom he deprived of many Churches.

Honorius and Theod. Jun.

CHAP. X.

That Rome became subject to the Barbarians at that time, and was destroyed by Alarichus.

AT that very time Rome hapned to be taken by the Barbarians. For one *Alarichus* a Barbarian, (who had been an Allie of the Romans, and had assisted the Emperor *Theodosius* in the War against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, on which account he was honoured with (a) Roman dignities,) could not bear his fortunate success, (Book 4.) relates, that *Alarichus*, after the expedition against the Tyrant *Eugenius*, wherein he had done excellent service, was Commander of no Roman Forces, but returned into Thracia, and kept with him those Barbarians only, whom he had commanded. But, a little afterwards, when being sent for by *Aspinus*, he had ruined *Grecia* and *Epirus*, he was created Master of the *Stilice* throughout *Illyricum*; as *Claudian* informs us in his second Book against *Eutropius*.

Vastator *Aschius* Gentis, & *Epirum* nuper populus inivit, Praefidit *Illyris*. Nam quos obsequit, amicus Ingreduiur muros, illis responsa daturus, Quorum conjugibus poritur, natiq;ue peremitt. Sic hostes pensare solent. — Valef.

He presumed not indeed to seize the Empire; but retired from Constantinople, and went into the Western parts. Being arriv'd in *Illyricum*, he laid all places desolate immediately. The *Thessalians* resisted him in his march, about the mouths of the River *Peneus*, from whence there is a pass \* over the mountain *Pindus* to *Nico* \* Or, *pilus* [a City] of *Epirus*. And coming to an engagement, the *Thessalians* killed about three thousand [of his Forces.] After this the Barbarians that were with him, burnt and ruined whatever was in their way, and in fine took Rome it self. Which City they destroyed, and burnt the greatest part (b) of the admirable works and structures therein: but they made plunder of the money, and divided it [amongst themselves.] They also forced many of the Senatorian Order to undergo various punishments, and [afterwards] slew them. [*Alarichus*] likewise, in contempt to Empire, proclaimed one *Attilus* Emperor. Whom he ordered to go guarded like an Emperor one day; and the next made him appear in a servile habit. After he had done all this, he fled, being terrified with a Rumor, as if the Emperor *Theodosius* had sent an Army to fight him. Nor was this Rumor false; For an Army did really come. And he was unable to bear the fame thereof; but, as I have said, fled away. 'Tis reported, that as he went to Rome, he was met by a pious Person that led a monastick life, who advised him not to rejoice in [perpetrating] so great and notorious mischiefs, nor to delight in slaughter and blood: To whom *Alarichus* made this return. I go not thither of my own accord. But some \* thing does every day vex and disquiet me, \* Or, *some saying*, go to Rome, and ruin that City. Thus body much concerning this Person.

(b) Instead of [Θαυματον ἔργων καταστροφῶν, of their admirable works and structures] I think it must be [τῶν θαυματον ἔργων καταστροφῶν, of the admirable works and structures therein:] Which reading we have expressed in our Version. Valef.

CHAP.

## C H A P. XI.

Concerning the Bishop of Rome.

After Innocentius, Zosimus was possessor of the Churches at Rome, for the space of two years. After whom, Bonifacius presided over that Church three years, who was succeeded by Celestinus. And this Celestinus deprived the Novatianists also at Rome of their Churches, and forced their Bishop Rufinilla to hold his Meetings in private and obscure Houses. For till this time the Novatianists flourished mightily at Rome, had many Churches, and assembled numerous Congregations therein. But envy\* impaired them also; the Roman Bishoprick, having (like that of Alexandria) surpassed the Sacerdotal Degree and Bounds, and degenerated long before into a Secular Principality. And for this reason the [Roman] Bishops would not permit, even those who agreed with them in the Faith, peaceably and quietly to celebrate their Meetings, but took from them all they had; only they praised them for their agreement in the Faith. Notwithstanding, the Constantinopolitan Bishops were not thus affected: for they not only permitted [the Novatianists] to have their Meetings within the City, but had a singular love and affection for them also, as I have sufficiently declared already.

## C H A P. XII.

Concerning Chrysanthus Bishop of the Novatianists at Constantinople.

After Sisinnius's death, Chrysanthus was by force made Bishop. He was the Son of that Marcellinus, who had been Bishop of the Novatianists before Sisinnius. From his younger years he had had a military Employ in the Palace; afterwards, in the Reign of Theodosius the Great, he was made *Consularis of Italy*, and after that *Vicarius of the Britannick Islands*; for his management of both which Charges he was much admired. Being grown elderly, he returned to Constantinople; and desiring to be made *Præfect* of that City, he was against his will compelled to take the Bishoprick. For Sisinnius having mention'd him at the time of his death, as a fit person for the Bishoprick, the Novatian People, with whom Sisinnius's Words were a Law, attempted to draw him by force, even against his will. But when Chrysanthus fled, Sabbatius supposing an opportune season was offer'd him, wherein he might be made Possessor of the Churches, gets himself ordain'd Bishop for some obscure [ Prelates ] and slight Oath which he had bound himself in. Amongst those who ordain'd Sabbatius Bishop, Hermogenes was one, who had been excommunicated and cursed by Sabbatius, for his blasphemous Books. But Sabbatius's design proved unsuccessful to him: for the People hating\* his unreasonable ambition, (because (a) he did all things with a design of getting into the Bishoprick,) made it their whole business to find out Chrysanthus.

\* Or, his immorality.

(a) *ὅτι πάντα ἃ ἐποίησε ἐποίησεν μετὰ σκοπόν*. This expression is not in my judgment good Greek. Nicephorus in regard he lik'd it not, altered it thus: *πάντα ἃ ἐποίησε ἐποίησεν μετὰ σκοπόν*, he moved every rope to get into the Bishoprick. But in my mind, this place in Socrates is to be thus restored: *ὅτι πάντα ἃ ἐποίησε ἐποίησεν μετὰ σκοπόν*, because he did all things with a design of getting into the Bishoprick. Vale!

thus, Whom they found absconding in Bithynia, whence they brought him by force, and preferred him to the Bishoprick. He was a person of as great prudence and modesty, as any man was: and by his means the Church of the Novatianists at Constantinople was preserved and increased. He was the first person who distributed Gold\* of his own to the Poor. He received nothing from the Churches, save only (b) two Loaves of bread for the Blessed Bread every Sunday. Moreover, he was so careful about his Church, that he took (c) *Ablabius* the eloquentest Orator of his own time, from *Troilus* the Sophists's School, and ordained him Presbyter: whose elegant and acute Sermons are now extant. But *Ablabius* was afterwards constituted Bishop of the Novatianist Church at Nicæa, in which City he taught Rhetorick at the same time also.

propera pecunie, of his own money. (b) The Loaves which the Faithful offered for a sacrifice, were termed the *Loaves of Benediction*, for so *Dionysius Exiguus* renders the 59th Canon of the Laodicean Council; *ἵνα ἡ εὐχὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, ἡ ἡμεῖς ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τὸν ἅγιον πνεῦμα ἔσμεν ἐν τῇ εὐχῇ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*. The bread of Benediction ought not to be offered in Lent, except on the Sabbath and on Sunday only. Of these Loaves some were taken for the Eucharist: the rest were allotted for the food of the Clergy by the Bishop; who also took some of them himself, as much as he would, as we are informed from this place. You must note further, that *Socrates* says *ὅτι οἱ ἁγιοὶ ἐκείνην, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν*. For the Bishop, according to his own arbitrement, disposed of the Oblations of all the Churches, which were under his own jurisdiction. See *Gelasius's* Decretals, cap. 27. Vale!

(c) *Ἀβλάβιον τὸν σοφιστὴν*. Sir Henry Savil from *Christophorus's* Book, at the Margin of his own Copy, hath mented it thus, *ὁ ἁγίου*. Which reading *Christophorus* has followed. But in my judgment, it must be thus written, *ὁ ἁγίου*, &c. The best Orator of his own time, &c. The Scholars of the Sophists, who learned Rhetorick, were heretofore termed *Rhetoricians*. Notwithstanding, all the *Sophists* Scholars had not that appellation, but the eminentest of them only, who being initiated by a certain Rite, wore a *Rhetorician's* Pallium which was red or scarlet-coloured. We are informed hereof by *Cyrillus* in his *Lexicon*: *ἡ ῥητορικὴ, ἡ ἐκκλησιαστικὴ τὴν τὴν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐκκλησίαν*. That is, *Pallium's* were certain Cloaks. Some [were worn] by *Rhetoricians*, which were red and scarlet-coloured: others, by *Philosophers*, which were of a dark-colour. This was the Badge, worn by them daily. But by what Rite *Rhetoricians* were wont to be made at Athens, *Olympiodorus* (in *exerptis Historiarum apud Photium*.) *Gregory Nazianzen*, and *Eusebius* do declare. Vale!

## C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Fight which hapned at Alexandria between the Christians and Jews, and concerning Cyrillus the Bishop's Difference with Orestes the Præfect.

About the same time the Jewish Nation were driven out of Alexandria by *Cyrillus* the Bishop, for this reason: The Alexandrians are more seditious and tumultuous than any other people; and if at any time they get an occasion, they [usually] break out into intolerable mischief: For their rage is not appeased without blood. It hapned at that time, that the Populace of that City were tumultuous amongst themselves, not upon any weighty or necessary occasion, but by reason of that mischief which abounds in all Cities, I mean an earnest desire of looking upon Dancers. For in regard a Dancer gathered great multitudes together on the Sabbath-day, because the Jews work not on that day, nor are busied in hearing their Law, but [spend their time in seeing] Theatrical Shows, that day usually occasion'd mutual Factions and Divisions among the People. And although this was in some measure regulated and repressed by the Præfect of Alexandria, nevertheless the Jews conti-

continued enraged against those of the contrary Faction: and besides their being always enemies to the Christians, they were much more incensed (a) against them on account of the Dancers. Therefore, when Orestes, Prefect of Alexandria (b) made a Police (so the Alexandrians do usually term public Orders,) in the Theatre; some of Bishop Cyrillus's Favourers were present there also, being desirous to know the Orders that were made by the Prefect. Amongst whom was a person, by name Hierax, a teacher of the (c) meaner sort of Learning.

Notwithstanding Nicephorus retains the common reading, Valef.

(b) *Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς πόλεως* Epiphanius Scholasticus was mistaken in thinking there was a Festival which the Alexandrians called *Politia*. Nor was Christopherfon left out, in supposing the publick Edicts of the Imperial Prefects to be so termed by the Alexandrians, which Orestes published then in the Theatre. In which he is doubly mistaken. First, because he thought that all the Imperial Edicts were by the Alexandrians called *Politia*; whereas, those Edicts only had that name, which belonged to the quiet and profit of the City. Agreeable whereto, those Orders made in respect to the prices of Corn and other vendible Commodities; usually exposed to sale in the Market, at Paris we now term in French a Police, and the Orders of Police. Secondly, Christopherfon mistakes in supposing that these Edicts were published by Orestes in the Theatre. For Socrates does not say so, but only that Orestes made, (that is, dictated, or rehearsed to his Officers) these Orders in the Theatre. For the Roman Magistrates were wont to sit in Judgment and decide Matters in the Law, in the Theatre, Circus, or in any other place they had a mind to. So Amm. Marcellinus relates (Book 15.) concerning Leonatius Prefect of the City. Moreover, the Orders then made by Orestes, respected the Theatre, and the publick shows. Valef.

(c) *ἡ ἀκατάστατος* (which are the terms here used,) do import the first Rudiments which Children learn. The teachers hereof are by the Greeks termed *Grammatistæ*, and by the Latines *Literatores*. Valef.

He was a zealous hearer of Cyrillus the Bishop, and always mighty diligent about raising the \* Clippings at his Sermons. The Jewish multitude spying this Hierax in the Theatre, cried out immediately, that he came into the Theatre for nothing else, but to raise a sedition amongst the people. Moreover, Orestes had long before conceived an hatred against the Secular Government of Bishops, because it diminished much of their power who had been appointed Governours of Provinces by the Emperor; and also more especially, because Cyrillus was desirous of prying into his Acts and Orders. Having seized Hierax therefore, he made him undergo tortures publicly in the Theatre. With which Cyrillus being acquainted, sends for the chief of the Jews, and threatened them with condign punishment, unless they desisted from being tumultuous against the Christians. Of which menaces after the Jewish multitude were made sensible, they became more pertinacious; and contrived Plots to damnify the Christians. The chiefest of which designs of theirs, and which occasion'd their expulsion out of Alexandria, I will relate here. Having agreed upon a Sign amongst themselves, [which was,] that every one of them should wear a Ring on their fingers made of the bark of a Palm-tree-branch, they took a resolution of making an attack upon the Christians by a night-fight. One night therefore they sent some persons provided for that purpose, who cried out in all the || streets of the City, that Alexander's Church was on fire. The Christians hearing this, ran some one way, others another, that they might preserve the Church. Then the Jews fell upon them immediately, and slew them: they abstained from killing those of their own party, by shewing their Rings; but they murder'd all the Christians they hapned to meet with. When it was

day, the Authors of this nefarious fact were not concealed. Cyrillus highly incensed hereat, went accompanied with a great multitude to the Jews Synagogues (so they term their Houses of Prayer) which he took from them: He also expelled the Jews out of the City, and permitted the multitude to make plunder of their Goods. The Jews therefore, who had inhabited that City from the days of Alexander the Macedonian, were all forced to remove naked from thence at that time, and were dispersed some in one place, others in another. Adamantius, [one of them] (d) a Professor of Physick, went to Constantinople, and fled to Atticus the Bishop; and having turn'd a Professor of Christianity, returned afterwards to Alexandria again, and fix'd his residence there. But Orestes Prefect of Alexandria the Greeks was highly incensed at what was done; being exceedingly troubled, because so great a City was on such a sudden emptied of so numerous a company of Inhabitants. Wherefore he acquainted the Emperor with what had been done. Cyrillus himself likewise made known the Wickedness to the Emperor; nevertheless he sent Messengers to Orestes; on account of procuring a Reconciliation. For the People of Alexandria compelled him to do this. And when Orestes would not admit of any conferences about a Reconciliation, Cyrillus (e) held forth the Book of the Gospels to him, thinking he should by that strike a Reverence into Orestes. But when he would not be mollified even by this means, but continued an irreconcilable War between himself and Cyrillus, this accident hapned afterwards. Eusebius

in his Book *De Vita Sophistarum*. Such a one also was Gessu the Physickian in the times of the Emperor Zeno; concerning whom see Stephanus Byzantius, in the word *γῆα*. Damascius (in the Life of Ildorus) spends a great many words about this Gessu; and from him *Suidas*, in the word *γῆα* (f). Where he divides Physick into two parts, Theory and Practice. Valef.

(e) Cyrillus therefore held forth the Book of the Gospels, that thereby he might conjure and earnestly beseech Orestes Prefect of Egypt, to be reconciled with him. We have remarked already (see Book 6. chap. 11. note b.) that the Ancients did usually conjure and earnestly beseech, by those things which they used to swear by. The Christians usage was to swear by the Gospels, laying their Hands on those sacred Books, as 'tis evidently known. Valef.

## C H A P. XIV.

That the Monks of Nitria came down to Alexandria in defence of Cyrillus, and raised a Sedition against Orestes the Prefect.

SOME of the Monks who inhabited the mountains of Nitria, retaining an heat of mind from Theophilus's times, who had armed them unjustly against Dioscorus and his Brethren; were incensed with a Zeal then also, and took a resolution of fighting courageously in defence of Cyrillus. About five hundred persons therefore of them went out of their Monasteries, came down to the City, and observe the Prefect going forth in his Chariot. They came to him, and called him *Sacrificer* and *Pagan*, and gave him many other reproachful terms. The Prefect having a suspicion that a Plot was framed against him by Cyrillus, cried out that he was a Christian, and had been baptized by Atticus the Bishop at Constantinople. But when the Monks heeded not what he said, one of them, by name Ammonius, flings a stone and strikes Orestes on the head: by which wound he was all over besmear'd with blood; and his

K k

Or, of ritors fecer.

\* *Κλῖπται*, clippings of Hands; such as is now used at Physicks then before used at Sermons.

† Or, *ἡ δὲ* Nitria.

|| Or, in all the Wards of the City.





*person has done ill to mend it thus, Theodosius's Seventh Consulate; whole Version led Baronius into a mistake, as you may see at the year of Christ 415. From the incomparable Florentine and Sforzian MSS. I have mended this place thus; Theodosius's sixth Consulate; which Emendation is confirmed by the Fasti Consulares. Vale.*

*Baronius and Theod. Jun.*

**C H A P. XVI.**

*That the Jews, entering upon another War against the Christians, were punished.*

**S**ome time after this, the *Jews* renewed their absurd and impious practises against the *Christians*, and were punish'd [again for them.] At a place named *Immetar*, which is situate between *Chalcis* and *Antioch* of *Syria*, the *Jews* (as 'twas their usage) exhibited some Sports. During their Sports they perform'd many mad actions, excited thereto by their drunkenness; and in their Recreations reproach'd not only the *Christians*, but even *Christ* himself. And in derision to the Cross, and to them who put their trust in Him that was crucified, they attempted this villainous fact. Having seized a *Christian* Boy, they bound him to a Cross, and hung him up. At first they laugh'd at and jeer'd him: But becoming afterwards enraged, they scourged the Boy till he died. For this reason there hapned a sharp conflict betwixt them and the *Christians*. And after the Emperors were acquainted with this fact, an Order was issued out to the Governours of the Province, to find out and punish the Authors thereof. Thus the *Jews*, who inhabited that place, were punish'd for the Wickedness they had committed in their Sports.

**C H A P. XVII.**

*Concerning Paulus Bishop of the Novatianists, and concerning the Miracle done by him, when he was about to have baptized a Jewish Impostor.*

*\* Or, un-  
der him.*

**A**T the same time, *Chrysanthus* also Bishop of the *Novatianists*, having presided seven years over the Churches \* of his own Sect, ended his life in the Consulate of *Monaxius* and *Plinthus*, on the twenty sixth of *August*. He was succeeded in the Bishoprick by *Paulus*: who before had been a Teacher of *Roman* Eloquence; but afterwards bad adieu to the *Roman* Tongue, and betook himself to an *Asteticke* course of life: And having gather'd together a Monastery of Religious Men, he followed a way of living not unlike that led by the Monks in the Desert. For I found him to be really such a Person, as *Evangrius* says the Monks who live in the Solitudes ought to be. For he imitated them exactly in all things, in continued fasts, in speaking little, and in abstaining from eating Creatures that have life. Moreover, for the most part he abstain'd from Oyl and Wine. Besides, his care and solicitude about the Poor was eminent and extraordinary. He was very diligent in his visits to the imprison'd; he interceded likewise for many Persons with the Judges, who readily hearkned to him on account of his eminent Piety. What need I be large in my relation concerning him? I will mention one action of his, highly worthy to be recorded in writing. A *Jewish* Impostor pretending himself converted to the *Christian* Religion, had been frequently baptized, and by that device

had gather'd much money. When he had deceived many Sects [of the *Christians*] by this fraud: (for he had received Baptism from the *Arians* and *Macedonians*;) having no more Persons whom he might put tricks upon, at length he came to *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists*; and affirming that he earnestly desired Baptism, requested he might obtain it from his hand. He approved of the *Jew's* desire; but said he would not give him Baptism, before he had been instructed in the Grounds and Principles of the Faith, and had exercised himself with fastings several days. The *Jew* therefore having contrary to his own mind, been compelled to fast, was so much the more urgent in his Intreaties for Baptism. Wherefore *Paulus*, because he would not offend him, now grown importunate, by any longer delays, makes provision for his Baptism. And having bought him a white Vestment, and order'd the \* Font to be filled with Water, he brought the *Jew* to it with a design to baptize him. But \* an invisible act of Divine Power caus'd the Water to vanish [on a sudden.] In regard the Bishop and those that were present, (having not the least suspicion of any such thing as had hapned) supposed the Water to have run out by the passage underneath, whereby it was usually let out; they filled the Font again, having with great accuracy stopp'd up its passages every where. And when the *Jew* was brought the second time to the Font, all the Water disappeared again. Then *Paulus* spake these words; *Either you are an Impostor, O Man, or else, being ignorant, you have been baptized already.* A great multitude of People therefore running together to see this Miracle, one of 'em knew the *Jew*, and was certain that it was the same person who had been baptiz'd before by *Atricius* the Bishop. This Miracle was perform'd by the hands of [*Paulus*] Bishop of the *Novatianists*.

*Honorius and Theod. Jun.*

*\* Or, the  
belly of the  
Font.  
\* Or, accor-  
tain im-  
visible power  
of God.*

**C H A P. XVIII.**

*How, after the Death of Isdigerdes the Persian King, the League between the Romans and Persians was broken, and a bloody War hapned, wherein the Persians were worsted.*

**A**FTER the Death of *Isdigerdes* King of *Persia*, by whom the *Christians* in that Country were not persecuted in the least, his Son, by name *Vararanes* succeeded in that Kingdom; and being induced thereto by the *Magi*, he vexed the *Christians* severely, inflicting on them various Punishments and *Persian* Tortures. The *Christians* therefore in *Persia*, constrained thereto by necessity, fly to the *Romans*, entreating them not to neglect, and see them wholly destroyed. *Atricius* the Bishop receives the Suppliants kindly; and made it his business to assist them to the utmost of his power. Likewise, he acquainted the Emperor *Theodosius* with what had hapned. It fell out at the very same time, that the *Romans* were offended with the *Persians* upon another account: because the *Persians* would not restore the Miners of Gold, whom they had hired of the *Romans*; and in regard they had deprived the *Roman* Merchants of their trafficks. To this occasion of difference, the flight of the *Christians* in *Persia* to the *Romans* Wares, or, made an accession. For the *Persian* King dispatch'd away an Embassie immediately, to demand the Fugitives. But the *Romans* would in

*\* Or,  
Merchan-  
dizes.*

Honorius  
and  
Theod. Jun.

no wife deliver up those who had fled to them, not only because they were desirous of preferring them as being Suppliants; but in regard likewise of their readiness to do any thing in defence of the *Christian* Religion. Wherefore they chose rather to have a War with the *Perrians*, than permit the *Christians* to be miserably destroyed. Hereupon the League was broken, and a fierce War broke out, concerning which I judge it not inopportune to give a short Narrative. The Roman Emperor sent part of an Army first, which was commanded by *Arđaburius*. He made an irruption into *Perfia* through *Armenia*, and ruined one of the *Perſian* Provinces termed *Azazene*. *Narſeus* the *Perſian* King's General marched out to oppose him at the head of a great *Perſian* Army. And coming to an Engagement, was worsted, and fled. [Afterwards] he judged it advantageous to make a sudden irruption through *Meſopotamia* into the *Roman* Territories, being unguarded, [thinking] by this means to be revenged on the *Romans*. But this Design of *Narſeus*'s was not unknown to the General of the *Romans*. Having therefore in a short time laid *Azazene* desolate, he likewise marched into *Meſopotamia*. Wherefore *Narſeus* (notwithstanding he was furnished with a numerous Army, yet) could not invade the *Roman* Provinces. But, coming to *Niſſibis*, (which is a City situate in the Confinnes [of both Empires] and belongs to the *Perſians*,) he sent a Message from thence to *Arđaburius*, desiring they might come to an agreement between themselves about the management of the War, and that a place and day for an Engagement might be set. *Arđaburius* gave the Messengers this answer: Tell *Narſeus* [thus,] the Roman Emperors will not fight when you have a mind they should. Moreover, the \* Emperor perceiving that the *Perſian* muster'd up the whole force of his Kingdom for the carrying on of this War, placed all his hopes of Victory in God, and besides sent vast supplies of Forces. Now, that the Emperor (in regard he put his whole confidence in God,) received benefit from him immediately, 'twas from hence evident. The *Constantinopolitans* being very anxious and doubtful about the event of the War, the Angels of God appeared in *Bitbynia* to some Persons going to *Constantinople* about their private concerns, and bad them tell [the *Constantinopolitans*,] that they should be of good courage, and pray to God, and be confident that the *Romans* would be Conquerors. For they said, that they themselves were sent from God to be the Managers of the War. At the hearing hereof, the City was not only encouraged, but the Soldiers also became more bold and valiant. Whereas therefore (as I have said,) the War had been removed from *Armenia* into *Meſopotamia*, the *Romans* shut up the *Perſians* in the City *Niſſibis*, to which they laid siege. And having made wooden Towers, which moved upon Engines, they brought them to the Walls, wherewith they killed many of those who fought from the Walls, and [of them] who ran to their assistance. *Varranes* King of *Perſia* hearing that his Country *Azazene* was laid desolate, and his Army besieged within the City *Niſſibis*, resolved to go in person with all his Forces against the *Romans*: But, being afraid of the *Roman* Army, he called the *Saracens* to his assistance, who were then governed by *Alamundarus*, a valiant and

warlike Man. He brought a numerous multitude of *Saracens* with him, and spake to the King of *Perſia* to be confident and courageous, he likewise promised, that he would quickly make the *Romans* his Prisoners, and deliver *Antioch* in *Syria* to him. But the event succeeded not according to his promise. For God posselt the *Saracens* with a vain and irrational terror. Who supposing the *Roman* Forces to be falling upon them, became terrified, and not finding how they might make their escape, cast themselves armed as they were into the River *Euphrates*, wherein about an hundred thousand Men were drown'd. These things fell out after this manner. But the *Romans* who laid siege to *Niſſibis*, being informed that the King of *Perſia* was bringing many Elephants along with him were terrified, and having burnt all their Engines which they had made use of in the Siege, (a) retreated into their own Country. But what Engagements hapned afterwards; and how *Arđaburius*, another *Roman* General, killed the valiantest Person amongst the *Perſians* in a single Duel; and how *Arđaburius* destroyed seven valiant *Perſian* Commanders in an Ambuscade; or after what manner (b) *Vitanius* another *Roman* General vanquished the Remains of the *Saracen* Forces, I think fit to omit, lest it should seem to digress too far from my Subject.

*Arđaburius* rendered into Latin, this *Roman* Commander is termed *Arđaburius* Which name I like best. This Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* hapned in the Consulate of *Eustathius* and *Agriola*, on the year of Christ 401, as *Marcellinus* informs us in his *Chronicon*; the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says the same; who relates, that the Emperor *Theodosius* had news of that Victory, in the month *Corpius*, on the eighth of the Ides of September, on the third *Feis*. This was the fourteenth year of *Theodosius Junior's* Reign. Wherefore *Theophanes* is mistaken in his *Chronicle*, who places this Victory of the *Romans* over the *Perſians* on the eighteenth year of *Theodosius*. Valef.

## C H A P. XIX.

Concerning *Palladius* the Courier.

Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* was in a very short time acquainted with the Actions [of his Forces.] After what manner the Emperor had so sudden an account of what was done in places at so great a distance, I will relate. It was his good fortune to have a \* Servant of a vigorous Mind and strong Body, his name was *Palladius*. This Person could ride on Horse-back at such a rate, that in three days space he could go to those places which are the Boundaries of the *Roman* and *Perſian* Territories, and again in as many days return to *Constantinople*. The same Man passed through all other parts of the World with an incredible swiftness, whithersoever the Emperor sent him. Wherefore, an eloquent Person utter'd this Saying on a time concerning him: This Man by his swiftness makes the *Roman* Empire, which in it self is large, seem to be little. Moreover, the King of the *Perſians* was amazed when he heard these things of this Man. But, let thus much be said concerning *Palladius*.

**T**He Roman Emperor residing at Constantinople, and being informed of a Victory apparently given him (a) by God, was so good, that altho' his Forces had managed the War

(4) The Florentine apparently given his For  
M.S. inserts two Words here, altogether  
necessary, after this manner: *ἡ  
ἀποδοχή* [in *Θαύ*] *ἀποδοχή*  
*αὐτῶν*, a victory apparently  
given him [by God.] Which  
Words (before I had gotten *this*  
*Manuscript*), I had put in at this  
place, from Nicephorus, and E-  
piphanius Scholasticus's Version.  
Vale.

Words here, altogether after this manner:  $\epsilon\omega$   
[ $\epsilon\alpha$   $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ ]  $\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha\alpha$ ,  
a victory apparently  
won [ $\epsilon\alpha$   $\epsilon\alpha\iota$ ] Which  
I [ $\epsilon\alpha$ ] I had gotten that  
I, I had put in at this  
am Nicephorus, and E-  
Scholasticus's Version.

mans had made a great Ditch for their own security, sends one *Maximinus* (an eloquent person, who was (*b*) *Assessor* to *Ardaburius* the General) Embassador about a Peace. When this Person was come to the *Persian* King, he ac-

(b) *Afflo*  
 Embassador about  
 ion was come to  
 rendered ill, *Araduribus* the  
 Communitus Collegue. *Musius*  
 has translated it better, *Afflor*  
*Epiphanius* *scholasticus* renders  
 it *Cancellor*, which is the  
 sam<sup>e</sup>. Concerning the *Councilors*  
 or *Afflores* of Judges, as  
 well *Crui* as *Illitry*, I have  
 made many remarks in my *Notes*  
 on *Anon. Maritimus* § which 'tis  
 unnecessary to repeat. Fur-  
 ther, this *Musius* seems to be  
 the same Person, who was after-  
 ward sent Embassador by the  
 Emperor *Theodosius* to *Asiatic*;  
 as *Trifolius* relates in his *Expositio*  
*Legationum*: Where he attests,  
 that he was nobly defended, and  
 had been very useful to the Em-  
 peror in many Affairs. *Valc*.

ed it ill, *Ardaubarius* the  
ers *Collegae*. *Maximus*  
allated it better, *Alexan-*  
*drus scholasticus* renou-  
encellor, which is the  
concerning the Council  
Affessors of Judges, as  
il as *Military*, I have  
my remarks in my *Notes*  
*Marcellinus* ; which tis  
ry to repeat here. Fur-  
*Maximus* seems to be  
Persian, who was after  
Embassy to the  
Theodorus to Attila ;  
s relates in his *Excerptis*  
um : Where he attests,  
was nobly defended, and  
very useful to the Em-  
many Affairs. Valef.

Immortals, (their number is ten thousand [and they are] valiant Men,)  
superior to the Emperor and God, these Bese-

came to the Emperor: and said, that a release was not to be admitted of before (c) they had made an attack upon the *Romans*, then carelessly and negligent. The King is perjured by them, shuts up the Ambassador in prison, and sends the *Immortals* to put their design upon the *Romans* in execution. Being come [to the place appointed,] they divided themselves into two parties, and took a resolution of furrowing part of the *Romans* Army. The *Romans* seeing but one party of the *Persians*, made provision to receive their attack. The other par-

was not to be admitted of before (c) they had made an attack upon the *Romans*, then carelessly and negligent. The King is perfwaded by them, ſhuts up the Embaſſador in priſon, and ſends the *Immortals* to put their deſign upon the *Romans* in execution. Being come [to the place appointed,] they divided themſelves into two parties, and took a reſolution of ſurrounding part of the *Romans* Army. The *Romans* ſeeing but one party of the *Perſians*, made promiſe to receive their attack. The other party was not ſeen by them : For they ruſht forth to fight on a ſudden. But when the Engagement was juſt beginning, the Army *Roman* un-

(d) Sidonius makes mention of this Procopius, in his *Panegyric* of *Anthemius Augustus*; where he relates, that he was Son-in-law to *Anthemius* heretofore Consul and *Patricius* of *Protorio*; who during *Theodosius Junior's* minority, had had the chief management of Affairs in the Empire. False.

fore had furrounded the *Romans*, were themselves encompassed. After the *Romans* had in short time slain every man of these, they set up on those who issued forth upon them from the *Ambuscade*, every man of whom likewise they dispatch with their Darts. Thus, those termed the *Immortals* amongst the *Persians*, were al-

of them manifestly proved to be Mortals; Christ inflicting this punishment upon the *Perſians*, becauſe they had murder'd many pious perſons that were his worſhippers. The *Perſian* King, inform'd of this overthrow, pretended himſelf wholly ignorant of the action: and having given admiſſion to the Embaſſy, he ſpoke to the Embaſſador in this manner: *We embrace a Peace, not that We yield to the Romans: but We [do it to] gratify You, becauſe We have found You to be the prudenſteſt Perſon of all the Romans.* (e) Thus the War which had been undertaken upon the account of thoſe *Chriſtians* who lived in *Perſia*, was concluded. Which thing happened in the Conſulate of the *Two Auguſti*, *Honorius* being the thirteenth, and *Theodoſius*, the tenth year Conſul, on the fourth year of the three hundredth *Olympiad*. The perſecution [which had been raiſed] againſt the *Chriſtians* in *Perſia* ceaſed at the ſame time alſo.

καταβηται δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, thus the river which had been understood upon the basis of these Christian sources for the Persian War, was concluded. Which thing [that is, the conclusion of the War] happened in the Consulate of the two Augusti. So Epiphanius Scholasticus read, as its apparent from his Version. For thus he renders it: *Et hoc modo bellum propter Christianos exortum de Persarum regione cessavit. Coniungit autem Consulate Honorii XII. & Theodosii X.* This certain, in this Consulate the Persian War was not waged, but concluded. For it had been begun on the foregoing year, when Eustathius and Agricola were Consul, as I have remarked before; see chap. 18. note (6). Th1. I confirm'd by Murellinus in his *Notitia*, in these Words: Honorio XII. & Theodosio X. *Conf. Persia cum Romanis pacem pepigerit, in Honorio; thirteenth and Theodosio; trentis Consulate, the Persians made a Peace with the Romans.* Valef.

## CHAPTER XXI.

*After what manner Acacius Bishop of Amida, behaved himself towards the Persian Captives.*

Moreover, the good Action of *Acacius* Bishop of *Amida*, rendred him much more eminent at that time amongst all Men [than he had been before.] For, when the *Roman* Soldiers would by no means restore the *Persian* Captives (whom they had taken when they ruin'd *(a)* *Azazene*), to the King of *Persia*; and the Captives, in number about seven thousand, were in the interim destroyed by famine; (which thing was the occasion of no small grief to the King of *Persia*) *Acacius* thought that business was in no wise to be then neglected

(a) So he has termed this Province before, a chap. 18. Theopane.

(b) Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: Man [and Brethren] said he, Our God stands not in need of Dishes or Cups: For he neither eats nor drinks, in regard he wants nothing. Whereas therefore the Church is possessor of many Vessels of Gold and Silver by the Beneficence and Liberality of those who belong to it, 'tis agreeable that by a sale of these Vessels we should both (c) redeem the Captives from the Soldiers, and also provide them Food.

*Amm. Marcellinus* attests, Book 25. which is sometimes termed *Arxanene*, and *Araxiane*, and *Araxene*, as I have remarked at the *fore* said Book of *Amm. Marcellinus*. Valef.

(b) Instead of [συγκαλέσας τὸς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κληρικοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔφη] *But having called together the Clergymen under himself, he said,* this place would be written more elegantly, thus [συγκαλὼν τὸς υἱοὺς αὐτοῦ κληρικοὺς ἀνδρας, ἔφη, &c.] *Having [therefore] called together the Clergy under himself: Men [and Brethren] said he, &c.,* And if Epiphanius Scholasticus read, as 'tis apparent from his Verlion. Our Emendation is plainly confirmed also by Nicomachus. Vale!

(c) 'Πυλαῖαι τῶν δεσμωτῶν τῶν ἀναιρεμένων. Christoporus renders it ill, to redeem the Captive Soldiers: for those who had been taken Prisoners by the Romans in Argene, were unarmed; most of

them being Bjors, who inhabited that Country. Besides, the Romans are termed Soldiers by way of Emphasis, to distinguish them from the Barbarians, as I have noted at *Amm. Marcellinus*. So our *Sevates* calls the Romans, Soldiers, almost in the next words after these. Valef.

*Honorius and Theod. Jun.*

Having discours'd of these, and many other such like things as these to them, he order'd the vessels to be melted down, and having paid the Soldiers a ransom for the Captives, and fed the Captives [for some time,] he afterwards gave them money to bear their charges, and sent them home to their King. This action of the admirable *Acatius* highly astonish'd the King of *Persia*, because the Romans made it their business to conquer their Enemies both ways, as well by War, as by Beneficence. And 'tis said, that the *Persian* King was very desirous that *Acatius* should come into his presence, to the end he might enjoy a sight of the Man; and that that was effected by the Emperor *Theodosius*'s order. When therefore God had given so eminent a Victory to the Romans, many Persons who excelled for their eloquence, wrote \* *Panegyrics* in praise of the Emperor, and recited them in publick. Moreover, the Emperor's Wife wrote a Poem in *Heroick Verse*: for she was a woman of a great eloquence. For, being the Daughter of (d) *Leontius the Athenian Sophist*, she had been instructed by her Father, and cultivated with all manner of Literature. When the Emperor was about marrying of this Woman, *Atticus* the Bishop made her a *Christian*, and at her Baptism, instead of *Athanais*, named her *Eudocia*. Many persons therefore, as I have said, recited *Panegyrics*; some with a design to make themselves taken notice of by the Emperor; others endeavouring to publish the powerfulness of their own eloquence; being altogether unwilling, that that Learning they had gotten by much labour, should lie concealed.

\* Or, Panegyric Orations.

(d) This is the *Leontius* (if I mistake not) whom *Olympiodorus* relates by his own care and Industry to have been promoted to the *Sophistick Chair* at Athens, when as he himself Valef.

as yet declined it; as *Photius* declares in his *Bibliotheca*.

## C H A P. XXII.

Concerning the Excellencies, wherewith the Emperor *Theodosius Junior* was endow'd.

BUT I, who am neither studious about being taken notice of by the Emperor, nor desirous of making a shew of eloquence, have taken a resolution of setting forth those Excellencies wherewith the Emperor is endow'd, sincerely and without any Rhetorical flourish. For, in regard his Virtues are so singularly useful, my sentiment is, that to pass them over in silence would be loss to Posterity, which would be defrauded of the knowledge thereof. In the first place therefore, although he was born and educated in the \* *Imperial Palace*, yet he contracted nothing of an Effeminacy or Stupidity from that Education. But was [always] so prudent, as to be reputed by those who addressed to him, to have attained a knowledge and experience in most affairs. His patience in undergoing hardships was such, that he could endure heat and cold courageously; and would fast frequently, especially on those days term'd *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*. And this he did, out of an earnest endeavour of observing the Rites of

the *Christian Religion* with an accuracy. He govern'd his Palace so, that it differed not much from a Monastery. Wherefore he, (a) together with his Sisters, rose early in the Morning, and recited *alternative Hymns* in praise of God. Moreover, he could lay the Sacred Scriptures by heart. And with the Bishops who conferred with him, he discoursed out of the Scriptures, as if he had been an *Ecclesiastick* of a long standing. He was much more diligent in making a Collection of the Sacred Books, and of the *Expositions* which had been written thereon, than *Ptolemaeus Philadelphus* had been heretofore. For

*Clemency* and *Humanity* he excelled all Men by far. The Emperor *Julianus*, altho' he was a profest Philosopher, yet could not moderate his rage and anger towards the *Antiochians* who had \* derided him, but inflicted most acute tortures upon † *Theodorus*. But *Theodosius* had farewell to *Aristotle's Syllogisms*, and exercised Philosophy in deeds, getting the mastery over Anger, Grief, and Pleasure. He never revenged himself upon any one who had been injurious to him. Yea, no Man ever saw him angry. Being on a time asked by one with whom he was pleased to be familiar, why he never put to death any person who had injured him? his answer was, *Would to God it were possible for me to restore to life those that are dead!* To another questioning him about the same thing, (b) 'Tis no great or difficult thing (said he) for him (b) *Epiphanius* that is a Man, to die: but 'tis God's property only by his means repentance to restore to life him that is once dead. Further, his practise of this Virtue was so constant and earnest, that if any person had happened to commit a crime which deserved a capital punishment, he was never led so far as the City-gates onwards on, his way to the place of Execution, before a pardon was granted, whereby he was immediately recalled. When on a time he exhibited a Show of hunting Wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre at *Constantinople*, the people cried out, Let one of the boldest expent (c) *Bestiarii* encounter the enraged Wild Beasts. *Epiphanius* is not, saith he, a great nor difficult thing for a Man to die, because neither [is it a great or difficult thing] to God alone, by repentance to raise a Man once dead. For you must understand [is it a great or difficult thing] to be used in common to both clauses. *Nicephorus Callistus* has worded this passage thus: *ὁ δὲ ἐν τῷ, καὶ τὸν ἀνθρώπον οὐκ ἐμὴν ἐκείνου. Οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῷ, τὸν ἀνθρώπον τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνακαταστήσει.* Which words *Lingus* has rendered thus: *Nihil est novi, dixit, quibus homo quum sit, et vitā excedat: solus autem Deus, cum qui semel mortuus sit, per penitentiam ad vitam revocare.* I am new thing, said he, that he who is a Man should depart out of this life: but 'tis God's property only, by Repentance to recall to life him who is once dead. But I like not *Nicephorus*'s using τῇ ψυχῇ instead of οὐκ ἐμὴν. For, the discourse here is not concerning the life of the soul, but that of the body. Wherefore, I approve rather of *Mansuetudo* the Version, who has rendered it thus: *Ex penitentia vero revocatur cum qui semel mortuus sit, non est nisi soli Deo possibile.* But by repentance to recall him who is once dead, is a thing possible only to God. Notwithstanding this Version pleased not *Christophorus*, because it may seem to attribute repentance to God. But this expression may be born with, in regard God in the sacred Scriptures is now and then said to repent himself of some fact. Valef.

(c) *Sealiger* in his Notes on the fourth Book of *Manilius*, and (after him) *Salmasius* in his Notes on *Capitolinus*, pag. 258, have long since observed, that the Greeks called those *αεζέζοντες* (which is the term here used,) who let themselves out to fight with wild Beasts. But I approve not of their confounding the Confessors with these *αεζέζοντες*. For the Confessors were another sort of Persons, as I have remarked on *Eusebius*, (Book 4. chap. 15. note n.) who sought not with the wild Beasts, but distasteth them at a distance. Valef. See *Eusebius Pamphilus*'s Book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, chap. 3. note (b).

*Honours and  
felicity.*

To whom he gave this answer, *You know not that We are wont to be Spectators at Shows with delicacy and humanity.* With which saying he instructed the People, to be in-future delighted with Shows, wherein there was less of cruelty. Further, his Piety was such, that he honoured all God's Priests; but most especially those whom he knew to be more eminent for Sanctity of life. 'Tis reported, that when the Bishop

(d) This City, and the name of this Bishop, are equally unknown to me. *Valef*.  
\* *Say-ion*; all Translators (whom I have seen) except *Valef*, renders it *his Sack-cloth*; the Greek term comprehends both significations.

dead Bishop's Sanctuary. There hapning tempestuous weather one year, he was forced to exhibit the usual and fer Shows in the *Cirque*, in regard the people were extremely earnest for them. But when the *Cirque* was filled with Spectators, the Storm increased, and there was a vast fall of Snow; at which time the Emperor gave an evident demonstration, how he was affected towards God; [for] he made proclamation by the Cryer to the People, in these words: '*Thy much better, that we should omit the Show, and all joy in prayer to God, that we may be preserved unharmed from the imminent Storm.*' The Cryer had scarce made an end of proclaiming these words, when all the People began to supplicate God in the *Cirque* with the greatest joy imaginable, and with a general consent sang Hymns to him: and the whole City became one Congregation. The Emperor himself went in the midst [of the multitude] in a private habit, and began the Hymns: nor was he frustrated of his hope [at that time.] For the air returned to its former serenity; and instead of a scarcity of Bread-corn the Divine Benevolence bestow'd a plentiful crop upon all Persons. If at any time a War was raised, in imitation of *David*, he fled to God, knowing him to be the Disposer of Wars; and by his prayers he managed them successfully. I will here relate therefore, how, a little after the *Persian* War, (when the Emperor *Honorius* was dead, in the Consulate of *Aclepiodotus* and *Marianus*, (e) on the fifteenth of the month August) by putting his confidence in God, he vanquished the Tyrant *Johannes*. For, 'tis my sentiment, that the actions which hapned at that time are worthy to be recorded: because what befel the *Hebrews* (who were led by *Moses*) in their passage over the *Red-Sea*, the same [almost] hapned to the Emperor's Commanders, at such time as he sent them against that Tyrant. Which actions I will relate in short, leaving the ampleness of them, which does require a peculiar work, [to be set forth at large] by others.

## C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning Johannes, who tyranniz'd at Rome  
after Honorius the Emperor's death. And how  
God \* mollified, by Theodosius's prayers, deliv-  
red him into the hands of the Roman Army.

\* Or, bowed, or inclined.

*Theod. Jun.* **H**onorius Augustus therefore being dead, the Emperor Theodosius informed thereof, conceals it, and deceives the Populace [by feigning] sometimes one thing, at others ano-

ther. But he sends his Military Forces secretly to *Salona*; which is a City of *Dalmatia*; to the end that if any Rebellion should happen in the western parts, a force to resist it might not be far off. Having made provision after this manner before-hand, he then pub-

† That is, *Honorius*.

(x) This is the *Johannes, Primicerius* [or, *Chief*] of the *No-taries*, who when *Rome* was be-sieged, had been sent Embassa-dor to *Alarichus* King of the *Goths*, whose Friend and Guest he had been, as *Zosimus* relates, Book 4. *Vale!*

|| Or, *Fortunateness*.

admitted Colleague in the  
Empire. Theodosius imprison'd his Embassadors,  
sends away Arbuthinus, Master of the Milice,  
who had done excellent service in the  
Persian War. He being arrived at Salome, fail'd  
from thence to Aquileia, and had ill success as  
he then thought; (but 'twas afterwards demon-  
strated to be prosperous.) For, an un-  
lucky wind blew, which drove him into the  
Tyrant's hands. Who having taken Arbuthinus,  
hop'd Theodosius would be necessitated to elect  
and proclaim him Emperor, if he were desirous  
of preserving the life of his Master of the  
Milice. And the Emperor, when inform'd  
hereof, was really in an agony, as was also  
the Army which had been sent against the Ty-  
rant, lest Arbuthinus should suffer any mis-  
chief from the Tyrant. Moreover, Apfar, Ar-  
buthinus's Son, when he understood that his  
Father was taken by the Tyrant, and knew  
that many Myriads of Barbarians were come to  
the Tyrant's assistance, knew not what course  
to take. But, the prayer of the Emperor, be-  
loved by God, at that time prevailed again:  
For an Angel of God in the habit of a Shep-  
herd, became a Guide to Apfar and the Forces  
with him, and leads them through the Lake,  
which lies near to Ravenna. For in that Ci-  
ty the Tyrant resided, where he detained the  
Master of the Milice Prisoner. No Person was  
ever known to have pass'd through this Lake.  
But God rendred that passable at that time,  
which before had been impassable. (b) When  
therefore they had pass'd the Waters of the  
Lake [as if it had been] over dry Ground, they  
found the Gates of the City open, and seiz'd  
the Tyrant. At which time the most pious  
Emperor gave a demonstration of his religious  
affection towards God. For whilst he was ex-  
hibiting the Cirque-Sports, news was brought  
him that the Tyrant was destroy'd. Where-  
upon he speaks to the People: Come, said he,  
if you please, let us rather leave our Recreation, and  
go into the Church, and put up our Thanksgivings to  
God, in regard his Hand hath destroy'd the Tyrant.  
These were his words; and the Shows ceased  
immediately, and were neglected: And all  
Persons went through the midst of the Cirque,  
singing praises together with him with one  
consent of mind and voice, and went into  
God's Church. And the whole City became  
one Congregation. Being come into the  
place of Prayer, they continued there all day.  
Particle is to be added, after this manner, *And when they had pass'd the Waters of the Lake as if it had been over dry Ground.* Valef.



*Theol. Jun. and Valentinianus.* Person, Bishop of the Novatianists there; he asked him, *How many years have you been a Bishop?* When he made answer [that he had been a Bishop] fifty years; *You are happy, O Man,* (said he) *in regard you have been diligent about so good a Work for such a long time!* He spake these words to the same *Aclepiades*; *I do indeed commend Novatus, but the Novatianists I can in no wise approve of.* *Aclepiades* amazed at this strange expression, replied, how can you say this, O Bishop? To whom *Atticus* made this answer; *I commend Novatus, because he refused to communicate with those persons who had sacrificed: for I my self would have done the same.* But I do not in any wise praise the Novatianists, in regard they exclude the Laicks from Communion on account of very light and trivial Offences. To which *Aclepiades* made this return; there are, besides sacrificing, many other Sins unto death (as the Scriptures term them,) on account whereof (b) you not only exclude Ecclesiasticks, but we Laicks also from Communion, leaving to God alone a power of pardoning them. Further, *Atticus* (c) foreknew even the time of his own death. For at his departure from Nicæa, he spake these words to *Calliopius* a Prefbyter of that place: *Hasten to Constantino-*

(b) 'Twas not only you, but we Laicks also, who must be excluded; which neither Nicæan, nor Epiphanius, Scholasticus, nor the other Translators do acknowledge. Unless, instead of *αἵμα*, any one has a mind to substitute *αὐτοῖς*, and read thus; *You in a certain manner exclude Ecclesiasticks.* But, this place wants not difficulty. For, it may seem to be concluded from hence, that Ecclesiasticks in the Catholic Church, who had been excommunicated for more enormous Crimes, were cut off from the Church without all hope of pardon; but Laicks not so. Which may be thus explained. Laicks, who had been separated from Communion on account of public Crimes, recovered Peace and Communion again by the remedy of penitency, at least once. But to Ecclesiasticks who had been excommunicated, the door of penitency was shut. For they were not admitted to public penitency. They continued therefore for ever excommunicated. For which reason Ecclesiasticks were very rarely excommunicated: but were either deposted, or suspended from their Office for some time, or at least reduced to a Laick-communion. But, the first Canon of the Nicæan Synod does gain say this; wherein the Ecclesiasticks who had committed Fornication or Adultery, are driven from Communion, and brought to penitency. This passage may be explained otherwise also. For, from such time as *Nestorius* abolished the Penitentiary, all Laicks had a free power of communicating left them; nor was any one removed from Communion on account of a deadly Crime, except Ecclesiasticks only. *Valef.*

(c) *Atticus* did not only foreknow the day of his own death, but long before his death, he built himself a Sepulchre, as I am informed from an ancient Epigram; which because 'tis not yet extant in Print, I will here annex;

Παύλος σιλεντάρειος ἐπὶ τάφῳ δὲ τῷ αὐτοῦ κατασχεδωσάτω.

Ἀττῖλὸς ἐς ζωνὴν με παραγρηῖο· ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ  
Θυμὸν θάλασσαν ἔειπε, λαλῶντα τάφον.  
Παύλῳ ὡς ἀφ' οὗτος θάνατον φέβον· εἰ δ' ἄν τις  
ἦεν αὐτῷ, σὸς μὲν ἔστω τάφος. i. e.

Paulus Silentarius's Composure on the Tomb of one Atticus.

Atticus, whilst he was living, (in whose mind a Fortitude not to be daunted shined.)  
Dug me his Grave, in common hope of Fate  
unraffable and uncompionate.

Such were his Virtuous Actions, that Death's fear  
and Frightful Terrors, by him slighted were.  
But by the Sun, to late posterity  
his Sun-like wisdom shall recorded be.

This Epigram is extant in *Constantinus Cephalas's Anthologia*, not yet Printed. 'Tis my sentiment, that *Atticus* Bishop of Constantinople is meant hereby. For I know no other *Atticus*, to whom this Elogy of Wisdom and Virtue can be agreeable. Notwithstanding, this is contradicted by *Paulus Silentarius's* being inscribed the Author of this Epigram, who (as 'tis manifest from *Agathias's* Testimony,) flourished long after *Atticus*, in *Justinian's* times. Wherefore, either the Inscription of the Epigram, or our Conjecture, must of necessity be false. *Valef.*

before Autumn, if you are desirous of seeing me again alive. For, if you delay, you will not find me living. Upon his saying whereof, he mistook not. For in the twenty first year of his Episcopate, on the tenth of October, he died, in *Theodosius's* eleventh, and *Valentinianus Caesar's* first Consulate. Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* being then in his return from *Theffalonica*, was not at his Funeral. For *Atticus* was interred the day before the Emperor's Entry into Constantinople. Not long after *Valentinianus Junior* was (d) declared *Augustus*, about the twenty third of that same October. (d) *The Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*

understood this passage in *Socrates* amiss. For he thought, that *Valentinianus Junior* *Placidia's* Son, had been filed *Augustus* on the 23d of October: but *Socrates* says not so; he relates only, that *Valentinianus's* having been Proclaimed *Augustus* was published at Constantinople on the twenty third of October. Which two things are vastly different. *Signonius* (Book 11. *De Occidentali Imperio*) relates that *Valentinianus* was created *Augustus* at *Revenna* on the Ides (that is, the fifteenth) of October, in *Theodosius Augustus's* eleventh and *Valentinianus's* own first Consulate. 'Tis certain, on the eighth of October in the same Consulate, *Valentinianus* was as yet but *Cæsar*, as we are informed from the 47th Law in the *Theodosian Code de Episc. Eccles. & Clericis*, dated at *Aquileia*. By which place *Signonius* was chiefly induced, to place *Valentinianus's* being proclaimed *Augustus* on the Ides of October, and to relate it to have been made at *Revenna*. For in regard it was published at Constantinople on the twenty fifth of that same month, it could not have been done later. *Onofrius* (in his *Fastis*) has followed *Signonius's* opinion. Further, *Marcellinus* and *Fordaines* (in his Book *De Successione Regnorum*) do mention this Declaration to have been made at *Revenna*: but *Olympiodorus* and *Marius* (in his *Chronicon*) say 'twas done at *Rome*. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXVI.

Concerning Sifinnius, Atticus's Successor in the Constantinopolitan Bishoprick.

AFTER *Atticus's* death, a great contest happened about the Ordination of a Bishop, some desiring one person, others another. For, one party ('tis said) were earnest to have *Philippus* a Presbyter; another, *Proclus*; who was a Presbyter also. But the whole Body of the People with a general consent wished *Sifinnius* might be made [Bishop:] who was a Presbyter also himself: he had not been constituted \*over any of the Churches within the City, but \*Or, he had been promoted to the Presbyterate in a Village belonging to Constantinople, the name whereof is *Elaea*; and 'tis situate over against the Imperial City; in which Village the Festival of our Saviour's Ascension was from [an ancient] time.) usage celebrated by the whole People in general. All the Laicks were desirous to have this Man [made Bishop,] both because he was a Person singularly eminent for his Piety, and also more especially in regard his diligence in relieving the indigent, was earnest even beyond his power. The desire therefore of the Laity prevailed: and *Sifinnius* is ordained on the twenty eighth of February in the following Consulate, which was *Theodosius's* twelfth and *Valentinianus Junior Augustus's* second. Afterwards, *Philippus* the Presbyter (because *Sifinnius* was preferred before him) was very bitter and large in his (a) Invectives against that Ordination, (a) *Phosius* (in his *Bibliotheca*, chap. 35.) attests the same; where his words concerning *Philippus Sida's Christian History* are these: *ὁ δὲ τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ ἱεροῦ συγγεγῆς, &c.* But in this History he is very severe upon *Sifinnius*, because, when as they were both of the same degree and order, and he himself seemed superiour in eloquence and all sort of literature; yet *Sifinnius* (says he) was elected to the Archiepiscopal See. *Valefius.*

*Theod. 100. in that [voluminous work, termed the] Chri-*  
*and Valen- stian History, which he wrote; wherein he cam-*  
*inianus. uniates both the person ordain'd, and also*  
*those who had ordain'd him; but more especi-*  
*ally the Laity. And his expressions are such,*  
*that I am unwilling to record them; for I can*  
*in no wise approve of his rashness, in having*  
*been so audacious, as to commit such things*  
*to writing. But, I judge it not inopportune*  
*to say something in short concerning him.*

## C H A P. XXVII.

*Concerning Philipppus the Presbyter, who was born*  
*at Side.*

**P**hilippus was by Country a *Sidenfian*. *Side*  
 is a City of *Pamphylia*, at which *Troilus*  
 the *Sophista* had his original Extract; of his  
 own relation to whom *Philipppus* boasted. Whilst  
 he was a Deacon, he had had frequent con-  
 verse with \* *Bishop Johannes*. He was a very  
 laborious and painful Student, and had made  
 a Collection of many Books, and those of all  
 sorts. He imitated the *Asian* Style, and wrote  
 many Books. [For, he consulted the Emperor  
*Julian's* Pieces, and compiled a *Christian History*,  
 which he divided into six and thirty Books.  
 Each Book contained many *Tomes*, in so much  
 that in all they were near a thousand. The

\* That is,  
*Chrysos-*  
*tomus.*

† Or, Sub-  
 ject, or Ar-  
 gument.

\* Specu-  
 lations, Pre-  
 cepts, or,  
 Axioms.

† Contents of each *Tome* equal'd the *Tome* it  
 self in bigness. This work he entitled not an  
*Ecclesiastick*, but a *Christian History*. In it he  
 heaped together variety of Learning, being de-  
 sirous to shew, that he was not unskilled in *Phi-*  
*losophick Literature*. For which reason, he  
 makes frequent mention therein of *Geometrical*,  
*Astronomical*, *Arithmetical*, and *Musical* \* *Theo-*  
*rems*. He also describes *Islands*, *Mountains*,  
*Trees*, and several other things not very mo-  
 mentous. Upon which account he has made it  
 a loose work : and therefore hath (in my  
 judgment) rendred it useless both to the *Ignor-*  
*ant*, and to the *Learned* also. For, the *Ignor-*  
*ant* are unable to inspect the height and  
 grandeur of his *Stile*. And those that are well  
 versed in Learning nauseate his insipid repeti-  
 tion of words. But let every one pass a judg-  
 ment upon those Books according to his own  
 liking. I only say this, that the times where-  
 in affairs have been transacted are confounded  
 by him. For when he has mentioned the  
 Times of the Emperor *Theodosius*, he runs back  
 to those of *Athanasius* the *Bishop*. And this he  
 does very frequently. Thus much concerning  
*Philipppus*. 'Tis requisite that we should now de-  
 clare what hapned in *Sisinnius's* Time.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

*That Sisinnius ordained Proclus Bishop of Cyzi-*  
*cum : but the Inhabitants of that City would not*  
*admit him [to be their Bishop.]*

**T**he *Bishop of Cyzicum* being dead, *Sisinnius*  
 ordained *Proclus* *Bishop* of that City.  
 When therefore he was about going thither, the  
 Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* prevent him, and ordain  
 a person that was an *Ascetic*, his name *Dalma-*  
*tius*. And this they did in contempt to a (a) *Law*  
 by which 'twas established, that the Ordination  
 of a *Bishop* [there] should not be made con-

(a) What  
 Law this  
 was and  
 by whom  
 made 'tis  
 uncertain.  
 My Sent-

trary to the *Constantinopolitan* *Bishop's* mind.  
 But they disregarded this *Law*, as being [said  
 they] a personal Prerogative granted only to  
*Atticus*. *Proclus* therefore continued destitute  
 indeed of the Precedency over his own Church,  
 but he flourished and grew famous for his *Ser-*  
*mons* [preach'd] in the Churches of *Constanti-*  
*nople*. But we shall speak concerning this  
 person in due place. *Sisinnius* having survived  
 his being made *Bishop* not full out two years,  
 ended his life in the Consulate of *Hierius* and  
*Ardaburius*, on the twenty fourth of the month  
*December*. He was a person, for his temperance,  
 good life, and love to the poor, highly eminent.  
 As to his Temper, he was a person to whom  
 access might easily be had, and of a disposi-  
 tion plain and without falsehood; therefore no  
 lover of business. For which reason busy men  
 were offended at him; amongst whom he had  
 the character of a slothful person.

made in a Council of *Bishops*, *Socrates* would have used the term *Canon*, rather than have called it a *Law*. After *Atticus's* death, the  
 Inhabitants of *Cyzicum* disregarded this *Law*. For they said, that  
 that privilege had in an especial manner been granted to *Atticus*,  
 and belonged not to his Successors. But, they were mistaken. For  
 long before *Atticus*, the *Constantinopolitan* Prelates had given *Bishops*  
 to the Inhabitants of *Cyzicum*. For, in *Constantinus's* time, *Eudoxius*  
*Bishop* of *Constantinople* ordained *Eudoxius* *Bishop* of *Cyzicum*. See  
*Libertus's* *Breviarium*, chap. 7. *Vales*.

## C H A P. XXIX.

*That after Sisinnius's death, [ the Emperors ] sent*  
*for Nestorius from Antioch, and made him*  
*Bishop of Constantinople; who quickly disco-*  
*ver'd his own Temper and Disposition.*

**A**fter *Sisinnius's* death, the Emperors were  
 pleas'd not to prefer any person of the  
*Constantinopolitan* Church to that See, because  
 they were men studious of vain-glory : altho'  
 many were very earnest to have *Philipppus*, others  
 not fewer in number [ strove to get ] *Proclus*,  
 ordained. But they resolv'd to send for a For-  
 reigner from *Antioch*. For there was a man  
 there, by name *Nestorius*, born at the City *Ger-*  
*manicia*, who had a good voice, and a readi-  
 ness of expression. Wherefore they determin'd  
 to send for him, as being a fit person to teach  
 the people. After an interval of three months  
 therefore, *Nestorius* is brought from *Antioch* :  
 Who was cried up indeed for his temperance  
 amongst many persons; but what a temper'd  
 man he was as to other things, the more prudent  
 discover'd from (a) his first Sermon. For, being (a)  
 ordained on the tenth of *April*, in the Consulate  
 of *Felix* and *Taurus*; addressing himself to the  
 Emperor, he forthwith utter'd that famous ex-  
 pression in the presence of all the people. Give to be ve-  
 neme ( said he, ) O Emperor ! the Earth cleared by care-  
 from Hereticks, and in recompence thereof I will fully ob-  
 serve, give you Heaven. Assist me in destroying Hereticks, what the  
 and I will assist you in vanquishing the Persians. *Bishops*  
 Although these words were extremely plea- (especial-  
 sing to some of the Vulgar, who had concei- ly the Pre-  
 ved an hatred against Hereticks; yet to those lates of the  
 greater Church  
 ches) said in their first Sermon to the People. For from that Ser-  
 mon a conjuncture was made of the Faith, Doctrine, and Temper, of  
 every *Bishop*. Wherefore they were wont to take particular notice  
 of, and remember their sayings. A remark of this nature *Socrates*  
 has made before, at Book 2. chap. 43. concerning the first Sermon  
 of *Eudoxius* *Bishop* of *Constantinople*, And *Theodoret* and *Sophianus*  
 declare the same concerning *Meletius* *Antiochenus's* first Sermon to  
 the people. *Vales*.

(who



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* (who, as I have said, had skill in giving a conjecture of his sentiments from his expressions) neither the levity of his mind, nor his inclination to anger and violence joyn'd with his vain-gloriousness were concealed: in regard he contained not himself during the smallest space of time, but broke out into such expressions as these; and (if I may use the Proverb) *before he had tasted the Water of the City*, shewed himself an enraged Persecutor. On the fifth day therefore after his Ordination, he takes a resolution to demolish the *Arian's* Oratory, in which they performed their Devotions secretly; whereby he drove those Hereticks to a desperation. For when they saw their place of Prayer pulling down, they threw fire into it and burnt it. Moreover, the fire spread further, and consumed the adjacent buildings. Whereupon a tumult was raised all over the City, and the *Arians* made preparations to revenge themselves. But God the keeper of the City, permitted not the mischief to gather to an head. However, *Nestorius* was in future termed an *(b) Incendiary*, not only by the Hereticks, but by those also of his own Faith. For he desired not, but framed intrigues against the Hereticks, and did his utmost to subvert the City. For he attempted to molest the *Novatianists* also, his envy spurring him on, because *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists* was famous in all places for his piety. But the Emperors by their admonition repressed his fury. Now what mischiefs he did to the *Quartodecimani* throughout *Asia*, *Lydia*, and *Caria*, and how numerous the multitudes were that came to their deaths by his means at *Miletum* and *Sardis* in a tumult there raised, I think fit not to mention. But, what manner of punishment he underwent, as well for these [wickednesses], as for his unbridled \* tongue, I will declare hereafter

*(b) Incendiary.* I chose to render it an *Incendiary* (as *Epiphanius* does,) rather than *burnium*, a Fire, though, 'tis possible, this is the true import of the word. *Valef.*

\* Or, unbridled tongue.

C H A P. XXX.

After what manner the Burgundions embraced the Christian Religion, in the Reign of Theodosius Junior.

I Will now relate a thing worthy to be recorded, which hapned about this very time. There is a barbarous Nation, which has its habitation beyond the River *Rhine*, they are called the *Burgundions*. These persons lead a \* quiet life. For they are almost all Carpenters; by which [trade] they earn wages, and get a livelihood. The Nation of the *Hunni* by making continual Inroads upon this people, depopulated their Country, and frequently destroyed many of them. The *Burgundions* therefore, reduced to a great strait, fly for refuge to no man; but resolved to commit themselves to some God. And having seriously considered with themselves, that the God of the *Romans* did vigorously assist and defend those that feared him; by a general consent they all came over to the Faith of *Christ*. Going therefore to one of the Cities of *Gallia*, they made a request to the Bishop, that they might receive *Christian* Baptism. The Bishop order'd them to fast seven days, in which interval he instructed them in the grounds of Faith; and on the eighth day

\* Or, more joyful.

baptized and dismissed them. Being encouraged therefore [ hereby, ] they marched out *(a)* against the *Hunni*, and were not frustrated of their expectation: For the King of the *Hunni* *(a)* (whose name was *(b) Optar*), having burst himself in the night by eating too much; the *Burgundions* fell upon the *Hunni* then destitute of a Commander in chief, and a few engaged very many, and conquered them. For the *Burgundions* being in number only three thousand, destroyed about ten thousand of the *Hunni*. And from that time the Nation of the *Burgundions* became zealous Professors of Christianity. *A Hunni*:] about the same time, *Barba* Bishop of the *Arians* for died, in *Theodosius's* thirteenth and *Valentinianus's* third Consulate, on the twenty fourth oppressed of *June*, and *Sabbathus* is constituted Bishop in his stead. But, let thus much be said concerning these things.

*(b)* This person (as I suppose,) is *Optar* King of the *Hunni*; whom *Fordeus* (in his *History of the Goths*, chap. 35.) relates to have been the Brother of *Rea*, and *Mandichus* *Atilia's* Father. *Valef.*

C H A P. XXXI.

With what Miseries the Macedonians were afflicted by Nestorius.

MOREOVER, *Nestorius* behaved himself contrary to the usage of the Church, *(a)* and caused others to imitate himself in such things, as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Bishop. For, one *Antonius* Bishop of *Germa* a City in the *Hellepont*, imitated *Nestorius's* rage towards the Hereticks, and made it his business to persecute the *Macedonians*, taking the *Patriarch's* order as a pretext for his Apology. The *Macedonians* for some time endured his vexatiousness. But after *Antonius* began to disquiet them more vehemently; being unable to undergo his molestation any longer, they [grew desperate, and] brake out into a cruel madness; and having privately sent some men who preferred what is pleasant before that which is good, they murder him. The *Macedonians* having perpetrated this villanous fact, *Nestorius* took hold of what had been done as an occasion of his own rage. And he persecuted the Emperors to deprive them of their Churches. As well those Churches therefore which they had before the old walls of *Constantinople*, as by a very them [they were possess of] in *Cyzicum*, were taken from them; as were likewise many others, which they had in the Villages of the *Hellepont*. Some of them came over to the [Catholic] Church, and embraced the *Homoian* Faith. But, as 'tis proverbially spoken, *Drunkards never want Wine, nor contentious persons strife*. It hapned therefore, that *Nestorius*, who busied himself in expelling other persons, was himself turned out of the Church, for this reason [following.]

Nor do I doubt but *Socrates* left it thus written. Otherwise, what he adds concerning *Antonius* Bishop of *Germa*, would in no wise agree with that which goes before. At the very next Words, instead of [as 'tis apparent from what hapned from him,] I read [as 'tis apparent from what hapned during his being Bishop.] Which Emendation seems to me altogether necessary. For, that which follows concerning *Antonius* the Bishop, was in no wise done by *Nestorius*. *Valef.*



*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.*  
he asserts not Christ to be a meer man; as *Photinus* and *Paul of Samosata* did, we are evidently informed even from his own discourses which he hath publish'd. Wherein he does in no place destroy the *Hypostasis* of the Word of God; but every where professes him to have a proper, real and peculiar Person and Existence: nor does he deprive him of a subsistence, as did *Photinus* and *Paul of Samosata*. Which Tenet the *Manicheans* and *Montanus's* followers have been so audacious as to assert. That this was *Nestorius's* opinion, I my self have found, partly by reading his own works, and partly from the discourses of his Admirers. Further, this frigid and empty discourse of *Nestorius* has rais'd no small disturbance in the World.

C H A P. XXXIII.

Concerning the horrid wickedness committed upon the Altar of the Great Church by the Fugitive Servants.

These things having been transacted [after this manner,] there hapned a most detestable fact, perpetrated in the Church. For, the Servants of one of the Great Men, Fellows that were Barbarians, having by experience found their Master to be cruel, fled to the Church, and with their swords drawn leapt upon the Altar. Being intreated to go out, they could by no means be prevailed upon; but hindred the Divine Services. And holding their naked swords in their hands for [the space of] many days, they stood in a posture to make resistance against any one that approached them. Moreover, when they had killed one of the Ecclesiasticks, and wounded another, at last they slew themselves. Whereupon, one of those then present said, that the prophonation of the Church was no good sign, [in proof whereof] he added two *Iambicks* of a certain old Poet:

(a) *Nicophorus* quotes these two Verses, thus:  
Σκῆπτρα ἔχ' οὐ ταύτα γινώσκουσι,  
ὅτι·  
Ὀτραι τοὐ παλίου ἐκκατακλινέμεθα  
ῥαδί.  
But the latter Verse would be written better thus:  
Ὀτραι τοὐ παλίου ἐκκατακλινέμεθα  
ῥαδί. Valef.

(a) *For such* Prognosticks happen in that while, When horrid Crimes the Churches do defile.

Nor was he who spake these words, mistaken in his Sentiment: For (as it was conjectured,) a Division amongst the people, and his Deposition who had been the Occasioner of this Division, was hereby portended.

C H A P. XXXIV.

Concerning the former Synod at Ephesus convened against Nestorius.

For within a small interval of time, the Bishops in all places were by the Emperor's Edict order'd to meet together at *Ephesus*. Immediately after the Feast of *Easter* therefore, *Nestorius* went to *Ephesus*, accompanied with a great and promiscuous multitude, where he finds many Bishops met together. But *Cyrillus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* made some delays, and came not till about *Pentecost*. On the fifth day after *Pentecost*, *Juvenalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem* arriv'd. Whilst *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*

was slow in coming, the [Prelates] that were present began to debate the Question. And *Cyrillus* of *Alexandria* made some onsets [of dispute,] being desirous to disturb and terrifie *Nestorius*; for he had conceived an hatred against him. Moreover, when many asserted the Deity of Christ, *Nestorius* exprest himself thus, *I cannot term him God, who was two months and three months old. And therefore I am clear from your blood; nor will I in future come to you any more.* Having said this, he afterwards held Conventions with the other Bishops, who were Followers of his Opinion. So that the persons present were divided into two Factions. Those of *Cyrillus's* party \* staid in the Council, and cited in *Nestorius*. But he refused to come in, and deserd his appearance till the arrival of *Johannes* [Bishop] of *Antioch*. Whereupon those of *Cyrillus's* party, (after they had several times read over *Nestorius's* Discourses about this Question, which he had made to the people; and from the reading thereof had given in their judgment, that he had constantly spoken blasphemously against the Son of God) deposed him. When this was done, (a) *Nestorius's* party made up another Synod apart by themselves, and depose *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Memnon* Bp. of *Ephesus*. Not long after these transactions, *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch* arriv'd: and being informed of what had been done, was highly displeased with *Cyrillus*, as being the Occasioner of the disturbance which had hapned, in regard he had with so much rashness and precipitancy proceeded to the deposition of *Nestorius*. But *Cyrillus*, and together with him *Juvenalis*, to revenge themselves upon *Johannes*, depose him also. These affairs being after this manner confus'd and disturb'd, *Nestorius* perceiving this contenti- on had arriv'd to such a height as to ruin communion, retracted, and termed *Mary Theotocos*, saying, *Let Mary be styled Theotocos, and let all animosities cease.* But tho' he made this retraction, yet no body admitted of it. For at this present he continues deposed, and lives in exile at *Ossis*. And this was the conclusion of the Synod held at that time. These things were done in the Consulate of *Basilius* and *Antiochus*, on the twenty eighth of June. But *Johannes* after his return to *Antioch*, assembled many Bishops, and deposed *Cyrillus*, who was then gone home to *Alexandria*. However, they laid aside their enmity soon after, came to a reconciliation, and restored one another to their Episcopal Chairs. But after *Nestorius's* deposition, a most violent disturbance seized the Churches of *Constantinople*: For the people were divided by reason of his frigid and empty babbling, as I have said already. But all the Clergy by a general consent *Anathematiz'd* him. (For so we Christians do usually term the sentence against a Blasphemer, when we propose it to publick view on a pillar as it were, and render it visible to all persons.)

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.*  
\* Or, made up the Synod.  
(a) *Socrates* mistakes at this place, in attributing that to *Nestorius* which was done by *Johannes* Bp. of *Antioch*. Therefore *Evagrius* and *who* has follow'd him (as *Nicophorus* do) deservedly reprehend them, as we are informed from the Acts of the Ephe- sine Synod, was transacted in this manner. When *Nestorius* had been condemn'd and deposed by the holy Synod, and the Letters of Deposition had been sent to him, he sent forth with a relation to the Emperer *Theodosius*, wherein he complain'd of his Adversaries violence, and that they would not expect the coming of the Eastern Bishops, who, 'twas said, would quickly be there. This relation was subscribed by ten Bishops of *Nestorius's* Party. On the fifth day after, comes *Johannes* Bishop of *Antioch*, with the Eastern Bishops. Who having understood what had been done, assembled together the Bishops (as well as the Eastern Prelates whom he had brought with him, as those ten, which (as we have said) had subscribed *Nestorius's* Relation,) and deposed the Bishops *Cyrillus* and *Memnon*. At this Little Council of *Johannes's*, *Nestorius* himself was not present, because, having been condemn'd by an Episcopall sentence, he had not been restored by the determination of a Synod. But the Bishops of his party, whom the sentence of the Synod had in no wise touch'd, were present.



Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tianus.

C H A P. XXXVII.

Concerning Silvanus, who was translated from Philippopolis to Troas.

**S**ilvanus had formerly been a Rhetorician [in the School of] *Troilus* the *Sophista*. But in regard he proposed to himself an accuracy in the profession of the Christian Religion as his chief design, and exercised himself in the severities of an *Asketick* life, [on account hereof] he refused to (a) wear the Rhetoricians Pallium. But afterwards *Atticus* the Bishop (b) laid hold of him, and ordained him Bishop of Philippopolis. After he had lived three years in Thracia, and found it himself unable to endure the cold (for he had ill, thus, a very thin, lean, and infirm body;) he entreated *Atticus*, that he would ordain another in his stead, affirming that he refused to live in Thracia upon no other account, than because of the cold. Another person therefore having for this adding a very reason been ordain'd in his room, *Silvanus* word of continued at *Constantinople*, and with a most exquisite diligence followed an *Asketick* course of life. He was so great a stranger to delicateness and fineness, that he would frequently appear speaks not in publick amongst so numerous a concourse of people as were in that populous City, shod only with Sandals made of (c) *Spartum*. After some interval of time the Bishop of the Church but concerning

this of the Rhetoricians. For he says, that *Silvanus* had before been a Rhetorician, that is, an Advocate out of *Troilus* the *Sophist's* School: but afterwards left off his Pallium, and embraced a *Monastick* life. Concerning the Rhetoricians Pallium, see what we have remarked before at Book 7. chap. 12. Note (c.). To which may be added this passage out of *Theophylactus Simocatta's Menodora*, which he spoke in praise of the Emperor *Mauricius*, after *Phaulcas's* death: *σπουδαίοντες οὐ δόμοι ψι χεῖρας, τὸ δὲ ὑπόπαιον αὐτὸ ἔμελλεν. τὸ δὲ ἄλλοτε ἀνὴρ τῆς βίου.* Which words *Theophylactus* himself cites in the Eighth Book of his History, chap. 12. Whence it may be gathered, that the Rhetoricians Pallium was white, not red, or scarlet coloured, as we have noted before from *Cyrillus* and *Basilus Grammaticus*. *Gregorius Nazianzenus* speaks also concerning the Rhetoricians Pallium, in his sweetest Oration concerning the praises of *Basilius*, pag. 328. Edit. Paris, 1609. where *Basilus* (by the same mistake) has rendered it *Pallia Philologica*, the Philologic Pallium. Valef.

(b) I agree not with *Christophorus*, who has rendered this place so, "as if *Atticus* had sent for *Silvanus* to come to him. What need was there of sending for him, who was present at *Constantinople*, to wit, a Rhetorician in the School of *Troilus* the *Sophist*, who taught Rhetoric at *Constantinople*. The word *ἐνέσχετο* signifies something more, to wit, to lay hold of, and use force towards any person. By this term therefore *Socrates* shews, that *Silvanus* was against his own will, and with a reluctancy, made Bishop of Philippopolis by *Atticus*. Philippopolis is the Metropolis of that Country, strictly and properly called Thracia. You must know further, that the Ordination of the Metropolitans of Thracia, belonged then to the Bishop of *Constantinople*. For the Patriarchs by a certain singular privilege ordained *Metropolitans*, as I have observed at large in my *Dissertation on the sixth Canon of the Nicene Council*. [The Learned Reader will meet with this *Dissertation* of *Valerius's* at pag. 188. of his Notes on *Socrates* and *Sozomenus*. Edit. Paris, 1668.] Hence 'tis, that the same *Atticus*, Patriarch of *Constantinople*, ordained the said *Silvanus* Bishop of Troas, upon the request of the Inhabitants of that City. For *Alexandria* Troas [or, *Alexander's* Troas,] was the Metropolis of Phrygia. This is in express words establish'd by the twenty eighth Canon of the Chalcedon Council, [which occurs at Tom. 1. pag. 145. Edit. Beveridge,] which treats concerning the privileges of the *Constantinopolitan* See: to wit, that the Metropolitans only of the Thracian, Pontic, and Asian Diocesis, should be ordained by the most holy *Constantinopolitan* See: the Decrees being (as usually) first made by the common consent of the Clergy and Laity, and directed to the Patriarch of *Constantinople*. For this the aforesaid Canon does determine, *Ἀποκριτῶν ἐκείνων καὶ τῶν ἐκ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν ἀναγινωσκόντα. The Decrees made as usually, being agreed upon and transmitted to him.* The Canon means the Decree of Request, such a one as the Corinthians sent to *Bonifacius*, desiring they might have *Perigenes* for their Bishop; as we have observed before at Chap. 36. Note (c.) Valef.

(c) 'Apostolus *Christianus* *corinthios*. *Christophorus* renders it, *Sandallis indutus fuisse confessus*, shod with Sandals made of Hay. *Epiphanius Scholasticus* (who is followed by *Langus*, *Nicephorus's* Translator, Book 14. Chap. 39.) translates it *Joleas de sparso*, Sandals of *Spartum*.

L 1 2

Spartum

But in regard the Inhabitants of the foresaid City refused to admit him, the Bishop of *Rome* ordered he should be constituted Bishop in the *Metropolitan* See of *Corinth*; the Bishop of that Church being dead. Over which Church *Perigenes* presided as long as he liv'd. *Gregorius of Nazianzum* was first of all Bishop of *Safimi* one of the Cities in *Cappadocia*: Afterwards he was made [Bishop] of *Nazianzum*. *Melitus* had formerly presided over the Church in *Schofia*; and afterwards he Govern'd that in *Antioch*. *Alexander* Bishop of *Antioch* translated *Dositheus* Bishop of *Seleucia* to *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*.

(d) *Reverentius* [was removed] from *Arci* [a City] of *Phenice*, and afterwards translated to *Tyre*. *Johannes* was translated from (e) *Gordum* [a City] of *Lydia* to (f) *Proconnesus*, and presided over the Church there. *Palladius* was translated from *Helenopolis* to *Aphrodisia*. *Alexander* was translated from *Helenopolis* to *Adriani*. (g) *Theophilus* was translated from *Apamea* [a City] of *Asia*, to *Eudoxiopolis* anciently termed (h) *Salambrina*. *Polycarpus* was translated from *Saxantapristi* [a City] of

\* *Mesia*, to *Nicopolis* of Thracia. *Hierophilus* was translated from *Trapezopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia* to *Plotinopolis* in Thracia. (i) *Optimus* was removed from *Agadama* in *Phrygia* to *Antioch* [a City] of *Pisidia*. *Silvanus* was translated from *Philippopolis* in Thracia, to *Troas*. Let thus many be sufficient to have been named at present, who were removed from their own Cities to other [Sees.] But I judge it useful to speak something in short concerning *Silvanus*, who was translated from *Philippopolis* in Thracia to *Troas*.

(k) *Nicephorus* makes *Gordum* a City of *Lyca*, not *Lydia*; but all other [Writers] assign it to *Lydia*. Further, this *Johannes* Bishop of *Proconnesus* was present at the *Ephesine* synod, as 'tis recorded in the first *Action* of that Council. Valef.

(f) In the *Florentine Manuscript* 'tis *Proconnesus*. In *Nicephorus*, in the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, and in the *Acts* of the *Ephesine* Council, 'tis written *Proconnesus*. The Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word *προκόννησος* defends both readings. And deduces the original of this name (which has the Letter (i) added) from hence, either because this Island furnishes the other Islands with marmour, *μαρμαίκα*, that is, *Gratis*, freely, or for nothing; or else from the Word *εὐσεύς*, which signifies *Hinnuleum*, a little Hind. But *Dionysius Atheniensis* (in his Book [entitled] *κρίσειν*, which he wrote concerning the building of Cities,) says 'twas call'd *Proconesus* from the multitude of Harts there, which they term *προκύνες*. Others will have its name derived from a Vessel which the Greeks call *προβύς*, because when the *Mileti* at first brought a Colony thither, they were met by a *Virgin* carrying such a Vessel. Valef. In *Robert Stephens's* Edit. 'tis termed *Proconesus*.

(g) In the fourth Book of the *Jus Græco-Romanum*, pag. 931 he is termed *Theophilus*. And so he is called in the *Tripartite History* (which *Epiphanius Scholasticus* translated;) and in *Jus Carnotensis* (in *Prologo* *Decreti*). But *Nicephorus* terms him *Philippus*, which I wonder at. Valef.

(h) From the *Florentine* and *Sfortian Manuscripts*, and from *Nicephorus* and *Epiphanius Scholasticus*, instead of *Salambrina*, we have made it *Salambriz*. 'Tis a City of Thracia, which the Greeks heretofore termed *Selymbria*, as *Strabo* and *Stephanus* do attest: But afterwards 'twas called *Salambrina*. So in the *Itinerarium Burdigalense*: *Manlio Selembria* [is mentioned which was] 44 Miles distant from *Constantinople*. Valef.

(i) This is the *Optimus* Bishop of *Antioch* in *Pisidia*, of whom the Emperor *Theodosius* makes mention in the third Law of the *Theodosian Code*, de *Fide catholica*; to whom (together with *Amphilochius* of *Iconium*), the Charge and Administration of the Churches of *Asia* is committed. Valef.

*Spartum* is a kind of Shrub like our Broom, of which they made Bonds to tie their Vines, Ropes for Ships, and (as it seems) Sandals also. Such Sandals as these were those termed *Carbatina*; concerning which see *Julian's Psephus Onasmith*. Book 7. chap. 22. *Hesychius* (in the word *καρβατιν*, says they were mean shoes worn by the Peasants) and expounds that term thus, *καρβατιν* a shoe with one sole.

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* of Troas departed this life. On which account the Inhabitants of Troas came [to Constantinople] to desire a Bishop. Whilst *Atticus* was considering whom he should ordain, it happened that *Silvanus* came to give him a visit. As soon as *Atticus* saw him,

(d) Instead of [*Ἐπίθης, laid upon*] we read [*Ἀπὸ θῆς, be laid aside*] agreeable to *Chrysostom's* and *Sir Henry Savil's* reading. *Valf.*

avoiding the Care and Government of [this] Church. For Troas is not a cold place. Behold, God has provided you a convenient place for the infirmest of your Body. Delay not therefore, Brother, but go to Troas. Wherefore *Silvanus* removed to that City: where he did a Miracle, which I will now relate. A vast Ship for carrying of burthens, made for the conveyance of great pillars, (such a vessel they term *Plate*;) had been newly built on the shore of Troas. This Vessel was to be launched. But tho' many ropes [were fastned to the Ship,] and a great number of persons [did their utmost] to hale it [Seaward,] yet it was not in any wise to be moved. After this had been done for many days, then they thought that a Devil detain'd the Vessel. Wherefore, they went to Bishop *Silvanus*, and entreated him to make a Prayer in that place. For they believed, that by that means only the Ship was to be drawn into the Sea. But he entertaining modest thoughts of himself, stiled himself a Sinner, and said, That was a work to be done by some righteous person, not by him. When they continued their suit with a greater earnestness, he went to the shore: Where after he had pray'd, he took hold of one of the ropes, and bad them set close to the business. And when they had haled the Ship on a little, he ran swiftly into the Sea. This Miracle perform'd by *Silvanus's* hands, stirred up those of that Province to piety. But *Silvanus* was a good Man as to other things also: For perceiving that the Ecclesiasticks made a gain of their Contentions who were engag'd in Suits at Law, he would never make any one of the Clergy a Judge: but receiv'd the Libels of the Litigants himself, and called one of the faithful Laicks to him, whom he knew to be a lover of justice; to whom he committed the hearing of the cause,

(e) In *Robert Stephens's Edition* the reading is [*ἀνίστασθαι, he arose*]. In the *Florent. MS.* it is *ἀνίστασθαι*. Wherefore, I doubt not but *Socrates* wrote [*ἀνίστασθαι, be freed, or released*]. For the common reading, in my judgment, is not to be born; although *Nicephorus* confirms it. *Valf.*

\* Or, Has not been unfruitful.

us return to that place, from whence we have digressed. After *Maximianus* therefore was ordain'd Bishop of [Constantinople] in the Consulate of *Bassus* and *Antiochus*, about the twenty fifth of October, the affairs of the Church were in a sedate and quiet posture.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Jews in \* Crete, how many of them turned Christians at that time.

ABOUT the same time, many of the Jews [who dwelt in Crete, turn'd Christians, on account of this calamitous accident. A certain Jew, who was an Impostor, feign'd himself to be Moses; and affirm'd himself to have been sent from Heaven, that he might (a) lead out the Jews who inhabited that Island, and conduct them through the Sea. For he was (as he said) the same person who preserved the Israelites heretofore [by leading them] through the Red-Sea. For the space of one whole year therefore he travelled about to all the Cities of that Island, and persuaded the Jews who inhabited therein, to believe these things. And he exhorted them to leave their money and possessions: for he promised, that he would lead them through a dry Sea into the Land of Promise. They, deceived by such hopes as these, neglected all employments; and moreover despised the things they possessed, permitting any persons they met with to take them. When the day was come which had been set by this Jewish Impostor, he himself went before, and they all followed with their Wives and little Children. He leads them therefore to a Promontory which \* ran out into the Sea, and order'd them to cast themselves from thence into the Ocean. They who came first to the precipice, did so, and lost their lives immediately, part of them being dash'd [in pieces] against the rocks, and part drowned in the waters: And many more of them had perish'd, had not some Fishermen and Merchants (who were Christians,) by the disposal of Divine Providence hapned to be present. These persons drew out and saved some of them who were almost choaked with the waters; who having been in so imminent danger, were then sensible of their own madness. They kept the others also from casting themselves into the Sea, by telling them that those were destroyed who had thrown themselves in first. The Jews therefore, having at length understood the Imposture, blamed their own indiscretion in believing. But when they endeavoured to [seize] the Pseudo-Moses and kill him, they could not apprehend him: For he disappeared [on a sudden;] and this made most men suspect that he was a destructive Devil, who had clothed himself with an human shape, that he might destroy their Nation in that Country. By reason of this calamitous accident, many of the Jews then in Crete, bade adieu to Judaism, and embraced the Faith of the Christian Religion.

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* This Island is now termed Candia.

\* Or, hung over into, &c.

Or, false Moses.

Or, bore them selves so.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

Concerning the Fire which hapned in the Church of the Novatians.

NOT long after this time, *Paulus* Bishop of the Novatians got the repute of a person truly beloved by God, and indeed render'd [his own reputation] far greater than what it had been before. For, there hapned a most furious

theod. Jun. rious fire [at Constantinople,] such a one as had never † been known before. For a great part of the City was destroyed by this Fire: In so much that the (a) greatest Granaries, and that termed the (b) Achillean Bath, were burnt down. At length the Fire, consuming [all things in its way,] approach'd the Novatianists Church, which stands near Pelargus.

with an asphat. And Langus translates it Barns, or Granaries. Proclus renders it Maxima edifices, the greatest Edifices. Christoforus, fortissimè munimenta, the strongest Fortresses. I had rather follow Langus. For ἀίο is a barbarous Greek Word, which signifies a Burn of Granary; as Meursius has long since observed in his Glossary. In the Kings Copy I found it written ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ. Further, there were five publick Barns or Granaries at Constantinople; to wit, four in the fifth Ward. Valef.

(b) In the Alexandrian Chronicle (pag. 728. Edit. Monach. 1615,) the Word, are these: On theobulus Augustus's fourteenth Consulate, which he bore with Maximus, there arose a great fire from the Neorion, which burnt down the Granaries and the Achillean Bath, in the month Loeb, &c. Epiphanius Scholasticus renders it, Thermusque vocatur Achillean, that termed the Achillean Bath. Which Rendition is confirmed by Marcelinus Comes in his Chronicle, (pag. 26. Edit. Paris, 1619,) at the Consulate of Maximus and Paterius, which was the year of Christ 443. His Copy (says he) Thermarum quæ Achillean dicuntur, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, in their Consulate, that termed the Achillean Bath was [after it had been rebuilt] dedicated. And the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle affirmeth the same (pag. 730. Edit. ut prius,) in these Words ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, &c. In the same Persons [that is, Maximus's and Paterius's] Consulate, the publick Bath termed Achillean was dedicated, in the month Andaneus, before the third of the Ides of January. The Achillean Bath therefore (after it had been consumed by fire, in the fourteenth Consulate of Theodosius which he bore with Maximus) on the year of Christ 433, was rebuilt and dedicated on the tenth Year after. Valef.

When therefore Paulus the Bishop saw his Church in danger, he rush'd into it [and ran] as far as the Altar, where he \* commended the Preservation of the Church and the things therein to God; nor did he omit the pouring forth his Prayers both for the City and for the Church. † And God heard his Prayer, as 'twas demonstrat'ed by the event. For tho' the Fire brake into the Church through all the Doors and Windows, yet it did no harm. It wholly consumed many adjacent Edifices on every side of it: but you might have seen the Church it self in the midst of the whole Fire, triumphing over its raging Flames. And when this Fire had continued two whole days and as many nights, it was wholly extinguish'd, after it had burnt down a great part of the City. But the Church appear'd entire and untouched. And (which is more to be admir'd) there was not the least \* appearance of Smoak to be seen on its Timber or Walls. This hapned about the sixteenth of August, in Theodosius's fourteenth Consulate which he bore with Maximus. Since which time the Novatianists do celebrate [the Memory of] their Church its having been preserv'd, every year about the sixteenth of August; on which day they put up their Thanksgivings to God: And all Persons in a manner, not only Christians but very many Pagans also, since that time honour that place, by reason of the Miracle which hapned therein; and have a veneration for it as being truly holy. But thus far concerning these things.

C H A P. XL.

That Proclus succeeded Maximianus the Bishop.

Maximianus having quietly govern'd the Churches two years and five months, died in the Consulate of Arcobindus and Aspar,

on the twelfth of April. That day hapned to Theod. Jun. fall on the Week of Fast, [to wit] the Week and Valentinianus. which immediately precedes the Feast of Easter: and it was the \* fifth day of that Week. That is, At which time the Emperor Theodosius made a Thursday prudent provision for this affair. For left a debate should arise again about the Election of a Bishop, which might raise a disturbance in the Church; he delay'd not, but whilst Maximianus's Body lay as yet unburied, order'd the Bishops that were present [in the City] to place Proclus in the Episcopall Chair. For the Letters of Cælestinus Bishop of Rome, wherein he approved of (a) this [Election,] were then come; (a) Instead of [more] which Letters he had sent to Cyrillus [Bishop] of Alexandria, to Johannes [Bishop] of Antioch, and to (b) Rufus [Bishop] of Thessalonica; informing them, that nothing hinder'd him (who had been nominated and actually was Bishop of one City) from being translated to another. Therefore after Proclus was placed in the Episcopall Chair, he made a Funeral for the Body of Maximianus. But we have now an opportunity of speaking something in short (at the concerning Proclus.

434.) has truly remarked, that these Letters of Cælestine Bishop of Rome were not written on this year, but two years before; to wit, when (after Nestorius's Deposition,) they were busy about electing a Bishop of Constantinople. 'Tis certain on this year (when Arcobindus and Aspar were Consuls) Cælestine was dead, and Asyllus had succeeded him in the Bishoprick of Rome. Valef.

(b) Valefius has told us before (at note c. on chap. 36,) that Rufus Bishop of Thessalonica was deputed the Vice-gerent of the Apostolick See [that is, Rome] throughout Achaia and Macedonia. He adds here, that he had the same Vice-gency throughout Illyricum, as the Epistles of Innocentius and Bonifatius Bishops of Rome do declare, which are to be seen in Lucas Holstenius's Roman Collection. For (continues Valefius) the Bishops of Thessalonica had that privilege from the times of Pope Damasus; as we learn from the same Collection. Balsamo (in his Comments on the Synod in Trullo, pag. 359 Edit. Paris, 1620.) affirms, that the Bishops of Thessalonica were heretofore the Legates of the Roman Bishop; and that the Bishop of Rome has a power of constituting Legates in the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate; but denies that he has a power of ordaining Bishops; whereon Balsamo is much mistaken. For these Provinces, which then when Balsamo wrote, were under the Constantinopolitane Prelate, had heretofore been under the Bishop of Rome. Further, the Nicene Synod has determin'd, that the ancient usage should be observ'd. Thus far Valefius. But, as you see, he gives no reason to confute what Balsamo has said, to wit, that the Bishop of Rome has no power to ordain Bishops within the Constantinopolitane Patriarchate. And therefore I will (and so may the Reader too, if he please.) suspend my belief, till more reasons are assign'd. This passage in Balsamo (here quoted by Valefius) occurs in Dr. Beveridge's Synod. Tom. 1. p. 154. See the Learned Doctor's Notes, pag. 126.

C H A P. XLI.

Concerning Proclus the Bishop, what manner of Man he was.

Proclus was from his younger years a Reader, he frequented the Schools, and employ'd his time in [the study of] Rhetorick. Being come to Man's estate, he was for the most part conversant with Atticus the Bishop, and had been his Notary. When he had made a great Proficiency, Atticus promoted him to the Diaconate. Having been prefer'd to the Presbyterate, Sisinnius (as I have said \* before) ordain'd him Bishop of Cyzicum. These things had hapned long before this. But 'twas at this time that he obtained the Chair of the Constantinopolitane Church. He was a Person endowed with as good a Disposition and Morals, as was any Man whatsoever. For having been educated under Atticus, he studiously imitated

*Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* all that was good in him. (a) But he exercised a patience far greater than *Atticus*. For he, \* now and then, shew'd himself terrible to Hereticks. But *Proclus* was calm and mild to all persons: \* *Ev. xi. 14, upon occasion.*

(a) In *Rob. Stephens's Edition*, the reading is, *τὴν δὲ ἀνείκασιν πλεονεξίαν ἢ ἐν ἑαυτῷ*. But he exercised a patience far greater than he [*Atticus*]. *Theod. Jun. and Valentinianus.* *hid.* The word [*δ*] as were different from those embraced by him [*Proclus*], *hid.* is wanting self.

in the *Sforzian MS.* Wherefore I doubt not but *Socrates* left it written thus, *τὴν δὲ ἀνείκασιν πλεονεξίαν ἢ ἐν ἑαυτῷ*. But he exercised a patience far greater than *Atticus*. Which Emendation is confirmed by *Epiphani. Scholasticus* and *Nicephorus*, for *Nicephorus* (Book 14. ch. 38.) words it thus, *ἀνείκασιν δὲ ἢ πλεονεξίαν ἑαυτοῦ*. Moreover, he was far more patient than they, [that is, than *John Chrysostome* and *Atticus*.] And *Epiphani. Scholasticus* renders it thus: *sed in isto patientia posterior apparuit, sed in him a better [or more desirable] patience appeared.* *Valer.*

(b) We read [*τὴν δὲ*], in regard — by this means;] before which words we have put a *Colon*. *Valer.*

## C H A P. XLII.

That this Writer spends many words in praise of the Emperor *Theodosius Junior's* Probity.

ON account hereof therefore, *Proclus* was highly commended by the Emperor. For \* He himself also was like to such as were true Prelates; nor did he any wise approve of those, who were desirous of persecuting others. Yea, I can speak it with confidence, that for meekness he excelled all those who were true and genuine Ecclesiasticks. (a) And what is recorded of *Moses* in the Book of Numbers \*; Now the Man *Moses* was very meek, above all the men which were upon the face of the earth; the same may

(a) The discourse will be more graceful and Emphatical, if we add a Particle thus, *ὡς καὶ ἀρεῖ, &c.* And what is recorded, &c. and so make this the beginning of a period. Thus *Nicephorus* reads it. *Valer.* \* Numb. 12. 3.

be now said of the Emperor *Theodosius*, to wit, that he is very meek, above all the Men which are upon the face of the Earth. For by reason of this his meekness, God hath subdued his Enemies under him, without military Engagements, as hath been demonstrated by his Victory over the Tyrant † *Johannes*, and [shall be made evident] from the Destruction of the || *Barbarians*, which succeeded that soon after. For what manner of assistances have been given by God to Just Men heretofore, such like have even in our times been bestow'd on the most Pious Emperor, by the God of the Universe. Nor do I write this out of flattery, but I will give a Narrative of Affairs (which all Men have been thoroughly acquainted with,) as they truly are.

## C H A P. XLIII.

How great Calamities those Barbarians underwent who had been the Tyrant *Johannes's* Auxiliaries.

FOR after the Slaughter of the Tyrant, those *Barbarians* whom he had called to his assistance against the *Romans*, made preparations to over-run [and ruin] the *Roman* \* Provinces. \* *Plinius, τὰς ἡλίκας.* When the Emperor heard of it, according as his usage was, he committed the care of this affair to God: and having been earnest in Prayers, not long after obtain'd what he desired. Further, it will be advantageous, to hear what [Calamities] befel the *Barbarians*. Their Commander in chief, whose name was (a) *Rougas*, is killed by a clap of Thunder. Then follow'd a Plague, which destroy'd most of the Men under his command. Nor was this only sufficient; but Fire also descended from Heaven, and consumed many of those who remained. And this put the *Barbarians*

into the greatest terror imaginable, not so much because they had dared to take up Arms against the valiant Nation of the *Romans*; as in regard they found them assisted by a powerful God. Moreover, *Proclus* the Bishop preach'd a Sermon at that time in the Church, wherein he applied a Prophecy [taken] out of *Ezekiel* to the deliverance effected by God at that juncture; [for which discourse] he was greatly admired. The Prophecy runs thus: And thou son of man, prophesie against (b) Prince Gog, *Rhos*, *†* *Ezech. 38.* *ver. 2, 23,* *death, and with blood, and with an overflowing rain, &c. 23. In and with stones of hail. And I will rain fire the Sepulchre and Brimstone upon him, and upon all those which him, &c. 24. And upon many Nations [which are] with him. And I will be magnified and glorified, and I will be known in the eyes of many Nations. And they shall know that I am the Lord.* On account thereof therefore, as I have said, *Proclus* was much admired. But on the Emperor, because of his meekness, many other [Blessings] were conferred by Divine Providence. Amongst which this was vulgar one, [which I will now relate.]

whereof *Hieronymus* has rendered it thus, *Principem capitis Mithri, Prince of the chief of Mithri.* Wherefore, what *Langus* remarks here concerning the *Rhigi*, is in my Judgment foreign to this place. *Valer.* In the Hebrew, the Words of this Text are *יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ* exactly, which in the margin of our English Version is render'd exactly thus, *Prince of the chief of Mithri.* *Socrates* quotes this whole Text out of *Ezekiel*, in the Words of the Septuagint Version, and we have translated them accordingly. The difference between the Greek Version and Original Hebrew at this Text is great. Our English Translators (as they generally do, in here) follow the Hebrew.

## C H A P. XLIV.

That the Emperor *Valentinianus Junior* married *Eudoxia* the Daughter of *Theodosius*.

HE had a Daughter by his Wife *Eudocia*, her name *Eudoxia*. His \* Cousin *Germanicus* \* *See Book 7. chap. 24.* whom he had made Emperor of the Western Parts, desired he might marry this [Princess.] To which when the Empe-



*Theod. Jan. and Valentinianus.*  
 Emperor Theodosius had given his consent, and both the *Augusti* (after they had deliberated about celebrating the marriage at some place on the Frontiers of both Empires,) had resolved each to make a journey half way, and do it at *Thessalonica*: *Valentinianus* sends *Theodosius* intimation by Letter, that he should not give himself that trouble: for, that he would come in person to *Constantinople*. Having therefore secured the Western parts [with a sufficient guard,] he comes to *Constantinople* on account of the marriage. Which having been celebrated in the Consulate of (a) *Isidorus* and Senator, he took his Wife, and returned into the western parts. Such a felicity at this befall the Emperor at that time.

(a) These persons were Consuls in the year of Christ 436.  
 But *Profer*, *Marcellinus Comes* in his *Chronicon*, and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, disagree with *Socrates*. For those Authors relate, that this marriage was celebrated in on the year following, whereon *Aetius* bore his second Consulate with *Sigisvultus*, in the month of November. The same is confirmed by *Fordanes* in his *Book de Successione Regum*; where, after he has spoken concerning the Whoredom committed by *Honorio* with her Procurator *Eugenius*, which was done in the Consulate of *Arcobindus* and *Alfara*, on the year of Christ 434. He adds these words; *Posthac tertio anno Valentinianus, &c.* On the third year after this the Emperor *Valentinianus* comes from Rome to *Constantinople*, in order to his marrying *Eudoxia* daughter to the Emperor *Theodosius*: and having given all *Illyria* as a *Gravity* to his Father-in law, after the Celebration of the Marriage, he returned with his Wife to his own Kingdom. *Cassiodorus Senator* attests the same concerning the Donation of the Western *Illyrium* (Book 1. *variarum. Epist.* 1. pag. 684. Edit. *Aurel. Alodog.* 1622.) in these words: *Placidium mundi cognoscere celebratum, avorum [or, principum, &c., aliquorum, as 'tis in some Copies:] Prospicia gloriosius purpurato filio studuisse percipimus: cuius dam remissione administrat Imperium, indecenter cognoscitur innumeratum. Numum denique sibi amissionis *Illyrici* comparavit, saltaque est conspectio regnantis, divisio dolenda provinciarum.* Valef.

## C H A P. XLV.

That *Proclus* the Bishop persuaded the Emperor to translate the Body of *Johannes* from the place of his Exile [where he had been buried,] to *Constantinople*, and to deposit it in the Church of The Apostles.

\* He means those termed the *Johannites*. See Book 6. ch. 18. † Or, by Prudence.  
 NOT long after this time, *Proclus* the Bishop reduced \* those [to the Church] who had made a separation [from it] on account of Bishop *Johannes's* deposition; having mitigated their disgust by a † prudent expedient. What that was, we must now relate. After he had persuaded the Emperor [to give his consent thereto,] he brought the body of *Johannes*, which had been buried at *Comani*, to *Constantinople*, on the thirty fifth year after his deposition. And when he had carried it through the City publicly, in great pomp and state, he deposited it with much honour and solemnity in that termed the Church of The Apostles. Those persons therefore who had made a separation on *Johannes's* account, were by this means prevailed upon, and became united to the Church. And this happened in the sixteenth Consulate of the Emperor *Theodosius*, about the twenty seventh of *January*. But I cannot forbear wondering here, how [it came to pass,] that Envy should assail and corrode *Origen* after he was dead, and yet spare *Johannes*. For *Origen* was excommunicated by *Theophilus* about two hundred years after his death. But *Johannes* was admitted to communion by *Proclus*, on the thirty fifth year after he died. So great was the difference between *Proclus's* disposition, and that of *Theophi-*

*lus*. But prudent Men are not ignorant, *Theod. Jan. and Valentinianus.*  
 (a) in what manner these things have been, and daily are, done.

(a) By these words *Socrates* does plainly discover his Opinion. For he would say, that these things are usually done through envy, or out of favour. For because *Origen* was condemned by *Theophilus*, so many years after his death; that *Socrates* ascribes to *Theophilus's* envy towards *Origen* himself, or against those termed the Long Monks. And whereas *Johannes Chrysostome* was brought back with honour into his own Country, on the thirty fifth year after his death; that *Socrates* attributes to the love and benevolence of *Proclus* and the people of *Constantinople*. But I am not of *Socrates's* opinion: For although in affairs of this nature, the affections of Men have some effect; yet Divine Justice and Providence, whereby the Church is governed, does always over-rule. *Origen* therefore was condemned for his heterodox Opinions; and *Johannes Chrysostome*, being consecrated for his Integrity of Life and Doctrine, continues in the Church to this very day. Valef.

## C H A P. XLVI.

Concerning the Death of *Paulus* Bishop of the Novatianists, and concerning *Marcianus* who was his Successor.

SOME little time after the removal of *Johannes's* body, died *Paulus* also, Bishop of the Novatianists, in the same Consulate, about the twenty first day of *July*: Who at his own Funeral reduced all the disagreeing Heresies into one Church in a manner: For they all accompanied his body to the \* Grave with singing of Psalms: because whist he lived, all [Sects] loved him exceedingly for his † Sanctity of life. But because the same *Paulus* performed a memorable action just before his death, I judge it useful to insert it into this History, for their advantage who shall peruse this Work. For, that during his sickness he observ'd his usual *Ascetic* [discipline as to his] diet, and transgressed not in the least [the rules] thereof; and, that he never omitted performing the [usual] prayers with a fervency; [all this] I think fit to leave unmention'd; left by spending time in giving a narrative hereof, I should obscure that memorable and most useful action (as I have said) which he performed. What that is, must now be declared. Being near dying, he sent for all the Presbyters belonging to the Churches under him, to whom he express himself thus: Take care about electing a Bishop [over your selves] whilst I am alive; left afterwards your Churches be disturbed. When they made answer, that the election of a Bishop was not to be left to them: for in regard [I said they] some of us have one Sentiment, others another, we shall never nominate the same person: But we wish, that you your self would name that Man whom you desire [to be your Successor.] To which *Paulus* made this return: Deliver me then this Profession of yours in writing [to wit,] that you will elect him whom I shall appoint to be chosen. When they had done that, and confirmed it by their subscriptions, (a) he sat on his bed, and (without discovering it to those who were present, wrote *Marcianus's* name in the paper. This Person had been promoted to the Presbyterate; and likewise had been instructed in an *Ascetic* course of life under *Paulus*: but was then gone to travel. After this he sealed up the

(a) *Ἀναξιδίας τῆς κλίνης.* In *Nicéphorus's* 'tis *ἐπεγραφίδας*, he sate upon; in which Author these Words are added *ἡ χεῖρ τοῦ λαοῦ*, and having taken the Paper: which seem altogether necessary. Valef.

Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

the Paper himself, and caused the chief of the Presbyters to seal it up also, and then deliver'd it to one *Marcus*, (who was Bishop of the *Novatianists* in *Scythia*, but had at that time made a journey to *Constantinople*;) to whom he spake these words: *If God shall permit me to continue much longer in this life, restore this \* Depositum to me [now] committed to your trust to be kept safely. But, if it shall please him to remove me out of this World, in this Paper you will find whom I have elected to be my Successor in the Bishoprick.* When he had spoken these words, he died. On the third day therefore after his death, when they had unsealed the Paper in the presence of a great multitude, and found *Marcianus's* name therein, they all cried out that he was a worthy and fit Person. And without delay they dispatch'd away some Messengers who might seize him. They took him by a pious fraud at his Residence in *Tiberiopolis* [a City] of *Phrygia*; from whence they brought him along with them, and about the twenty first (b) of our M.S. the same Month ordained, and placed him in the Episcopal Chair. But enough concerning these things.

(b) Altho' our M.S. Copies alter not the reading here; yet I agree with *Christopherson* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who have mended it thus [of the month August]. Doubtless, in regard *Paulus* Bishop of the *Novatianists* died on the twenty first of July, and the Paper wherein he had named *Marcianus* to be his Successor, was unsealed three days after his death, as *Socrates* has told us before; 'tis not to be supposed, that *Marcianus* could be ordained Bishop on the twenty first of the same month, to wit, July, in regard he absconded in *Tiberiopolis* a City of *Phrygia*: from whence he was to be brought to *Constantinople*, that he might be there constituted Bishop of the *Novatianists*. Valef.

## C H A P. XLVII.

That the Emperor Theodosius sent his Wife Eudocia to Jerusalem.

Moreover, the Emperor *Theodosius* offer'd up his Thanksgivings to God for the Benefits which he had conferr'd upon him. And this he performed, by honouring *Christ* with singular and eminent Honours. He likewise sent his Wife *Eudocia* to *Jerusalem* (a) For she had obliged her self also to a performance of this Vow, if she might see her Daughter married. But the Empress herself also \* beautified the Churches at *Jerusalem*, and all those in the Eastern Cities, with various Ornaments, both when she went thither, and likewise at her return.

(a) Instead of [x] 38 dñd, for she had obliged her self; that is, *Eudocia*. Thus *Epiphanius* *Scholasticus* read, as appears from his Version; whi h is thus, *Hoc enim & ipsa votum habuerat, si filiam videret nupram, For she herself also had [made] this vow, if she might see her Daughter married.* Valef.

## C H A P. XLVIII.

Concerning Thalassius Bishop of Caesarea in Capadocia.

Theod. Jun.  
and Valen-  
tinianus.

About that very time, to wit, in *Theodosius's* seventeenth Consulate, *Proclus* the Bishop attempted a wonderful thing, the like to which has not been performed by any of the Ancient Bishops. For *Firmus* Bishop of *Caesarea* in *Capadocia* being dead, the *Caesareans* came [to *Constantinople*,] and requested they might have a Bishop. And whilst *Proclus* was considering whom he should prefer to that See, it hapned that all the Senators came to the Church on the Sabbath, to give him a visit, amongst whom was (a) *Thalassius* also, a personage who had born a Prefecture over the Provinces and Cities of *Illyricum*. But [though] (as it was reported) he had been the Perlon pitch'd upon who was about to have the Government of the Eastern parts committed to his care by the Emperor; [yet] *Proclus* laid his Hands on him, and instead of his being constituted a *Praefectus Praetorio*, made him Bishop of *Caesarea*. Thus successful and prosperous were the Affairs of the Church. But I will here close my History, with my Prayers [to God,] that the Churches in all places, the Cities, and Provinces may live in peace. For, as long as peace flourishes, those that are desirous to do it, will have no subject for their writing an History. For we ourselves (who have perform'd what you enjoynd us in Seven Books, O Sacred Man of God, *Theodosius*!) should have wanted matter for this our History, if the Lovers of Seditions and Tumults would have been quiet. This Seventh Book contains [an account of Affairs transacted during] the space of two and thirty years. The whole History, which is comprized in Seven Books, contains the space of an hundred and forty years. It begins from the first year of the two hundredth seventy first Olympiad, wherein *Constantine* was proclaimed Emperor; and ends at the second year of the three hundredth and fifth Olympiad, wherein the Emperor *Theodosius* bore his seventeenth Consulate. Which action of *Proclus's* *Socrates* does not without cause wonder at, as new, and not practis'd by former Bishops. *Nestarius* indeed, when he was *Praetor* of *Constantinople*, had been created Bishop of that City. But, the Emperor's consent had been a first obtain'd, as *Socrates* has told us before. But here *Proclus*, merely by his own impulse, laid his Hands on a *Praefectus Praetorio*, who by the Emperor had been design'd to the Government of the Oriental Prefecture. Notwithstanding, it is to be understood, that the Emperor's consent was afterwards obtained, who approved of what *Proclus* had done. But, in promoting inferior Magistrates to Ecclesiastick Degrees, the Prince's consent was in no wise necessary. For the *Praefectus Praetorio's* approbation was sufficient, under whose dispose the Presidents of Provinces were. We have an eminent instance hereof in the Life of *St. Germanus* *Altitiodorensis*, which was written by *Constantian Presbyter*. Which *Germanus* being President of a Province, and *Ambrosius* Bishop of *Altissiodorum* [a City in France, now call'd *Auxerre*] having a mind to appoint him his Successor; *Ambrosius* procur'd the consent of *Julius*, *Praefectus Praetorio* of the *Gallia's*, before he attempted to do that; as 'tis related in Book 1. chap. 3. concerning the Life of *St. Germanus*. Further, thi: *Thalassius* Bishop of *Caesarea* was present at the false Synod at *Ephesus* [conven'd] against *Flavianus*, as we are inform'd from the Acts of the said Synod, which are recorded in the first Action of the Chalcedon Council. Valef.

The End of *Socrates Scholasticus's Ecclesiastick History.*

THE  
ECCLESIASTICAL  
HISTORY

O F

Evagrius Scholafticus  
EPIPHANIENSIS,  
(And [One] of the EX-PRÆFECTS,)  
IN SIX BOOKS.

Translated out of the GREEK, according to that Edition fet forth  
by VALESIIUS, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1673.

Together with

VALESIIUS's Annotations on the said Historian ; which are done  
into ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Hereunto also is annexed an Account of the foresaid *Historian's Life*, and *Ecclesiastick History*, Collected by VALESIIUS, and Rendred into ENGLISH.



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L O N D O N :

Printed by J. M. for A. and J. Churchill, at the *Black Swan* in *Pater-Noster-Row*. M DCC VIII.

# V A L E S I U S S A C C O U N T

OF THE

# L I F E,

AND

# Ecclesiastick History,

OF

## EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS Epiphanienfis.

**E**vagrius Scholasticus was by Nation a Syrian, as was also † Theodoret: Born at Epiphania † He was (which was a City of Syria Secunda;) as he himself has declared in the Title of his <sup>Bishop of</sup> own Work. Therefore I wonder at Gerardus Vossius, who (in his Book de Historicis <sup>Cyrenz and</sup> Græcis, pag. 498,) relates that Evagrius was born at Antioch. <sup>set about</sup> But Evagrius himself, (both in the Title of his History, and also in his <sup>writing an</sup> Third Book, Chap. 34,) does expressly attest that he was born at Epiphania. For, speaking there concerning Cosmas Bishop of Epiphania, his Words are these; Κοσμάς τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπαρχίας Ἐπιφανείας, ἡ τὴν δεξιὰν αὐτοῦ ἐχει, &c. Cosmas Bishop of our Epiphania, in the Vicinage whereof runs the [River] Orontes, &c. Besides, Photius (in his Bibliotheca, chap. 29,) affirms that Evagrius was born in Epiphania, a City of Syria-Cæle. But, which is strange, Nicephorus Callistus does in two places term our Evagrius (not Epiphanienfis, but) Ἐπιφανί, that is Illu-

<sup>trius</sup> Ecclesiastick History. (which Valeſius has publish'd with the other Greek Historians of the Church) towards the latter end of Theodosius Junior's Reign, at the same time that Socrates and Sozomen wrote theirs. He began where they did, (to wit, from those times whereat Eusebius closed his History;) and ended with them, viz. at the latter end of Theodosius Junior's Empire. 'Tis more than probable, that he wrote after Socrates and Sozomen. For (1) all the Ancients were of this Opinion: (2) He that reads his History, will find it nothing else but a Supplement of Socrates and Sozomen their Histories. (3) Theodoret himself, in the first Chapter of the first Book of his History, says these Words: τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς ἱστορίας τὰ λοιπὰ ἀναρτῶμαι προσποιεῖσθαι, I will attempt to commit to writing the Remains of Ecclesiastick History. (4) Lastly, He published his History after the Year of Christ 448. (as Valeſius demonstrates in his Preface before his History;) whereas Socrates and Sozomen had finished their Histories on the Severensish Consulate of Theodosius Jun. that is, in the Year of Christ 439. He is most particular in his Account of the Affairs of the Eastern Church, in regard he liv'd there. His Books of Ecclesiastick History are but five in number (as he himself intimates at the close of his fifth Book,) wherein he comprehends the Affairs translated in the Church, during the space of 105 Years.

ous. For, in Nicephorus's First Book, chap. 1. the words are these; ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῶν Ἐυάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανίτης, &c. Moreover, Evagrius the Illustrious, &c. And, in Book 16. Chap. 31; Nicephorus quoting a passage of Evagrius, out of his Third Book, Chap. 34. (which passage I have just now mentioned) expresses himself thus, οὕτως δὲ ὁ Ἐυάγριος ὁ Ἐπιφανίτης καὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστορεῖ, Moreover, in like manner as Evagrius the Illustrious has related concerning Severus. But my Sentiment is, that Transcribers have mistook at both those places, and have written Ἐπιφανίτης [Illustrious] instead of Ἐπιφανείας [Epiphanienfis.]. Doubtless, Nicephorus might have been evidently inform'd, from Evagrius's own Words which he there produces, (which we have also quoted above,) that Evagrius had been born at Epiphania. Further, Evagrius was born in the Reign of Justinianus Augustus, on the Year of Our Lord 536, or 537, as I have demonstrated from Evagrius's own Testimony, in my † Notes on Book 4. Chap. 29. of his History. On the Year of † See Eva- Christ 540, his Parents committed him to the care of a School-Master, that he might learn the grius's Ec- clesiastick Letters. At which time (when Thomas Bishop of Apamia had given notice to the History, Book 4. Neighbouring Cities, that on a set Day he should show the enlivening Wood of the Cross, chap. 29. which was kept at Apamia;) Evagrius was lead to that City by his Parents, and with Note (f.) his own Eyes saw that Miracle, which was then perform'd in the Church; as himself at- tests

*The Life of Evagrius Scholasticus.*

tells in his *Fourth Book*, Chap. 26. Now, this happened on the Year of Christ, 540 3, when the  
*Persians*, having made an irruption into *Syria*, had burnt *Antioch*: which was done in *Justinus*  
*Junior's* Consulate, as we are informed by *Marsellinus Comes*, and *Marius* in his *Chronicon*. Two  
 years after this, when † *The Lues Inguinaria* began to rage in the *East*, *Evagrius* was as yet under  
 in a School-Master, learning the *Letters*, and was seized by that *Pestilence*, as he himself attests, Book 4.  
 chap 29. Having afterwards left the Schools of the *Grammarians*, he betook himself to the Study  
 in of *Rhetorick*. And when he had made a great proficiency in that Art, he was registered \* amongst  
 the company of *Advocates*. Whence he got the Appellation of *Scholasticus*: which term signifies

† The  
Plague in  
the Groyne.  
\* Or, in  
the num-  
ber.

† ὁ ὕψιστος μαθὼν περὶ ἡμῶν, ἀπερχέσθαι καὶ μεμνημένοι ταύτης· ἵνα ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἐκείνῳ πρῶτον ἀπερχέσθαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν ῥωμαίων, καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅλοις τῶν ἐθνῶν. πάλιν ἐκεῖ ὅταν ἡμεῖς πρῶτον ἀπερχέσθαι ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῶν περὶ ἡμεῖς ὄντων, καὶ ἐν πόλει ἐκεῖ ὅταν ἐκείνῳ ἀπερχέσθαι ὅταν ὅταν ἡμεῖς ὁλοκληρώσθαι, ὅταν ὅτι διελθόντων ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐκείνῳ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐκεῖ ἡμεῖς πρῶτον, τότε τὴν πόλιν ἡμεῖς. Καὶ ὅταν ἡμεῖς ἀρχῶν, λαμβάνει καὶ τοὺς βοῦν τὸ σωματικὸν ἐσθλόν.

*Valefius* quotes this passage out of *Macarius*, in his *Notes on Socrates*, book 6. chap. 6. Note (f.)

*See Note (b) in that chapter.* *Evagrius*, Book 1. \* chap. 18: "Tis certain, he could not be an *Advocate* at *Epiphania*, (which, as we have declared already, was the place of his Nativity;) in regard that City had no *Judiciary Forum*, but brought its Causes to *Apania*, in which City the *Consularis* of *Syria Secunda* held a Court of Judicature. But, for my believing *Evagrius* to have been an *Advocate* at *Antioch*, rather than at *Apania*, this is my chief Reason; because he was mostly conversant in that City, where he married a Wife also, and begat Sons of her. He married a Daughter likewise in that City, as himself attests in his *Fourth Book*, chap. 29. And after she, together with her Son, had ended her Life by the Pestilential disease, on the 1<sup>st</sup> year of *Mauricius*, *Evagrius*, deprived of his Wife and Children, re-married, and took to Wife a young Virgin in that City, as he relates *B.6.ch.8*. Where he attests also, that the whole City kept holiday on that account, and celebrated a publick Festivity. \* both in *Pom-*

Turn in  
 Pomp,  
 both in  
 Pomp.  
 \* See note  
 (b) in this  
 chapter.

pous Shows, and also about his marriage-bed. Whence 'tis by the way apparent, how great his authority was at *Antioch*. Moreover, he wrote *his History* at *Antioch*, as may be Collected from the *twentieth* \* chapter of his *First Book*. Where speaking concerning the *Empress Eudocia's Jerusalem-journey*, he says, she came to *Antioch*: ἡ χερσὶν ὑπερὸν ὅτι τὴν ἀγίαν ἱεροπόλιν Χερσὶν αὐτῇ Θεῷ ὑψίστῳ, ὁδῶντος τοῦ πνεύματος, that is, a long time afterwards, in her journey which she made to the Holy City of Christ our God, she [Eudocia] comes hither, (to wit, to *Antioch*.) *Evagrius* therefore liv'd at *Antioch* when he wrote this History. Hence 'tis that *Evagrius* is so diligent in recounting the *Works and Publick Edifices* of the City *Antioch*; as may be seen in his *First Book*, chap. 18, and in his *Third Book*, chap. 28. At which places he does not obscurely intimate, that he liv'd at *Antioch*, whilest he wrote these things. Hence 'tis also, that he mentions with so much care and diligence, the Earth quakes, wherewith *Antioch* was now and then shaken: and that in the *Notation* of the times he always makes use of the *Antiochian* Years. Lastly, this may be Collected from the *seventh* chapter of his *Sixth Book*, where he relates, that *Gregorius Patriarch* of *Antioch* (having been accused of *Incest*, before *Johannes, Comes* of the *East*, by a Silver-smith,) appealed to the Emperor, and to a Synod. And when he went to *Constantinople*, in order to the prosecution of his his Cause before the Emperor and Synod, he took *Evagrius* along with him, as his *Affessor* and Councillor, that he might make use of his advice. By which Words *Evagrius* does plainly enough declare himself to have been an *Advocate* and a Lawyer. For *Affessors* were wont to be taken out of their Body, as well by the *Civil* as *Military* Magistrates. Nor was *Evagrius* Councillor to *Gregorius* in this criminal Affair only, but in other Causes also. For in regard *Gregorius* was *Patriarch* of the *Oriental* Church, and \* could not but have the Examination of many Causes every Day, he must necessarily stand in need of some *Affessor*, who might suggest to him the *Forms of Right* and of the Laws. Indeed, *Evagrius's* Words do fully declare what I have

O, rough  
 to have,  
 &c.

Causes every Day, he must necessarily stand in need of some *Affessor*, who might suggest to him the *Forms of Right* and of the *Laws*. Indeed, *Eoagrius*'s Words do fully declare what I have

§ See *Evagrius* book  
 6, chap. 7. *Eu-*  
*grius* book  
 6, chap. 24.  
 † That is,  
 the Volume  
 of  
*Relations*,  
*Letters*,  
 &c.

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not without the consent of *Gregorius the Patriarch*, in the Reign of *Tiberius Constantinus*; he had the Dignity of a *Quæstorius* bestow'd upon him by the same Emperor. And not long after, when he had made an Oration concerning the Praises of *Mauricius Augustus*, on account of the Birth of the most noble Child *Theodosius*, he receiv'd the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture* from the same *Mauricius*; as he himself attests at the close of his History. *Evagrius's* Words there are thus translated by *Christophorus*: *Pro quibus duos honoris gradus consecuti sumus: Quæsturam à Tiberio Constantino, & minus Tabularum servandarum, in quibus Præfectorum nomina inscribebantur, à Mauricio Tiberio*. For which we have obtained two Degrees of Honour: A *Quæsture* of *Tiberius Constantinus*, and the Office of keeping the Tables, wherein the Names of the *Præfects* were inscribed, of *Mauricius Tiberius*. Which ill Rendition deceived *Gerardus Vossius* and *Philippus Labbæus*. For *Vossius* (in his \* *Book de Historicis Græcis*), treading in *Christophorus's* steps, says thus: *Pro duobus autem bisce* \* *Libris ait gemino se honore esse affectum. Nam à Tiberio Constantino Quæsturâ fuisse ornatum* \* *Pat. 274. Edit. Ludg. Bat. 1651.* *Sed à Mauricio consecutum esse, ut Tabulis publicis præset*: Now, for these two Books, he says, he had a double Honour conferred on himself. For he was honoured [as he saith] with a *Quæsture* by *Tiberius Constantinus*: And, that he obtained of *Mauricius*, the having the charge of the public Tables. But *Philippus Labbæus* (in his *Dissertation de Scripturis Ecclesiasticis*), hath interpolated *Christophorus's* Version after this manner: *Seque duos honoris gradus ait consecutum* \* *Repaired, or, put a new face upon.* *ad Tiberio Constantino ad Quæsturam evectum; tum à Mauricio munus adeptum servandarum Tabularum, in quibus non tam nomina, quam ipsa Præfectorum acta inscribebantur*: And he says that he himself obtained two Degrees of Honour: And in the first place, that he was preferred to a *Quæsture* by *Tiberius Constantinus*; and secondly, That he procured of *Mauricius* the Office of keeping the public Tables, wherein not only the Names, but the *Acts* of the *Præfects* were inscrib'd. *Museus* has done much better, who hath render'd the Passage in *Evagrius* thus: *Quarum etiam Gratiâ duas dignitates sumus consecuti: à Tiberio Constantino Quæstoratum largiente, Mauricio vero Tiberio Literas Hyparchicas mittente, on account of which* [Volume of Relations, Letters, &c.] *we have obtained two Dignities: [one] from Tiberius Constantinus, who gave us a Quæstorate; and [another] from Mauricius Tiberius, who sent us his Hyparchicall Letters. He would have said, The Codicills of a Præfecture, which the Latines term \* Letters also, as I have long since observ'd* \* *Or, Lett. terr. Pa. centi.* *himself à τῷ βασιλεῖ, [one] of the Ex-Præfects, because he had been rewarded with the Codicills, of an honorary Præfecture by the Emperour.* After this, the same *Evagrius* published Six Books of Ecclesiastick History, beginning from those times wherein *Theodoret* and *Socrates* had closed their Histories; that is, from the *Ephesine Synod*, wherein *Nestorius* was condemned and deposed: to wit, from the Year of Christ 431. And he has continued his History to the twelfth Year of the Emperor *Mauricius*, which was the Year of our Lord 594. In his Third Book, at Chap. 33, speaking concerning *Severus Bishop of Antioch*, he says that at such time as he wrote these Things it was the Six hundredth forty first year of the *Antiochians*. In regard therefore the *Antiochian-Hæra* precedes that of our Saviour's Nativity forty eight Years; if from the number 641 we subtract 48 Years, it will be the Year of Christ 594. The same may also be Collected from Book 4. Chap. 29. where *Evagrius* writes, that whilest he penned this History, that *Plague in the Groyne*, which had almost wholly destroy'd the whole World, had already rag'd two and fifty Years. Now, this *Plague* began to rage two Years after *Antioch* had been taken by the *Persians*, that is, in the Year of Christ 542. To which number of Years if you add 52, it will be made the Year of Christ 594. Further, *Evagrius's* diligence is chiefly to be commended, because, undertaking to write an Ecclesiastick History, he made a Collection of whatever was pertinent to that Subject, out of the best Writers, to wit, *Priscus, Johannes, Zacharias, Eustathius, and Procopius* [who were all] *Rhetoricians*. His Style likewise is not to be found fault with. For it has as a Beauty and Elegancy; as *Photius* does also attest. But the chief thing commendable in *Evagrius* is, that of all the *Greek Writers of Ecclesiastick History*, he is the only Person, who has kept the Doctrine of the true Faith intire and undefil'd; as (after *Photius's* *Baronius* has observ'd in his *Annals*. Notwithstanding, he deserves Reproof for this, viz. because he has not used so much diligence in searching out the Monuments of Ecclesiastick Antiquity, as in reading *Profane Writers*. Indeed, almost the whole Sixth Book is spent in a Narrative of the *Persian War*. Besides, his Style in many places is Redundant and Luxuriant, as *Photius* has truly remark'd in his *Bibliotheca*. An Instance of which superfluity of Expression you have in Book 1. Chap. 2. where he speaks concerning *Nestorius* after this manner: *Ἡ δὲ τοῦτο γλῶσσα, καὶ κατὰ δόξαν συνέειρον, &c.* that *Tongue full of Hostility against God, that second Sambedrim of Caiphas, &c.* and, in Book 2. Chap. 3. where he describes *S<sup>t</sup> Euphemia's Church*, which was at *Chalcedon*: The same redundancy of Style, the Studious Reader will of himself easily observe, in many other places.

Moreover, *R. Stephens* was the first Person that Printed *Evagrius's History in Greek*, from one only Manuscript Copy belonging to the *Kings Library*, which Manuscript is very new, and not extraordinary good. For in many places 'tis defective and imperfect. But we have mended and perfected *Evagrius's History* in so many places, from two Manuscript Copies of the best note, that it may seem now to have been first publish'd. The first of the Copies was the *Florent. Manuscript*, [taken] out of *S<sup>t</sup> Laurence's Library*, which the most famous *Michael Erminius* compared with the *Geneva Edition*, and sent me the Various Readings written out with his own Hand. On which account I profess my self very much

M m

obliged

## The Life of Evagrius Scholasticus.

obliged to him. This Manuscript is the best and ancientest of all the Copies of *Evagrius*. For 'tis written in Parchment, [and was transcribed] about five hundred Years since more or less, as I have been inform'd by one that saw it, *viz.* *Emericus Bigotius*, an excellent Scholar, and a Person who has deserved well of Learning: By whose Favour and Intervention I receiv'd the fore-mention'd *Various Readings*, sent by the most famous *Michael Erminius*. In the same *Florentine Manuscript*, some not unlearned *Scholæ* were written in the Margin, which we have put into our *Annotations*, in their due places. But, the Reader is to take notice, that in this *Florentine Manuscript* is contain'd *Socrates Scholasticus's History* also, the various Readings whereof of the same *Erminius* sent me long since, written out with his own Hand; as I have attested above four Years since, in *that Preface* I prefixt before my *Edition of Socrates and Sozomen*. The *second Manuscript Copy* was taken out of the Library of that most *Illustrious Prelate Dionysius Tellerius, Arch-Bishop of Rheims*: This is no very ancient Copy; but 'tis a good One, and transcrib'd by the Hand of a Learned Man. This Copy was of great use to us in many places, as we have now and then shewn in our *Annotations*.

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THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS *Epiphanienſis*,  
And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

The Writers Preface [wherein he declares] on what account he betook himself to the Writing of this present History.

**E**USEBIUS Surnamed PAMPHILUS, a Person both eminently Eloquent as to other things, and so powerful in his Writings also, that by his Persuasions he might be able (if not to render them (a) perfectly Orthodox, yet) to prevail upon his Readers so far as to embrace our [Sentiments:] Eusebius surnamed Pamphilus [I say,] Sozomen, Theodoret, and Socrates, not Christian in the best and most accurate manner have set forth in Writing, both the Advent of [our] Compassionate God amongst us, and his Ascent into the Heavens; and also those things which the Divine Apostles, and other Martyrs have courageously performed in their Combats [in defence of the Faith;] Moreover, whatever else hath been transacted by those of our Religion, whether praise-worthy, or otherwise, till some (b) part of the Emperor Theodosius's Reign. But, in regard no Person hath hitherto given an orderly Narrative of the Transactions that hapned afterwards, which [notwithstanding] are not much inferior to them; I have resolved (though I am but little versed in such things,) to undertake this Work, and to compile an History of those Affairs; being very confident, that by his assistance, who infused Wisdom into Fishermen, and made the Tongue of a Brute utter an articulate Voice; I shall raise Affairs already buried in Oblivion, give Life to them by my Discourse, and render them immortal by an [eternal] Commemoration: to the end that every one of my Readers may know, what [has been done,] when, where, how, against whom, and by whom Affairs have been transacted, until our own times: And [to the end that] nothing worthy to be remembered, may lie concealed by a remis and dissolute Slob, and (which is its next Neighbour,) Oblivion. Divine Assistance therefore being my Guide, I will begin, where the Authors I have already mentioned, closed their History.

perly termed *ἀνεκλόγητος*. Photius (in his *Bibliotheca*) speaks thus concerning Socrates Scholasticus, *ἀνεκλόγητος ὁ δὲ τὸν διῃκουσιν ὁ ἄλλος ἐπὶ ἀνεκλόγητος*. Moreover in his Sentiments he is not very Orthodox. The meaning of this place therefore, is this: Eusebius (although he be very fit to persuade his Readers to embrace the Christian Religion, yet) is not able to make them very accurate in the Doctrine of the Christian Faith, in regard he himself seems to have inclined towards the opinion of the Arians. For, this was the Sentiment of many Persons concerning Eusebius Pamphilus; whom I have sufficiently answered, in the Preface I have written to the same Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

(b) The Word [*ἡμεῖς*, *pari*] is wanting in the Kings, in the Florentine, and in the Tellerian M. SS. nor is it in Robert Stephens's Edition. The Geneva-Primmers were the first that put in this Word, from Christopherson's Copy, the Various Readings whereof are extant at the end of the Cologne-Edition. Christopherson has expressed this Word in his Version. For thus he renders it: *Ad aliquam partem Regni Theodosii, so some part of Theodosius's Reign.* But it seems more elegant to me, to suppress, rather than add this Word. If a Word must be added, I had rather add *ἡμεῖς*, time. Valef.

## CHAP. I.

That, after the Destruction of the impious Julian, when the Heresies had been a little quieted, \* the Devil afterwards disturbed the Faith again.

WHEN the impiety of Julian had now been drowned in the blood of the Martyrs, and Arius's madness bound in the Fetters made

at Nicæa; and when Eunomius and Macedonius, (a) driven away by the Holy Spirit [as it were] (a) *ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος*, Christopherson and Sir Henry Savil have mended it thus, *ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος*, compelled, or, rejected by force. But, that reading it much better, which the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. give us, to wit, *ἐκ τῆς ἁγίας πνεύματος*, driven away — as it were by an invincible wind. 'Tis a Metaphor taken from Shipwreck'd Persons who are driven away by the violence of a Storm. Evagrius compares the Holy Spirit to a wind, by the force whereof Eunomius and Macedonius being driven away, were at length Shipwreck'd at Constantinople, to wit, condemn'd in the Constantinopolitan Synod: Valef.



by an impetuous wind,] had been shipwreck'd about the *Bosphorus*, and at the sacred City *Constantinople*: when the Holy Church having laid aside her late filth, and recovering\* her pristine beauty and gracefulness, was clothed† in a fine, &c. *vesture of gold wrought about with divers colours*; and made fit for her Lover and [Celestial] Bridegroom: the Devil, Virtue's enemy, unable to bear this, raised a new and || unusual kind of war against us; condemning the worship of Idols, which now lay trampled under foot, and abandoning *Arian's* servile madness. He was indeed afraid of making an attack against [our] Faith, [openly] as an enemy, in regard it was fortified by so many and such eminent Holy Fathers; and [because] he had lost many of his Forces in the Siege thereof. But he attempts this business in such a method [rather] as thieves make use of, by inventing certain Questions and Answers, whereby he in a new manner\* perverted the erroneous to *Judaism*; the Wretch being insensible that he should be foil'd† even this

For, that one (b) term, which before he had made the sharpest resistance against, he now admires and embraces: rejoicing mightily (tho' he could not wholly \*vanquish us, yet) that he was able to adulterate even but one word. Having therefore many times (c) wound up himself within his own malice, he (d) invented the change of one letter, which might indeed †lead to one and the same sense, but notwithstanding would separate the understanding from the tongue; left with both they should confess and glorify God in a concordant and agreeable manner. Further, in what manner each of these things was perform'd, and what conclusion they had, I will declare in their due places and times. Wherefore† to I will likewise add whatever else I could find worthy to be related, altho' it may seem foreign to my subject; [resolving] (e) to close my History where it shall seem good to the compassionate and propitious Deity.

\* Or, re-  
dressed.  
† Or, even  
from hence.  
way.  
(b) He  
means the  
term *Homoiou-  
tous*, [that is,  
move.  
\* Or, re-  
move.  
† Or, re-  
draw.  
For the mal-  
ignant Devil  
made his  
chiefest  
resistance  
against  
this word,  
in regard  
it was the  
Beeftom as  
it were of  
all Here-  
sies, and  
therefore†  
to I will likewise  
add whatever  
else I could  
find worthy  
to be related,  
altho' it may  
seem foreign  
to my subject;  
[resolving] (e)  
to close my  
History where  
it shall seem  
good to the  
compassionate  
and propitious  
Deity.

(c) *Ἰαυ-  
αριώδους*  
a term used to denote the manner *how a serpent moves*; which is incomparably well express'd by *Virgil*, in these words,  
— *Sinuatusq; immensa volumine terga,  
And he winds up his vast Back in a Roll, or, Volume.*

(d) Instead of [*ἰερέως*] I had rather make it [*ἱερέως*]; as it is in the *Tellerian MS.* Further, 'tis very intricate, what word *Eusebius* should mean here. The term *Homoioutous*, [that is, of the substance, or, essence] might indeed be meant. But, because in this word there is an addition (rather than a change) of one Letter, [to wit, of the Letter *ι*]; therefore the *Propositions* [*ἔξ*, and *ἐν*], that is, [of, and in] are rather to be meant; which *Propositions* raised great Stirs and Commotions in the Church, on account of the *Eusebian Heresy*; some affirming that Christ was to be adored, [as subsisting] of two natures, others, [as subsisting] in two natures. Valef.

(e) This place wants not difficulty. *Amulius* renders it thus: *Ubi absolutum hanc historiam benigno Deo commendavero, Where I shall have commended this completed History to the benign God.* But this rendition is not to be born with: Therefore *Christophorus* has translated it otherwise, to wit, after this manner: *Itaque finem scribendi faciam, ubi Deo clementi ac propitio visum fuerit, And there I will make an end of writing, where it shall seem good to the mild and propitious God.* But, neither does this translation fully satisfy me: For, first, *Eusebius* says not, *αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, in the future tense, but *αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, in the present tense. Secondly, I do not remember that I ever read this phrase [*αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*] in such a sense as to import, to finish an History. *Ἀποτίθησθαι* signifies properly *recondere*, to lay up: whence *ἀποτίθησθαι* imports a repository, or, store-cell for Wines. It signifies also to lay on the ground, or, deposit in a monument. *Ἐπιτίθησθαι* in his *Lexicon* renders *ἀποτίθησθαι* by *ἐκτίθησθαι*, to erect. The same *Ἐπιτίθησθαι* *αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ* does signify *ἐκτίθησθαι*, to expose, or, set forth. *Ἐκτίθησθαι* signifies is contrary to the former. *Ἐκτίθησθαι*, to hide, and to set forth, or, promulge, are contrary the one to the other. I had rather therefore render this passage of *Eusebius* thus: *Historiam edidimus, quando clementi placeret Deo, [and] shall put forth my History, when it shall please the gracious God.* Notwithstanding, if any one shall

prefer *Christophorus's* Version, I will not much resist it. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* (in the seventh Chapter of his first Book) uses these words, *† ὅταν ἀποτίθῃς*, so as to signify, he ended his life. Nevertheless, in the thirteenth Chapter of this Book, *Eusebius* uses this word in this sense, viz. to relate, or, set forth. For thus he says, *† ἀποτίθῃς*, *αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, *† ἀποτίθῃς*, *αὐτὸς ἐν ἑαυτῷ*, &c. Moreover, *Theodosius* also wrote, and elegantly set forth, [or, related,] &c. And in the 11th Chapter of this Book, *ἀποτίθῃς* is used in the same sense, instead of *ἐκτίθῃς*, he set forth. Alid in the beginning of his second Book, *Eusebius* uses *ἀποτίθῃς*, instead of *ἐκτίθῃς*, he will set forth. Valef.

## CHAP. II.

How Nestorius was detected by his Disciple  
Anastasis, who in his Sermon, term'd the  
Holy Mother of God, not \* Theotocos, but † That is,  
† Christotocos: for which reason [Nestorius] was pronounced an Heretick.

For as much as *Nestorius* (that tongue full of hostility against God, that second *Sanne-  
drim* of *Caiphas*; that shop of blasphemy, where-  
in Christ is again (a) bargain'd for, and sold; (a) Suppo-  
his natures being divided and torn in vnder, of  
whom not one bone had been broken on the very  
Cross it self, according as it is written; nor had  
his woven-coat in any wife been rent by the  
murderers of God) has rejected and abandon'd in  
the term *Theotocos*, ([a word] long since framed  
by many of the [most] approv'd Fathers by  
[the inspiration of] the Holy Spirit;) and, in-  
stead thereof, has coin'd and form'd [the term]  
*Christotocos*, an adulterate coin [as it were, thus: offi-  
stamp'd by himself: and has refilled the  
Church with innumerable wars, making an in-  
undation of civil blood therein: I shall not, I  
suppose, want matter agreeable and fit for the  
composition of an History, nor [shall I despair]  
of bringing it to a conclusion, if (by the co-  
operation of Christ, who is God above all) I  
shall begin from the blasphemy of the impious  
*Nestorius*. Now, the war of the Churches had  
its original from hence. [There was] one (b) *g-  
Anastasis* a Presbyter, (a person of a very un-  
sound opinion, an ardent lover of *Nestorius's* and  
his Jewish sentiments) who had accompanied  
*Nestorius* in the journey he made in order to [his  
entering upon] the Bishoprick [of *Constantinople*].  
In which journey (having had a conference with *Qui  
Theodorus* at *Mopsuestia*, and heard his opinions,)

in qua Christus demum cruciatur & divenditur, instruxit; who furnished up a shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again killed and sold. Neither of these have they rendered it well: For, neither is there any such Greek word as *εὐνοειναι*. I wonder at *Sir Henry Savile*, who set this most ridiculous commendation of *Christophorus*, at the margin of his Copy. It should have been rendered thus, *That shop of Blasphemy, wherein Christ is again bargain'd for, and sold at a price.* For *εὐνοειναι* signifies properly, *I make a bargain; and* *εὐνοειναι* is a bargain, or, agreement; as it is in the old Gloss. Which term occurs frequently in the Books of the Greek *Luxur*. Valef.

(b) This *Anastasis* was *Symeon* to *Nestorius* Bishop of *Constantinople*. Which is attested by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, and by *Anastasis* *Bibliothecarius*. For the *Patriarch* had their *Symeon* (that is, those that kept in the same Cell with them, or those that dwelt with them) whom they chose out of the Order of Presbyters. So, in the *Epistle* of the *Constantinopolitan Synod* to *Hormisdas* Bishop of *Rome*, about the *Election* of *Epiphanius* *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*: which *Epistle* *Baronius* records at the year of Christ 530. Amongst the Legates sent from the Synod, is named *Asterianus* Presbyter of the Greater Church, and Co-habitator, [that is, the person who dwelt with him] to *Epiphanius* the *Patriarch*. *Epiphanius* himself also had formerly been Presbyter and *Symeon* to *John*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*, as *Diogenes* attests in his *Epistle* to *Pope Hormisdas*. Lastly, *John* had also been Presbyter and *Symeon* to *Timothy*, *Patriarch* of *Constantinople*; as *Vidor* *Timonenus* informs us in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Agapeto* V. C. *Cof. Timotheus* C. P. *Episcopus*, *Obrebellat Synodi Chalcedonensis, quinto die Aprilis occubuit*, & *Johannes Cappadox* in cella propria atque Presbytero *Episcopatum* tradidit; [on 5th April, mend it thus, & *Johanni* *Cappadoci* *Synello* *proprio* *agapeto* *Presbytero*]



Church, pag. 32. Edit. Lond. 1680.) tells us, that the Greeks do still term this Sunday, *καὶνὸν ἡμέραν*, the New Sunday: and that 'tis also called *ἡμέραν ἀνακαινιστικὴν*. Meursius says it should be *ἡμέραν ἀνακαινιστικὴν*, that is, regenerating, or, renewing Sunday: See Meursius's Glossary, in the word *ἀνακαινιστικὴν*.

## CHAPTER IV:

*How Nestorius was deposed by the Synod, before the arrival of [the Bishop of] Antioch.*

When therefore fifteen days were past beyond the day prefixt, the Bishops who had been called together for that reason (supposing that the Eastern [Bishops] would not come at all, or if they did, that much time would be spent before they could be got together) [meet together in one place] (a) the divine *Cyrillus* administering and the place of *Caelestinus*, who (as it has been said) governed the Bishoprick of the *Elder Rome*: they summon in *Nestorius* therefore, entreating him that he would give in his answer to [the accusations] brought against him: Who on the day before promised

Θεωρεῖται διακρίσεις, καὶ τὸν κατὰ τὴν τύπον, τῶν ἱεροποιῶν, ὡς ὀ-  
 ριστοῦ, τῆς ἀποστολικῆς ἐκείνης ἐκκλησιαστικῆς τῆς Divine Cyrillus  
 admiringly, &c. In which clause (as the Learned Doctor Barrow  
 remarks, in his Treat. of the Pope's Suprem. pag. 289.) a word seems  
 to have fallen out. Zomaras (on the 1 Can. Synod. Ephes. Tom. 1.  
 Edit. Bever. pag. 100.) explains this passage more plainly, in these  
 words: Περὶ τῆς ἐκείνης ὁρίσθησαν πάντες τὸν ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ τῶν  
 Πατρῶν ἀλλήλων ἀφ' ὧν ἐκείνη ἐστὶ καὶ τὸν τῶν κατὰ τὴν, The Holy  
 Cyril Pope of Alexandria presiding over the Orthodox Fathers, and also  
 holding the place of Celsine. And Photius thus: τὰ ῥήματα κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐκείνην τῶν καθ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ παλαιῶν, [Cyril] supplied the feast at  
 the person of Celestine [Bishop] of Rome. From which Authors  
 'tis plain, that Cyrillus had the disposal of Celestine's single suffrage,  
 and that Pope's legal concurrence with him in his Adings in that  
 Synod: But Cyrillus had no Authoritative Precedency from Celestine,  
 because the Pope could by no delegation impart that, himself having  
 no title thereto, warranted by any Law, or by that President, thus  
 depended on the will of the Emperors, who disposed of it according  
 as they law reason. A notable instance whereof we meet with in the  
 next Ephesine Synod (which in design was a general Synod, legally  
 convened, though by some misarrangings it proved abortive,) mentioned  
 by our Evagrius in the 10th Chapter of this Book: where, the  
 Fulius, (or rather the same Pope Leo's Legate was present, yet by  
 the Emperor's Order (see the words of his Letter, Syn. Chalced.  
 Act. 1. p. 59. Disforis Bishop of Alexandria presided. Nicephorus  
 Book 4. Chap. 34.) tells us, That in regard Celestine Bishop  
 of Rome could not be present at this Synod, by reason of the dangers  
 of such a voyage he made Cyrillus his Deputy: and that from this  
 time Cyrillus, and the succeeding Bishops of Alexandria challenged the  
 same Pope, &c. Doubtless Nicephorus is mistaken herein. For,  
 Dionysius Alexandrinus (in his third Epist. to Philemon, part of which  
 is quoted by Eusebius, Eccles. Hist. Book 3. c. 7.) mentioning Hera-  
 cius, his Predecessor in the Alexandrian See, says these words concern-  
 ing him: Ἰδὼν ἰσθὶ τὴν κατὰ τὴν τῶν τύπον παρὰ τὸ μακάριον  
 ἡμῶν ἡμεῶν ἡμεῶν πατριάρχου, I received this Rule and Canon from  
 Heraclius our Blessed Pope. And Athanasius (in his second Apologetic,  
 Tom. 1. pag. 786. Edit. Paris, 1627.) has recorded an Epistle writ-  
 ten to him from Hierbas, which has this title, Ἀθανασίῳ μακαρίῳ  
 πατρί, To Athanasius the Blessed Pope. Therefore these words of  
 Nicephorus are (as Valesius says truly in his Note here) inepta & fal-  
 sissima, foolish and most untrue. And, that other remark of Valesius  
 here, which he makes from the former part of the now cited passage  
 in Nicephorus (to wit, that as well Nicephorus, as those from whom  
 he borrowed this, doubted not but the Bishop of Rome was the Sovereign  
 Judge of all the Churches;) is questionable no less foolish and false.  
 'Tis indeed true, that the Bishops of Rome have some Centuries since  
 claim'd an Authority not only of presiding in, but also of inditing  
 and convening General Councils. But, how unjust this Claim is,  
 as well in respect of Right, as Practice, will be evident to him, who  
 with attention and consideration shall peruse these Ecclesiastical His-  
 tories. Look back to what Socrates says in the Proem to his fifth  
 Book: οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς θεοὶ βασιλεῖς (says he) τῶν ἐκείνων ἐκκλησιῶν, &c.  
 We do continually include the Emperors in this our History, because  
 from such time as they began to embrace the Christian Religion, the af-  
 fairs of the Church have depended on them, and the greatest Synods have  
 been, and as this presents are convened by their determination and appoint-  
 ments. But, for a most full and compleat satisfaction in these points,  
 viz. concerning the Bishop of Rome's Sovereign Power to indite and pre-  
 side in General Councils: I refer the Reader to the Learned Dr. Bar-  
 row's Treatise of the Pope's Supremacy, pag. 274, &c.

to come, if there should be an occasion for it; but [afterwards] neglected to fulfil his promise; and having been thrice call'd, after that he appear'd not; [whereupon] the Bishops convened undertook the examination [of the matter.] And when Memnon Bishop of Ephesus had reckon'd up the days which had pass'd after the set day, [they were in number sixteen days;] and when the Letters of the divine Cyrillus, which had been written by him to Nestorius, and also Nestorius's [Letters] to Cyrillus had been read; moreover, when that sacred Letter of the famous Caesestinus, which he sent to the same Nestorius, had been annexed: Further, when Theodotus Bishop of Ancyra, and Acacius who presided over the \* See of Melitina, \* Or, Chair, had declared those blasphemous Expressions, which Nestorius had manifestly and openly belch'd forth at Ephesus: [lastly,] when many sayings of the holy and most approved Fathers, who have expounded the right and sincere Faith, had been joyn'd together; and also, when the various Blaphemies foolishly and madly utter'd by the impious Nestorius, and been reduced into an Order: [I say, after all these things had been done] the Holy Synod pronounced sentence [against Nestorius] in these express words: Moreover, in regard the most Reverend Nestorius would neither obey our Summons, nor admit the most Holy and most Religious Bishops sent by Us, We have been forced to proceed to an examination of his impious expressions. And having found, both from his Letters and Writings which have been recited, and also from his own words which he hath lately spoken in this Metropolis, [which expressions of his] have been confirm'd [by the testimony of many persons,] that his Sentiments and Doctrines are impious; being necessarily induced thereto, both by the [authority of the] Canons, and also by the Letter of our most Holy Father and Fellow-Minister Caesestinus Bishop of the Roman Church, after many tears we have proceeded to [the pronounciation of] this sad sentence. Therefore, Our Lord Jesus Christ, who has been blasphemed by him, hath determin'd by this present Holy Synod, that the same Nestorius is \* divested of the Episcop<sup>al</sup> Or, sacerdotal Dignity, and [excluded from] all manner of Sacraments, of, strange

## CHAP. V.

That Johannes [Bisshop] of Antioch, coming  
[to Ephefus] after five days, depofes Cy-  
rillus [Bifhop] of Alexandria, and Mem-  
non [Bifhop] of Ephefus; whom the Synod  
pronounced innocent foon after, and depofed  
Johannes and his Party. And how, by  
[the interpoſition of] the Emperor Theodo-  
ſius, Cyrillus and Johannes were recon-  
ciled, and confirmed Neſtorius's Depoſition.

**A**fter this most legal and just Sentence, *Fo-*  
*bannes* [Bishop] of Antioch comes to E-  
phesus, together with the Prelates about him,  
arriving [there] five days after [*Nestorius's*] Dis-  
position. And having convened \* those [Bi-  
shops] of his Party, depose*s* *Cyryllus* and *Memo-*  
*nion*. But when *Cyryllus* and *Memnon* had pre-  
sented Libelsto that Synod which had been con-  
vened with them, (although \* *Socrates*, through  
ignorance, has related [this matter] otherwise,  
*Fobannes* is summoned to give an account of that  
Depo-  
\* Or, *ibid*  
+ See *ibid*  
† See *ibid*  
Book 7.  
c. 34-nd  
¶ *ibid* note  
(b) in that  
Chapter.

Deposition which he had made. Who not appearing after he had been thrice call'd, *Cyrillus* and *Memnon* are abolv'd from their Deposition: but *Johannes* and the [Bishops] of his party are separated from holy Communion, and from all sacerdotal Authority. [Further] *Theodosius* at first approv'd not of *Nestorius's* Deposition; but having afterwards been inform'd of his Blasphemy, when he had written very pious Letters to the Bishops, *Cyrillus* and *Johannes*, they come to a mutual Agreement, and confirm'd *Nestorius's* Deposition.

## CHAPTER VI.

Concerning Paulus [Bishop] of Emisa's journey to Alexandria, and *Cyrillus's* commendation [of *Johannes*] on account of [his] Letter.

WHEN Paulus Bishop of Emisa was arrived at Alexandria, and had made a discourse, which is still extant, in the Church concerning this matter. At which time also *Cyrillus*, having highly commended *Johannes's* Letter, wrote word for word thus: † Let the

+ This letter of Cy-Haevens rejoice, and the Earth be glad. For ridito of the partition-wall is demolished, that which caused grief and sadness is ceased, and the occasion of all manner of dissension is taken away; in regard pag. 594. to his own Churches; and the most Religious Emperors, and most dear to God, have invired us in 1656. thereto. Who having been the most incomparable

\* Or, mis- Emulators of their Ancestors piety, do preserve the true Faith firm and unshaken in their own Minds: and they take an exquisite care of the Holy Churches, to the end they may obtain both a far-spread and immortal Glory, and also render their Empire most highly renowned. To whom even the Lord of Hosts himself distributeth good things with a \* plentiful hand, gives them [power] to vanquish their Adversaries, and freely bestows Victory [on them.] (a) For he cannot lie who has said, As I live, saith the Lord, I will glorify them who glorify me. When therefore my

+ Or, rich. (a) In the incomparable Flo- sic them who glorify me. When therefore my Lord and most Religious Brother and Fellow-Minister Paulus was come to Alexandria, we were filled with joy, and that most deservedly, in regard so great a Person [was come to be] an Intercessor, and was willing (b) to undergo Labours above [humane] strength: That he might vanquish the Envy of the Devil, unite Divisions, and by just removing Offences on both sides, crown both Our of the E. and Your Churches with Concord and Peace. And

now, where this Epistle is recorded. (See *Binius*, as before, p. 595.) it is *Εὐχαριστία*, will not lie.] But the reading of the Florem. MS. is confirmed by *Nicephorus* and the *Tellerian MS.* Vales. In *Robert Stephens*, the reading here is, *Εὐχαριστία*, hath not lied.

(c) *Τὸς τοῖς ἰσχυροῖς ἀντιπροσώπων.* *Christophorus* has rendered this place very ill, thus, *Es graviores quam vires feracem, suscipit in concionando, labores;* And in *Preaching* has undertaken far greater pains than his strength would bear. *Ambrosius* translates it thus: *Et laboribus vires excellentibus collectionem suscipiunt.* And with labours exceeding his strength had undertaken a conference. Neither of them has rendered it well. *Πεζομαχὸς* *ἐξέοντος*, imports, to endure or undergo labours. So, *ὡς ἀνὰ δύναμις*, signifies, to bear the vicissitudes of fortune. *Plutarch* (*in Marius*), speaking concerning *Fuguribus*, says these words, *ὡς τὴν ἐν ταῖς ἀνὰ δύναμις ἀντιπαραστάσει, τὰς τοῖς ἀνὰ δύναμις ἀντιπαραστάσει.* [which was fitted] to bear the changes of fortune. Moreover, these words *ὡς ἀνὰ δύναμις ἀντιπαραστάσει* may be understood two ways: For we may either understand *ἀντιπαραστάσει*, humane, (which we have done) or else *ἀντιπαραστάσει*, *Christophorus* and *Christophorus* have embraced the latter sense; as did he also, who rendered the *Acts* of the *Ephefine Council* into Latin. Vales.

after the interposition of some words, [he adds:] Moreover; that this dissension of the Church was altogether frivolous and (c) inexcusable. (e) Here, and in the ble, we have been now fully satisfied, since my *Acts* of the Lord the most Religious Bishop Paulus has brought Ephefine a Paper which contains an irreprehensible Confession of Faith; and has affirmed, that it was written by Your Sanctity, and by the most Religious Bishops there. Now, the Confession runs thus, and inexcusable is inserted in the very same words into this our ble, or Epistle. But concerning Theotocos, and so forth, When We had read these (d) Your sacred words, in the Tel- and perceived, that We Our Selves embraced the same *Terian MS.* Sentiments; (For, there is one Lord, one Faith, I found it one Baptism;) We glorified God the Saviour of all Men, rejoicing mutually, because as well Your as Our Churches, do profess a Faith which is agree- incomp- rable, both to the divinely inspired Scriptures, and our Vales. also to the Tradition of our Holy Fathers. These (d) in the things may be known by him who is desirous of having an accurate account of those affairs transacted at that time.

instead of [ἐμῶν, our] it is [ἐμῶν, your;] which doubtless is the truer reading, Vales.

## CHAPTER VII.

What the impious *Nestorius* writes concerning his own sufferings; and how his Tongue having at last been eaten out with worms, he ended his life at Oâsis.

BUT after what manner *Nestorius* was banish'd, or what befel him after that, or in what manner he departed out of this life, and what rewards he receiv'd on account of his Blasphemy; [these particulars] have not been related by the Writers of History. All which had been forgotten, and had been wholly lost and swallowed by [length of] time, nor had been so much as heard of; had not I accidentally met with a Book of *Nestorius's*, which contains a Narrative of these things. This Father of blasphemy therefore, *Nestorius*, (who has not raised his building on that foundation which was laid, but hath built [his house] on the sand, and [therefore] it has soon fallen down, according to our Lord's parable;) making an Apology (which was his desire,) in defence of his own blasphemy, (a) against those who had accused him, (because he had introduced some innovation contrary to what was fitting, and had not rightly requested that a Synod should be convened at *Ephefus*;) amongst other things writes [to this effect:] that he, wholly compelled thereto by necessity, had beraken himself \* to [the defence of] this part, in regard the Holy Church was divided, some affirming that *Mary* was to be term'd † *Anthropotocos*, or † That is, thers, † Theotocos. That therefore (as he says) he might not offend in one of these two, [viz.] (b) lest he should either joyn things mortal with those that are immortal, or else lest (by being God, taking himself to the other side) he might be deprived of that other party who defended the term *Theotocos*;] he invented the word *Christotocos*; place is

(a) *Πεὶ τὸν ἐγκαλέσαντα.* In the incomparable *Florentine MS.* I found it written *ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐγκαλέσαντα* *εἰς*, against those who had accused him;] which is doubtless the truer reading: *εἰ* has the same import with *αὐτῷ*, him. Vales.

\* *Εἰς τὸτο* In the incomparable *Florentine MS.* I found it written *ἐπεὶ τὸν ἐγκαλέσαντα* *εἰς*, against those who had accused him;] which is doubtless the truer reading: *εἰ* has the same import with *αὐτῷ*, him. Vales. (b) *ὅτι* lest he should either joyn things mortal with those that are immortal, or else lest (by being God, taking himself to the other side) he might be deprived of that other party who defended the term *Theotocos*;] he invented the word *Christotocos*; place is very obscure; it is in my judgment, thus to be explained: After that Sermon of *Anastasis* the Presbyter, who was *Nestorius's* *Synchilus*, (See Chap. 2. Note b.) there arose a great dissension in the *Constantinopolitan Church*;

Church: in regard some affirm'd, that *Mary* was to be termed *Theotocos*; others *Ambrosiocos*. And when the Sedition increased daily, *Nestorius*, desirous to appease it, invented a certain middle term, viz. that *Mary* should in future be termed *Christotocos*, the *Virgin* who bore *Christ*; lest, if he should term her *Theotocos*, he might seem to join things mortal with those that are immortal: (which thing he [that is, *Nestorius*] look'd upon to be impious:) or lest, if he had embraced the term *Ambrosiocos*, the other party (to wit, those who defend'd the term *Theotocos*) should have revolted from him, and held their Assemblies apart. This is the meaning of this place; which neither *Augustinus* nor *Christophorus* understood. Therefore, instead of [ἡ ἀθάνατος συμπαρακαλούμενη], it must be [ἡ ἀθάνατος, ἡ ἀθάνατος ἀντιπροσώπων]. In the *Tellerian* MS. I found this reading, ἡ ἀθάνατος συμπαρακαλούμενη. Valef.

He intimates further, that at first the Emperor *Theodosius*, out of that affection he bore towards him, confirm'd not the [Sentence of \*] deposition pronounced against him: but afterwards, that when some Bishops (c) of both parties had been sent from the City *Ephesus* to *Theodosius*; (d) and when he also himself requested it, he was permitted to return to his own Monastery; which is situate before the Gates of that City, now called \**Theopolis*, and is not expressly named [there] by *Nestorius*. But, they say, (e) it is now termed *Euprepis's* [Monastery], which, as we assuredly know, stands before the [City] *Theopolis*, distant from

\* Or, deposition.

(c) \*Ἐφ' ὧς τε καὶ αὐτῶν; that is, of both parties, as well Catholic, as Nestorian. *Augustinus* has render'd it ill, thus, ultra citroque, to and fro. Valef.

(d) Instead of [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως], the reading in the *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. is [ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς πόλεως], and when he also himself requested it.] Valef.

\*That is, *Antioch*. See chap. 3. (e) From the *Florent*, and *Tellerian* MS. I have mended this place thus: ὡς τὸ ὑπερταύτης ὁμοσεως ἀποκατασταθῆναι, it is now termed *Euprepis's* [Monastery]; the reading before was very foolish, thus, ὑψηλῆς. Valef.

thence not more than two furlongs. Moreover, the same *Nestorius* says, that having resided there during the space of four years, he had all imaginable honour conferred upon him, and enjoy'd all manner of reverence and respect: but that afterwards, by the Edict of [the Emperor] *Theodosius*, he was banished into that place called *Oasis*. But he has concealed that which is the principal thing. For, during

(f) To wit, in the aforesaid Monastery, which was called *Euprepis's* Monastery. Valef.

*Antioch* gave [the Emperor] an account thereof, and *Nestorius* was condemned to perpetual Banishment. (g) He wrote also another Book, composed in the manner of a Dialogue, to a certain Egyptian as it were, concerning his banishment into *Oasis*; wherein he speaks

(g) I like neither *Christophorus's* nor *Augustinus's* Ver- more at large concerning these things. But, tion of this place. The latter of whom renders it thus: *Scriptis autem & alium librum more dialogico, velut ad Egyptium quendam de exilio suo compositum*. But he wrote another Book also in a Logical manner, to a certain Egyptian as it were, composed concerning his own Exile. And *Christophorus* translates it thus: *Scriptis præterea Nestorius alium Libellum autē & subtiliter*, &c. Moreover, *Nestorius* wrote another little Book, acutely and subtilly, &c. What need was there of acuteness and Logical subtilty in a little Book, wherein *Nestorius* treated concerning his own banishment into *Oasis*? Therefore I judge it better to render these Words, [ἡ διαλογικὴ συγγραμμὴ] thus [composed in the manner of a Dialogue]. And thus *Nicephorus* expounded these Words of *Eusebius*. For instead thereof, he makes use of the Word *διαλογικὴ συγγραμμὴ*, more by way of Dialogue Which term *Langus* renders, *disertius*, more eloquently: As if *Nicephorus* had said, λογικώτερον. Valef.

\* Or, brought forth.

what punishments he underwent on account of the Blasphemies \* coyn'd by him (not being able to lie conceal'd from [God's] all-seeing Eye,) may be known from other Letters, sent by him to the Governour of *Thebais*. For, in those [Letters] you may find, after what manner (in regard he had not yet undergone

condign (b) punishment,) the judgment of God (k) in *Ni-* seized him, and invol'd him in (i) captivity. *cephorus*, a calamity of all [Afflictions] the most miserable. (book 16, chap. 36.) But, in as much as he was to endure great- instead of ten punishments, he was let go by the *Blennyræ*, διεξίνε- amongst whom he had been a Captive. And removing from place to place about the utmost borders of *Thebais*, by the Edicts of *Theodosius*, who had determin'd that he should return; and being dash'd against the earth, he ended his days a-great-better his own forepast life: [like] a second *Arius*, declaring and \* forewh- ing by his calamitous death what rewards are appointed for [those who utter] blasphemy against *Christ*. For both those † Persons blasphem'd *Christ* in a like manner; *Arius*, by terming him a Creature; and *Nestorius*, by thinking him to be a Man. To \* whom (because he com- \* That is, plains, that the *Acts* at *Ephesus* were not rightly to *Nes-* composed [and made up,] but were framed by fraud and an illegal artifice of *Cyrillus*;) I would willingly say [thus much:] Why (since *Theodosius* was his favourer,) was he banish'd, and, without obtaining the least commiseration, condemned to so many Exiles, and concluded his life after such a manner as this? Or why (if the sentence [pronounced] against him by *Cyrillus*, and the other Prelates about him, were not divine,) both of them being now numbred amongst those departed [and dead], (at which time, as it has been said by one of the Heathen Sages, (k) that which appears not any more in sight (l) Tran- [or, that which survives not any longer] is honoured [honoured] [with a Benevolence that hath no enemy;] has he him- self been condemned as a Blasphemer and an Enemy of God; but *Cyrillus* is praised and extolled [by all Persons,] as having been a loud [and eminent] Preacher, and a great Defender of Orthodox Sentiments? But lest we should be accused for writing what is false, come on, let us bring forth *Nestorius* himself into the midst, ways fig- giving a relation concerning these very things, hndrurs; have fallen into various Errors. For *Langus* renders it thus: *Et ambo vos jam ex vitâ hâc excessistis*, &c. And both of you have now made your departure out of this life: at which time, as one of the Heathen Sages has said, nothing hinders, but that every Person may be honoured by a free benevolence of *Men*, no Adversary intervening. And *Christophorus* has translated it after this manner: Quando, si sapienti inter Gentiles scripti placeret, &c. At which time, as it pleases a prudent Writer amongst the Heathens, every one is usually honoured with a firm and concordant benevolence of *Men*, provided there be nothing which may justly be an impediment. But, the term ἐπεσθῶν does not always signify an impediment, or Hindrance. For, the Ancients, as well *Rhetoricians* as *Philosophers*, used ἐπεσθῶν in such a Sense as to signify the same with ἀντι, and to be in fight, or, appear openly; as *Suidas*, *Harporerion*, and the Author of the *Etymologicum* do inform us. But, the latter Writers, and especially *Hierocles* the *Philosopher*, have used that Word to signify an impediment or Hindrance. Therefore *Augustinus* has rendered this Passage in *Eusebius* best of all, thus: Quando sit quidam exterorum Philosophorum dixit, quod non est amplius superstiti, nec ullius invicta & contradiçione cum benevolentia honoratur; id est, as one of the foreign Philosophers has said, that which survives not any longer, is honoured with benevolence, without the Envy and Contradiction of any one. Further, in the Margin of the *Tellerian* Manuscript, there is set at this place, τινος δὲ, that is, this Sentence is taken out of *Thucydides*. 'Tis extant in *Thucydides's* second Book, pag. 128. Edit. Francjurs. 1594; in the Funeral Oration which Pericles made. Valef.

ture; the reading is truer, thus, ἐπεσθῶν, punishment. And so I found it written in the *Tellerian* MS. Valef.

(i) I have mended this place from the incomparable *Florentine* Manuscript; wherein the reading is thus [ἀρχαίωσεν τῇ ἐσθῶν ἐλευσθῶν τὴν σωφροσύνην] the most miserable; than, which commendation, there is nothing more certain. The reading in *Nicephorus* is the same also. Valef. In *Robertus Stephani's* Edition, 'tis thus worded: ἀρχαίωσεν τῇ σωφροσύνῃ ἐλευσθῶν τὴν σωφροσύνην. Valef.

\* Or, ratifying, or, confirming. † That is, *Arius* and *Nestorius*.

Recite to me therefore [ONestorius?] some passages in the express words of your own Letter, which you wrote to the Governour of Thebais. Because of some [Controversies] lately agitated at Ephesus concerning the most Holy Religion; by an Imperial Order we inhabit Oâsis otherwise [called] Ibis. And after the interposition of some Words, he adds: But after the aforesaid

(l) Instead of [ἐν βαρβαρίᾳ] the reading as it seems, should be [ἐν βαρβαρικῇ ἀστυνομίᾳ]. In the Florentine and Tellerian M. SS. and in Nicephorus, 'tis ἀστυνομία, by Captivity. Valef.  
\* Or, recovered a Compassion, &c.

we should immediately go out of that Country, in regard the Mazices would suddenly take possession of it after them; we are come to Thebais together with the remainder of the Captives, whom the Barbarians (out of commiseration) brought to us, for what intent I know not. Moreover, they have been every one permitted to go whither they desired: but we by coming publicly to Panapolis, \* do exhibit our selves. For we were afraid, lest any one, † by taking an occasion from our Captivity, should either frame an accusation of slight against us, or else [form] a making our captivity forged invention of some other fault. For malice [his] master of en- is productive of all manner of calumnies. Wherefore, We beseech Your \* Magnificence, to take care (according to that provision the Laws have made) of our Captivity, and not to deliver a Captive, who is subject to mischief, to the evil Arts of Men; lest all Generations should from hence forth cry out, That 'tis better to be the Barbarians Captive, than to fly for refuge to the Roman Empire. Then, having added an Oath, he made his request [to the Governour] thus: [That You would please] to give the Emperor an account of our Remove from Oâsis \* hither, which hapned from our being dismissed by the Barbarians: that so, whatever determination shall be well pleasing to God, may now at length be made concerning us. [Also, out of] the same Nestorius's second Letter to the said Governour: [Whether You will account this present Letter from Us to Your Magnificence, as [written] from a Friend, or as an admonition from a Father to a Son, hear, I beseech you, with patience the Narration [contained] therein concerning many [Matters,] written from us, wherein [We have been as brief as possibly could be. Oâsis otherwise [termed] Ibis, having been several ways ruin'd of late, by an incursion made into it by a multitude of the (m) Nomades.

\* That is, for an account of our Remove from Oâsis \* hither, which hapned from our being dismissed by the Barbarians: that so, whatever determination shall be well pleasing to God, may now at length be made concerning us. [Also, out of] the same Nestorius's second Letter to the said Governour: [Whether You will account this present Letter from Us to Your Magnificence, as [written] from a Friend, or as an admonition from a Father to a Son, hear, I beseech you, with patience the Narration [contained] therein concerning many [Matters,] written from us, wherein [We have been as brief as possibly could be. Oâsis otherwise [termed] Ibis, having been several ways ruin'd of late, by an incursion made into it by a multitude of the (m) Nomades.

(n) In that Nestorius's mentioned before, the people who ruin'd Oâsis are termed Blenmyæ. Wherefore, Nomades ought here to be taken for an Adjective. Notwithstanding, it may be the proper name of a Nation of Barbarians. 'Tis certain, the Nûbe, neighbours to the Blenmyæ, (who made frequent incursions into the Country of Oâsis, as Procopius informs us, in Book i. Perfic.) were termed Nomades also, or Nomades, which is attested by Stephanus. But some one will object, if Nestorius speaks here concerning one and the same Captivity of Oâsis, how can that stand, which he says in the beginning of this Epistle, in these words: Οὐδέποτε ἦν ἡ πόλις ἡμεῶν ποτὶς ἐπὶ τῶν ἑσθλῶν ἐπιπέσειν. For, the incursion of the Blenmyæ into Oâsis (in which Nestorius had been taken Captive by the Barbarians, and was presently dismissed,) had hapned but a little while before, as he himself attests. But, the incursion of the Nomades had hapned long before, as 'tis apparent from Nestorius's words in this last Epistle, which were just now cited. To all this I answer, that these words ἐπὶ τῶν ἑσθλῶν, do not signify long since, as Langus, Ousebicus, and Christopherson thought. For, the Adverb ἑσθλῶν, signifies lately, as every body knows. Doubtless, this incursion had hapned a little be-

fore Nestorius wrote these things. Therefore, it would ought to be referred to the word ἀπαιδεύσθαι. So that, 'tis the same as if he should have said, Oâsis having been several ways ruin'd of late: to wit, by fire, slaughters, and a Barbarick Captivity; as Nestorius has said above. Valef.

And after some words. These things having hapned thus, (by what impulse, or on what occasion Your Magnificence was moved thereto, I know not; we have been sent by Barbarian Soldiers from Panopolis, to Elephantina,] a Town situate in the Borders of the Province Thebais; towards which we have been dragg'd by the forementioned military assistance. And when we had been tired by our travelling more than half that Journey, we again met with an Order of your Magnanimity by word of mouth, [whereby we were commanded] to return to Panopolis. Having therefore been wearied with the Miseries (n) of this so long a Journey, our Body being infirm and aged, and our Hand and Side tired, we came again to Panopolis, in a manner breathing forth our Soul. And whilst we were as yet cruciated with the Calamities and Mischiefs of [our] Pains, another Order written by Your Magnanimity \* came † Or, in great haste, whereby we were convey'd again came flying from Panopolis to a place adjoining thereto.

(o) When we supposed, that we should stop here, of [ταῦτα] and were in expectation of the most Victorious ταντινιανῶν, Emperours determination concerning us; on a sudden another [Decree] was again drawn up against us, without any Commiseration, in order to another, [to wit,] a fourth Banishment. And after some few Words, [he continues.] But, I beseech you, let what has been done be sufficient, and [may it be enough] (p) to have Decreed so many Banishments against one Body: And, (q) after the Relations [which have been sent to their Imperial Majesties] by (g) Trans-Your Magnificence, permit, I humbly beseech you, [that an accurate account, of our condition] may [nothing at] be made known to our most Victorious Emperours, who by a even by us also, by whom that ought [to be done.] [small fault] These are our Advices, as to a Son from a Father, were introduced into a great error. Instead of [ἐν τῇ πόλει] it must undoubtedly be [ἐν τῇ πόλει] Presidents of Provinces were heretofore wont to give the Emperor an Account of all things which hapned with them. The doing whereof was termed ἀναγνώσις, and the Relation itself ἀναγνώσις, as I have noted on Ann. Marcellinus. Concerning these Relations of Presidents, Severianus speaks, in his first Oration in Hexameron, the passage whereof I will annex here, because the Translator understood it not: ἀναγνώσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγνώσων ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων. ὅτι οἱ ἐν ἀρχαῖς τῶν δέων, &c. For, Brethren, as the Presidents by [sending] Relations, made known all things [that are transacted with them] to the Emperor: so also the Angels, &c. The Translator renders it, the Masters of the Libels and Suggestions; which rendition is ill. For ἀναγνώσις in Chrysostome and the other writers of that age, are nothing else but Presidents or Governours of Provinces. And ἀναγνώσις imports nothing else but Relation or Narrative. Wherefore, in Severianus, it must be written thus; ἀναγνώσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναγνώσων ἐν ἀρχαῖς, &c. Valef.

(r) Instead of [ἐν τῇ πόλει] it must be [ἐν τῇ πόλει]. For, the word [ἐν τῇ πόλει] which preceded immediately, is understood. In the Tellerian M. S. the particle [τῇ] is wanting. Valef.

But if you be angry now, as you have been heretofore, do what you think good; since \* no reason is powerful enough to sway your mind. At reason in this manner [Nestorius] in his Letters *erful* strikes and leaps, with his Fists and Feet, your mind.

and

Or, the  
Emper.  
†  
beard.

and reviles \* the Emperors and Magificity ;  
having not been made prudent by the miseries  
he suffer'd. But I have † read a certain Writer  
declaring his Latter end [ after this man-  
ner, to wit,] That his Tongue having been eaten  
out with worms, be departed to greater and immor-  
tal punishments [ which are to be inflicted on him.]

## CHAPTER VIII.

*How, after Nestorius, Maximianus, and after him Proclus, then Flavianus, were made [Bishops of Constantinople.]*

AFTER that destructive Pest *Nestorius*, *Maximianus* succeeded in the Episcopate of the famous [City] *Constantinople*; under whom the Church of God enjoy'd all imaginable peace and tranquility. When he was taken from amongst Men, *Proclus* enters upon the Government of that See, who had heretofore been ordain'd Bishop of *Cyzicum*. And after he was gone the common way † of mankind, *Flavianus* succeeded in that Chair.

## CHAPTER. IX.

*Concerning the unfortunate Eutyches, and how he was deposed by Flavianus [Bishop] of Constantinople; and concerning the second (to wit, that thievish) Synod at Ephesus.*

† That is, *Flavianus*.  
 (A) Instead of *κωνσταντινουπολιτι*, undoubtedly *ἐκ* [ἐκ] *τῆς κωνσταντινουπόλεως*, as *Constantinople*; which is the reading in the *Telluris MS.* and in *Nicophorus*, Book

IN these times, the controverſie about the impious *Eutyches* was ſtared; a particular Synod having been convened (a) at *Conſtantinople*: [to which Synod] *Eusebius* Biſhop of *Dorylaeum* (who waſte the firſt perſon that had [heretofore] reſuted *Nestorius*'s Blaſphemy, being until then but a *Rhetorician*) preſented Libels. Therefore, when *Eutyches*, after he had been ſummon'd [to the Synod,] came not: And at his appearing [afterwards] had been convicted of having ſaid theſe words: *I confeſs, that our Lord † had two natures before the union*: But, after the union, *I confeſs, but one nature*: (He affirmed alſo, that the Body of our Lord was not of the ſame ſubſtance with our Bodies.) [After this, I ſay,] he is depoled. But when

14. chap. 47, where *Langus* renders it thus: *Flavianus Synodo Provinciali apud Constantiopolim coactâ*, &c. *Flavianus*, a Provincial Synod having been convened at *Constantinople*, &c. Whom *Christophorus* has follow'd. Notwithstanding, I had rather render it particular Synod, as *Mausolus* does. Indeed, that Synod consisted only of those Bishops, who at that time hapned to make their abode at *Constantinople*, on account of some Ecclesiastick Affairs: Which Prelates they commonly termed ἐπιστολικοί ἑπισκόποι, Bishops that made their residence for some time only in the City. The Acts of this *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Flavianus*, are related in the *Fifth Añion* of the *Chalcedon Council*; where these words occur [see *Binius*, *Tom.* 3. pag. 80.] ἀνακληθεὶς τὴν ἁγίαν καὶ μεγάλην αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐν τῇ ἀρεσκουσῇ μετὰ πολλοῦ, &c. The Holy and Great Synod having been convened [consisting of such Prelates as] resided for some time in the forenamed Great City, &c. If any one be desirous of knowing the names of those Bishops then convened, they occur in the *first Añion* of the *Chalcedon Synod*. Valef. See *Binius*, *Tom.* 3. pag. 125. Edit. Paris. 1626.

he had presented a *supplicatory Libel* to Theodosius, \* pretending that the Acts of those if the Acts, convened [in that Synod] had been falsified by Flavianus; in the first place a Synod of [the Bishops] that were near Neighbours to Constantinople was assembled. In

which (<sup>(b)</sup> some of the Magistrates also being <sup>(b)</sup> *Kai*  
present therein) *Flavianus* is judged. And <sup>πρωτος</sup>  
when this Synod had confirmed the *Acts*, as <sup>αποστολων</sup>  
being true; a second Synod is convened at words  
*Ephesus*. *Christo*.

hath rendered ill; thus, *Some Prelates of Churches*; whereas he should have translated it, *some of the Magistrates*. Nicæborus therefore (Book 14. chap. 47.) has rightly explained the words of Eusebius, after this manner: *Εἰς ἁγία καὶ ἁγία ἡ ἐκκλησία, ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀντιπροσώπων, ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀντιπροσώπων, ἢ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἀντιπροσώπων*, [that is, the Church, or the representatives of the Church, or the representatives of the Church, or the representatives of the Church]. The *Abbots* of this second Constantinian Synod under Flavianus are extant, recorded in the fifth *Abbot* of the Chalcedon Council. See *Binius*, Tom. 3. pag. 129. Edit. *ut prius*. Where *Florentinus* the most magnificent *Patricius*, *Memus* the *Comes* and *Proximus*, [that is, Clerk] of the Desk of *Libels* and *Sacred Cognitions*, and *Macædonius* the *Tribune* and *Notary*, are said to have been present at this Synod. *Vale!*

## CHAP. X.

*What was transacted by Dioscorus and Chrysa-*  
*phius [at] the \* absurd Synod at Ephesus. \* παροϊκῶς*

AT this Synod *Dioscorus*, Successor to *Cyrillus* in the See of *Alexandria*, was appointed to preface : (a) Which thing was effected by the artifice of (b) *Chrysaphius* (a person of great interest in the Imperial Palace at that time,) out of [his] hatred to *Flavianus*, reading there met [at this Synod] at *Ephesus*, *Juvencius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, (c) who had been at the former *Ephesine* Synod, together with many other Priests [whom he had] about him, but *Chrysostom*. Together with these met *Domnus*, *Johannes* Successor in the *Antiochian* See : also Bishop (d) *Julius*, who filled the place of *Leo* *PP.* the *Seniour Rome*. *Flavianus* likewise was present with them, together with the Bishops about him, who had met it thus, *καὶ ἀναβάντες τῷ Χρυσαστῇ*. I doubt not but *Eugarius* wrote thus : *τοῦτο πρὸς τὴν ἀνάστασιν ἤρξατο*. Which thing [that is, *Dioscorus's* Precedency in that Synod] was effected by the artifice of *Chrysaphius*. Further, *Chrysostom* translates and points this whole passage, in this manner : *Hujus concilii Dioscorus, qui in Alexandria Episcopatus post Cyrillum successit, quo ordinem in Flavium intransitum, retur, praefatus dignatus fuit. Chrysaphius tunc qui legatus in concilium fuerat. Atque Huius Concilii Dioscorus, qui legatus ante Cyrillum in the episcopate of Alexandria, to sit down to be heard against *Flavianus* might be inflamed, was appointed to be President. For *Chrysaphius* had craftily attempted this design. But *Amulianus's* opinion seems far better to me, who before these words *ἀναβάντες ὁρμήσας*, places a substitution. And thus he renders it thus : *Præsedebat autem et Synodo Dioscorus post Cyrillum Alexandrinus Episcopus : id quod in odio Flaviano infirmum Chrysaphium, &c. At that Synod presided Dioscorus Bishop of Alexandria after *Cyrillus*, which thing *Chrysaphius* had so order d out of *Alexandria* against *Cyrillus*, & *Cc.* Instead of these words *ὁρμήσας ὁρμήσας*, as *Sir Henry Savill* mends it out of [his] hatred ; *Νίτσηβας* has the right, *ὁ Νίτσηβας τὸν ἀνανήσαντα*, by reason of his hatred resisting *Chr.* breaking out against *Flavianus*. Valef.**

(b) At the margin of the *Florentine Manuscript*, this Scholion is listed as *ἡ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἑννὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα ἐπιστολῶν αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκ τῆς ἐπιστολῆς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου Κρήτης*. That is, Note concerning the Implication of the *Chrylaphius*, that the *Eunuchs* of the *Bed-chamber* have always been *mischiefs* to the *Orthodox Arch-Bishops*. Of which thing we have an eminent instance in *Eusebius*, chief [*Eunuch*] of the *Bed-chamber* who in *Constantine's* Reign persecuted *Athanajus*, and the other *Catholic Prelates*. *Valef.*

(c) Τὸ δὲ *αὐτοῖς* ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ *ῥητορῷ*. *Chriſtophorſon* underſtood theſe words amiſs; as if *Euvagrius* had ſaid, that *Juvenalis* had formerly been Biſhop of *Ephēſus*. But *Euvagrius* does not ſay ſo; but only that *Juvenalis* Biſhop of *Jeruſalem* had been heretofore at *Ephēſus*; to wit, in the former *Ephēſine ſynod*, wherein *Neſtorius* had been condemn'd. Valeſ.

(d) The reading in *Nicephorus* is the same; but 'tis corrupt, in the sense of *Julianus*. For so it is truly written in the *Aktz* of the *second Episcopalian Synod*, which are recorded in the first *Allion* of the *Chalcedonian Council*; *Pōi consilium Zenonis & Pōthumiani P. V. C. C.* *Die* *Idus Augusti, Sic.* After the *Conjulate* of the most famous Personage *Zeno* and *Pōthumianus*, on the first of the *Ides* of *August*, in the *city* of *Constantinople*, a *Synod* is convened in the *Metropolis* *Ephesus*, by the command of the most Religious and most Christian Emperors, and the most Reverend

rend and most Holy Bishops, Diodorus of Alexandria, and Bishop Julianus (who was the Deputy of the most Holy and most Blessed Leo, Bishop of the Roman Church) [sic in the Holy Church, which is call'd Saint] Mary's. Romulus, at the year of Christ 449, relates from Marcellus's Chronicle, that this Julianus was Bishop of Puteoli. Notwithstanding as it is now extant in Marcellus's Secular's Chronicle; the Bishop of Puteoli is not called Julianus but Julius, who was sent with Hilarus the Deacon by Pope Leo, to the second Ephesine Synod. But, in the Subscriptions of the Bishops who so subscribed to this second Ephesine Synod, (which Subscriptions are Recorded in the first Edition of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 141.) he is term'd Julianus the Bishop. For these are the Words there: Julianus Episcopus, venit locum sanctissimi Episcopi Romane Ecclesie, interpresque se Florentio Episcopo Lydiæ, dixit, &c. From which Words it seems to be concluded, that this Julianus, who was present at the second Ephesine Synod, was Julianus Bishop of Cœce, who two Years after was present at the Chalcedon Council, and held there also the Place of Leo Bishop of Rome, as it frequently occurs, recorded in the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod. Observe here Marcellus's Inconsistency; who when he had written at the Year of Christ 449, that this Julianus (who was Legate of the Apostolick See at the second Ephesine Synod) was Bishop of Puteoli; afterwards (at the Year of Christ 451. Chap. 78.) makes him Bishop of Cœce. Valef.

(e) Theodosius having given an Order to Elpidius [in these express words: Let those [Prelates] who before have been the Judges of Eutyches the most Religious \* Archimandrite, be present and silent: but let them in no wise take the place of Judges, but expect the common Sentence of all the most Holy Fathers; in regard those things which have been judged by them, are now under scrutiny. In this Synod Eutyches is restored (his Sentence of Deposition being revok'd) by Dioscorus and those about him; \* as the Contents of the Acts thereof do shew. And Flavianus, and Eusebius Bishop of Dorylæum, are condemned and depose'd. At the same Synod, Ibas Bishop of the Edesseni is excommunicated; and (f) Daniel Bishop of Carra is depose'd: as is also (g) Irenæus of Tyre, and Aquilinus of Byblus. Moreover, some things were transacted [there] on the account of (h) Sophronius Bishop of Constantinople. In the first Edition of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 46, where these words here related by Evagrius do occur. Valef.

(f) A little before the second Ephesine Synod, Ibas [Bishop] of Edessa, and Daniel Bishop of Carra had been accused before the Emperor Theodosius by their own Clergy. The Emperor gave order, that cognizance of their Cause should be taken in a Synod at Berytus, in the presence of Damasius, Tribune and Prætorian Notary. The Acts of this Council [at Berytus] are extant, recorded in the tenth Edition of the Chalcedon Synod, (See Binius. Tom. 3. pag. 377.) which begin thus: Post Consulatum Flavii Zenonis & Posthumiani, &c. After the Consulate of the most famous Personages Flavius Zeno and Posthumianus, on the Calends of September, in the second Indiction, &c. I doubt not but it should be written, Consulatum Zenonis & Posthumiani. In the Consulate of Zeno and Posthumianus. Otherwise, this Synod would have hapned after the Ephesine little Council, which was convened after the Consulate of Zeno and Posthumianus, in the Month of August. Now, the Berytin Synod cannot be placed after that Ephesine Synod, in regard mention is made therein of Flavianus Bishop of Constantinople, and of Demetrius of Antioch: Both which, 'tis manifest, were depose'd in the second Ephesine Synod. Add hereto the Testimony of Liberatus the Deacon, who relates in his Breviarium, that this Berytin Synod was convened before Eutyches had fram'd his Heresie. Valef.

(g) Long before the second Ephesine Synod, Irenæus had been driven from his Bishoprick, by an Edict of the Emperor Theodosius; and Phocas had been put into his See. 'Tis certain, Phocas presided at the Berytin Synod, which had been convened on the Year before the second Ephesine Synod. But, because Irenæus had been ejected by the Emperor's Order, not by the Determination of a Synod, therefore he was depose'd in the second Ephesine Synod. Valef.

(h) 'Tis strange, how much Translators have erred in the Version of this place: For Langus, Nicéphorus's Translator, renders it thus: Deinde hæc synodus quogue de Sophronio quadam, &c. This Synod also decreed some things concerning Sophronius, who had come at that time to Constantinople, on account of being that City. Chrysostomus translates it in this manner: Nonnulli bñditi ad hæc curia venerunt Sophronium Episcopum Constantinopolitanum. Some things were said there against Sophronius Bishop of Constantinople. But he ought to have said Bishop of Constantinople. For Sophronius was Bishop of Constantinople, as 'tis apparent from the second Antiochian Synod under Domnus, which is inserted in the 14th Edition of the Chalcedon Synod. The same Sophronius was afterwards present at the Chalcedon Synod, as 'tis recorded in the Acts of that Synod. Now, Constantinople is a City of Phœnicie. Valef.

\* Theodoret Bishop of Cyrus was depose'd also. This was by them, as was likewise Domnus [Bishop] of Antioch. (i) What became of that Prelate afterwards, I cannot find. When these things had been transacted in this manner, the second Ephesine Synod at Ephesus was dissolved. (2) In the place of Domnus Bishop of Antioch Maximus was subrogated, as Liberatus informs us in his Breviarium: Who was afterwards confirm'd in his Bishoprick by Pope Leo, as we read in the Tenth Edition of the Chalcedon Council. Notwithstanding, the same Maximus appointed Domnus, as long as he liv'd, a certain Allowance out of the Revenue of his Church, that being content with his Maintenance, he might in future be quiet: Which thing was approved of by the other Patriarchs in the Chalcedon Council, as may be seen in the fore-cited Edition. Valef.

## CHAP. XI.

This Writer's Apology in Defence of the Variety [of Opinions] amongst us [Christians] and his Derision of the Pagan Trifles.

BUT, let \* none of the Heathens deride us, because the latter [Bishops] depose the former, and always find out some new thing [which they add] to the Faith. For we made upon our Researches after the ineffable Love of God [towards Men] which is past finding out, and being desirous to honour and extol it in the highest manner, do beake our selves to this or that [Opinion]. Nor was any one of those, who invented Heresies amongst the Christians, so weak, that he would so designedly blaspheme; nor has [any such Person] fallen into an Error, with a desire to dishonour the Deity: but 'twas rather his Supposition, that if he should assert this Opinion, he should speak better than those who went before him. Besides, those [Points] which are essentiall, and fundamental, with a general consent we all confess and acknowledge. For 'tis the Trinity which we adore, and the Unity which we glorifie: And God the Word, begotten before [all] ages, who was incarnate by a second Generation, out of his Compassion to Man. But if Innovations have been introduc'd about some other [Points], they have proceeded from God our Saviour's giving [us] a free liberty of judging concerning these things; to the end that the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church may reduce the things that are said on the one side and on the other, to what is decent and pious, and [may make them] fall into one exact and right way. And for this reason the Apostle [St. Paul] has most perspicuously and truly said: \* There must be also Heresies among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest [among you]. And in this also the unspeakable Wisdom of God is to be admired, who hath said to the Divine [Saint Paul]: † For my strength is made perfect in weakness. For, for what reasons the Members of the Church have been rent in sunder, for the very same [causes] the true and irreprehensible Dogmata have been more accurately polish'd and set forth; and the Catholick and Apostolick Church has increased, and been advanced even to the Heavens. But the nonusers of Heathenish Error, who are not desirous of finding out either [the Nature of] God, or his providential Care about Men, do mutually overthrow both

(1) Tò δὲ οὐκ ἐπινοήσας τὴν κτλ. In Nicéphorus (Book 1. 4. chap. 48. where he transcribes this Passage of Evagrius,) the reading is (τὴν κτλ.) κτλ. and appears, which reading is not so good as I judge. Yet, I found it expressly so written in the Tellerian MS. Valef.

\* Or, To the Creature.

\* Or, Cap. 10. Or, May meet in one exact, &c.

\* 1 Cor. 11. 19.

\* 2 Cor. 12. 9.

† Or, Cap. 10. Or, May meet in one exact, &c.



both their own and their Ancestors Opinions. For they invent Gods upon Gods, and choofe and name them from their own perturbations of Mind; to the end that by taking to themselves fuch Gods, they may procure pardon for their own lusts and debaucheries. So forfooth, he who amongst them [is accounted] the fupream Father of Men and Gods, having *metamorphos'd* himself into a Bird, lasciviously snatch't up the *Phrygian Boy*; and as the reward of his uncleanness,

(b) *The child was metamorphos'd into a Bird.* He means (I suppose) that Story, which we are told concerning *Ganymed* Son of *Tros* K. of *Troy* (which was one part of *Phrygia*). This Boy, *Jupiter* having turn'd himself into an Eagle, snatch't up, and admitted him his Cup-bearer, in the room of *Hebe*, whom he had displaced; and makes him his *Cataline*.

gave him his Cup (b), permitting him to begin to drink an inviting Cup to himself, that so both of 'em might in common swallow down their shame together with their *Nestor*. The fame [Jupiter] defiled himself with infinite other Impieties, which have been inter-

dicted even amongst the vilest of Men. And having changed himself into all the shapes of irrational Creatures, (he himself being of all the most brutish) is made an *\*Androgynus*, and (c) bears Child not in his belly, but on his thigh, to the end that these things contrary to nature might be done by him. At which birth *Bacchus* [is brought forth,] who was himself an *Androgynus* also, and brought a reproach upon both Sexes: he was the Prince of drunkenness, of forbearing greatness caused by fulness of Wine, of Surfeits and Debauches proceeding from so profuse drinking, and of all the distempers rising therefrom. To this (d) *Ægiocbus*, this loud Thunderer, had sworn they ascribe this (e) as some brave and great to give [Action] they term him *Paricide* (a Villany whatever he should be) because he drove *Saturn*, who had unfortunately begat him, out of his Kingdom. What

\* A Person that is both male and female.

(c) The Story is this. *Semele* was the wife of *Jupiter* (to whom that God had sworn they ascribe this) as some brave and great to give [Action] they term him *Paricide* (a Villany whatever he should be) because he drove *Saturn*, who had unfortunately begat him, out of his Kingdom. What

craft put upon making this request to him; viz. *That he would lie one night with her in the same manner he used to lie with Juno*. The God-lover granted her desire; and *Semele* is burnt up with Thunder: but the Boy was taken out of her womb, and put upon *Jove's* thigh; of whom he was deliver'd (in such manner as Women are) at the due time. On which account *Bacchus* (who was the Child thus brought forth) had the name of *Bacchus*, one that has two Mothers.

(d) *Tis an Epithet given to Jupiter*, either (1) because he wore the sacred *Ægis*, [that is, Breast-plate,] or (2) because he was the raiser of Storms, or rather (3) in regard he wore the Skin of the Goat *Amalthæa*, which had been his Nurse. See *Servius* upon *Virgil's* *Sibylline*, Col. 1320. Edit. *Bafil.* 1586.

(e) In stead of *ἄνδρ' ἑσπερίαν*, and some brave, &c.] I doubt not but it should be *ἄνδρ' ἑσπερίαν*, as some brave, &c.] For, in these Books of *Ævagrins*, *ἄνδρ'* is frequently used instead of *ἄνδρ' Valef*.

\* Or, *bas* should I say of Whoredom, which \* has been consecrated amongst them, over which they have made the *Cyprian Venus*, begotten of a Shell, to preside; which [Goddeſs] abominates continency as a most execrable thing and altogether intolerable: But she is delighted with Whoredoms and all manner of filthy Actions, wherewith 'tis her desire to be appeased. With whom *Mars* commits an unclean act, and by the craft of *Vulcanus* is [taken and] expos'd to the view and derision of the other Gods. Any one may also deservedly laugh at their *Phalli*, their *Ithyphalli*, *Phallagogia*, their vast *Priapus*, and *Pan* who is worshipped with an obscene Member; and at their Myſteries [celebrated] at *Eleuſine*, commendable for this thing only, [to wit] that the Sun ſees 'em not, but they are condemn'd to dwell in darkness. But, leaving these things as well to the obscene worshippers as to the worshipp'd, let us spur on our Horse † to the end of the Race, and render the remaining

[Transactions] of *Theodosius's* Reign; manifest and evident to the Eyes of all Men.

## CHAP. XII.

In what manner the Emperor *Theodosius* [prosecuted and] expell'd the Hereſie of *Nestorius*.

THE same Emperor wrote a most pious Constitution, extant in the First Book of that termed *Justinian's Code*, which is in number The Third of the First Title. In which [Constitution, *Theodosius*] incited thereto by God, has with all Suffrages (as 'tis proverbially said) condemn'd \* him, for whom he had heretofore had a singular Affection (as *Nestorius* himself has related;) † and has denounced an *Anathema* a-† Or, *bas* gainſt him, recorded in these express words: *Juravimus* Moreover, We decree, That those who || emulate him with the impious Faith of *Nestorius*, or follow his detestable Doctrine, (if they be Bishops, or Ecclesiasticks) shall be ejected out of the Holy Churches: *sate*. But if they be Laicks, they shall be Anathematized. The same Emperor made other Laws on account of our Religion, which do sufficiently demonstrate the Ardency of his Zeal.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning Saint *Symeon* the † Stylite.

IN these times, *Symeon*, [a person] of an holy (a) and most celebrated memory, flourish'd and was \* eminent: he was the † Or, *con-* first person that infirmated the Station *spicuous*. *Alia* upon a pillar, the circumference of whose mansion was scarce two cubits; at which *Symeon* in his time *Domnus* presided over the Church of *Antioch*: Who when he was come to *Symeon*, and had admired his station and manner of life, was desirous of some more secret [converse with him.] Both of them therefore met together, (b) and having consecrated the immaculate Body [of *Christ*,] they gave one another the Vivific Communion. This Person in the flesh emulated the converse of the celestial powers, withdrew himself from affairs upon Earth, and putting a force upon nature, which tends downward, purged things sublime. And having plac'd himself in the midst, [as it were] between Heaven and things upon Earth, he conversed with

*ward* for most holy, and the like. Our *Ævagrins* speaking hereafter concerning *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, gives him this Elogy, *Stylitæ* *ἄνδρ' ἁγίου*, the most celebrated *Gregorius*. *Valef*.

(b) Heretofore the Presbyters celebrated the Church-Service together with the Bishop, and receiv'd the Eucharist from his hand. So in the tenth Action of the Chalcedon Council, *Balsamus* Bishop of *Epheſus*, in his supplicatory Libel to *Marſianus* the Emperor, amongst other things says these words: *Τὸ ἅγιον ἕκαστος ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας τῆς ἑαυτοῦ, &c.* Having on the day after, all of us perform'd the Publick-Service together, &c. And, at a great distance from that place, the same *Balsamus* says, pag. 303. *ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν μὴ, &c.* *Stephanus* my Presbyter was with me four years; he perform'd the Publick-Service with me, communicated with me, and receiv'd the Communion from me, as from his Bishop. The same usage also was heretofore practis'd in the Roman Church, to wit, that the Presbyters should every day celebrate the Publick-Service together with the Bishop of *Rome*, and receive the Communion from his hand. But on Sundays, when the Presbyters were necessitated to perform the Publick Service apart in their own Titles, [Parishes, or, Cures,] on account of the People committed to their charge; they receiv'd the Lord's Body sent by the *Acolythi* from the Bishop of *Rome*; that they might not seem to be separated from the Communion of their own Bishop, especially on that day; as Pope *Innocent* informs us in his *Epistle*, 10. Decretal. *Valef*.

† *Ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν* to the Mark, or, *God*.

God;

\* On, Pre-  
dication.  
† See The-  
odore's  
works,  
Tom. 3.  
pag. 876, Sec. Edit. Paris, 1612.  
This place has been several  
ways corrected by Learned men  
to wit, by *Christophorus*, and *Cur-*  
*cius*, or rather by those from  
whose Copies they transcribed  
these emendations. For some,  
after the word *ἐκστασις* &  
*ἐκστασις*, and understand  
that concerning *Theodore* only.  
But I suppose this place is to be  
restored thus: *ἐν τῷ τῷ μακάριῳ*  
*καταλαβόντες καὶ ἀποκαταστή-*  
*σαντες τὸν οὐκ ἐκστασιν ἐκείνῳ*  
*ἐκείνῳ τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀποστόλου*  
*καταλαβόντες.* And so I have ren-  
dered it: nor do I doubt but *Evagrius*  
wrote it thus. *Valf.*

‡ In the incomparable *Flo-*  
*rentine MS.* I found these words,  
written at the Margin; *πρὸς*  
*μετ' ἐκ ἐκστασιν ἐν τῷ χερσὶ τῷ*  
*ἐκ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκείνῳ μακάριῳ*  
*καταλαβόντες:* that is, *The judgment*  
*of the Fathers concerning*  
*the Great Symeon [was] truly*  
*judicial in Christ.* *Valf.*

\* These  
few to be  
prefers words,

God, and together with the Angels glorified him: offering to God from the earth his supplications for men, and procuring from heaven the supernal benevolence upon men. These persons \* Miracles have been written by one that was an eye-witness of what he did. *Theodore* also Bishop of *Cyrrus* † has recorded them very eloquently. [ But \* we have found, that they have been most especially defective in this [ following passage, ] which to this day is preserved amongst those of the Holy Solitude, and from which very persons, we have received it. When therefore *Symeon*, that Angel upon earth, that Citizen in the flesh of the *Jerusalem* which is above, had instituted this new, and [ hitherto ] unknown way of living to men; the Inhabitants of the Holy Desert send a messenger to him, whom they ordered to enquire [ of *Symeon*, ] what this new and strange course of life was, and why he left that way which had been trodden and worn by the Saints, and proceeded in another new one, [ hitherto ] wholly unknown to men? And [ they bade the messenger tell him ] that they commanded him to come down, and go on in the way of the Elect Fathers. Now, if he should shew himself ‡ ready [ and willing ] to come down, their order was, that he should be permitted to follow his own [ way. ] For by his obedience [ they said ] it would be manifest, that by the direction of God he had undertaken this troublesome and afflictive way of living. But if he refused, and would be the servant of his own will, nor would with a readiness forthwith obey their admonition, [ 'twas their order ] that he should be pulled down by force. When therefore the messenger was come to him, and had acquainted him with the command of the Fathers, and *Symeon* had forthwith put down one of his feet, resolving to fulfil the Order of the Fathers; [ the messenger who had been sent to him ] permitted him to proceed on in his own way, and spake these words [ to him: ] *Be strong, and behave thy self like a man: thy station is of God.* This truly memorable action [ of *Symeon's* ] which I have related here, is omitted by those who have written concerning him. [ Further, ] this person was in so high a manner influenced by the power of divine grace, that when the Emperor *Theodosius* had issued out an Order, that the Synagogues of the Jews inhabiting *Antioch* ( which had been taken from them by the *Christians*, ) should be restored to them again; he wrote to the Emperor with so much freedom and confidence, and reproved him so smartly, ( revering [ God ] only his own King, ) that the Emperor *Theodosius* revoked his own Orders, fulfilled all things in favour of the *Christians*, removed the *Præfatus Prætorio*, who had suggested these things to him, from his Government, and entreated the most Holy and \* *Aereal* Martyr in [ these ] ex-

tions and prayers for him, and impart to him the words his own blessing. Moreover, *Symeon* spent of the Em- fix and fifty years in this afflictive and au- before course of life. In the first Monastery, wherein he had been imbued with the pre- cepts of a divine life, [ he spent ] nine years; he wrote to the Blessed *Symeon*. The Emperor therefore had prefixed this title before his Letter; *τῷ μακάριῳ καὶ ἀσπίῳ μακάριῳ, To the most Holy and Aereal Martyr.* Where he terms him *Martyr*; on account of those great severities wherewith he afflicted his own body; and he styles him *Aereal*, because he stood on high in the air, in a pillar. The words *ὁὐκ ἐκστασιν* do undoubtedly declare what I have said; to wit, that those now mentioned, or them immediately following, are the words of the Emperor *Theodosius*. Notwithstanding, *Christophorus* has pointed this place otherwise, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders it thus: *Et Sanctissimum ac Aereum oraret Martyrem, ut nominatum pro ipso Deum obsecraret. And he besought the most Holy and Aereal Martyr, that he would beseech God expressly for himself.* Which punctuation of this passage I can in no wise approve of. *Valf.* and seven and forty in that place called \* *The* † See the *Mandra*: during ten years [ of which time ] following Chapter, Note (α.) he performed his combat in a certain narrow place; [ he dwelt ] seven years in the shorter pillars, and thirty years upon a pillar of forty cubits long. His most sacred body, after his departure out of this life, in the succeeding times was brought to *Antioch*, [ to wit, ] when *Leo* sway'd the Imperial Scepter, and *Martyrius* presided over the Church of *Antioch*; at which time also *Ardaburius* Master of the *Oriental* *Milice*, came to *Symeon's* *Mandra*, accompanied with those Military Forces he had about him, and with other multitudes; and guarded the most precious dead body of the blessed *Symeon*, to the end that the neighbouring Cities might not meet together and steal it. His most holy body therefore is convey'd to *Antioch*, very great Miracles having been performed even by the way. The Emperor *Leo* desired it might be given to him by the *Antiochians*. But the Inhabitants of *Antioch*, presented a *supplicatory* *Libel* to him, wherein were contained these words: *In regard we have no wall to our City, ( For After this 'tis fallen by reason of the wrath [ of God: ] ) we have brought [ hitherto ] the most Holy Body that it may be to us instead of a wall and a Fortification.* By which words the Emperor *Leo* was prevailed upon, granted their request, and permitted them [ to enjoy ] the Holy Body. Many of this person's [ Reliques ] have been preserved until our times. Even I myself have seen his holy Head, ( several Ecclesiastics being then present, ) at such time as the most celebrated *Gregorius* was Bishop of *Antioch*; when *Philippus* requested, that the precious Reliques of the Saints might be sent to him, in order to the guarding and defending the *Oriental* *Milice*. And, which is to be wondered at, the hair of his Head was not fallen off; but is preserved perfect and entire, as if he were yet alive, and conversant amongst men. The skin also of his forehead was wrinkled indeed, and become hard; but 'tis as yet preserved whole, as are also most of his teeth, & excepting so many of them as have by force been taken away by the hands of faithful persons. [ Which teeth of his ] do by their \* form declare, what, how great and eminent a man of God this *Symeon* was. There lies likewise at his head, a chain made of iron which he wore about his neck; with which his much-renewed Body, worn out by austerities, hath shar'd the honours [ given ] by God. But the place may be mended by a small change, thus: *αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ, &c. excepting for many of them at, &c.* Instead of these words, *Nicephorus* uses, *αὐτῷ τῷ ἁγίῳ*; which is more elegant. *Valf.* *ἁγίῳ τῷ ἁγίῳ*, by [ their ] figure, form, or shape: *Valfius* reit-



But this happens only on those days, observed in memory of that most holy Person [Symeon.] There are those who say, (nor are we to disbelieve the Miracle, both because of their credibility who affirm it, and by reason of other things which we our selves have beheld:) that they have seen even a his very Person flying up and down this way and that way, with his long beard, and his head covered with a \* Tiara, as it was wont to be. The men who come to this place, have free liberty to enter in, and go round the Pillar many times together with their beasts that carry burdens. But a most exquisite care is taken, (for what reason I cannot say,) that no woman should go into the Church. Therefore, they stand without [the Church,] at the Porch, and behold the Miracle. For one of the [Church] Gates is placed exactly opposite to the glittering Star.

\* A round ornament, worn by Princes and Priests on their heads; it was heretofore the dress of the Persian women. b 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. c A round ornament, worn by Princes and Priests on their heads; it was heretofore the dress of the Persian women. d 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. e 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. f 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. g 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. h 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. i 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. j 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. k 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. l 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. m 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. n 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. o 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. p 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. q 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. r 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. s 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. t 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. u 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. v 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. w 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. x 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. y 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof. z 'It is also said by Theodorus, that in the Tellemian MS. I found it written, that the account being changed, Valof.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning Saint Isidorus Pelusiota, and Synesius Bishop of Cyrene.

During the same [Theodosius's] Reign flourished Isidorus also, \* whose glory (to use a Poetick Expression,) is far spread, a Person celebrated amongst all men, both for his Actions and Eloquence. This man t macerated his Body with Labours in such a manner, and fasted his Soul with sublime and divine doctrines to so high a degree, that he lived an Angelick life upon earth, and was always the living Monument both of a Monastick life, and also of a Contemplation upon God. He wrote

\* Niciphorus (book 14. chap. 53. where he transcribes this passage of Evagrius) words it thus; *Τὸν αὖτις ἰδὼν Σινέσιον, ὃς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἦν.* The same Reading I found in the Tellemian MS. It may also be mended thus; *Τὸν αὖτις ἰδὼν Σινέσιον, ὃς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἦν.* In Robert Stephen's Edition, the Reading here is, *ὃς ἐν ἐκστάσει ἦν.* For this, there is an illustrious Elogy in his Epistle to Zenobius Scholasticus, which Ptolemy records in his Bibliotheca. Where he says, *That he was by birth an Alexandrian, and venerable amongst the Archbishops themselves.* *Ἀρχιεπισκοπῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ ὃς αὐτὸν ἀρετῶν ἀνὰ Νίσιον.* Valof.

many other [pieces] filled [with passages] of manifold utility; he wrote also to the celebrated Cyrillus, from which [Letters] 'tis evidently demonstrated, that he flourished in the same times with the divine [Cyrillus.] But because 'tis my endeavour to adorn \* this History as much as 'tis possible, come on, let Synesius [Bishop] of Cyrene come forth, that he may beautify our History t with the eminency of his own Name. This Synesius was accomplished with all other [Arts and Sciences;] but \* excelled in Philosophy to so high a degree, that he was the Admiration of those Christians, who in passing their

judgments upon what they see, are not [by- assed] either by affection or hatred. They persuaded him therefore, b to be a partaker of the salutary Regeneration, and to take the Sacerdotal yoke upon him, c although he had not as yet embraced the Doctrine of the Resurrection, \* nor would be induced to believe that Article: they having most truly conjectured, that these [Sentiments] would follow these Persons other virtues, [in regard] the divine grace would permit [him] to have nothing imperfect. Nor was their expectation frustrated. For, what and how great a Person he proved, is sufficiently attested by the Epistles which he wrote with much Elegancy and Learning after his [undertaking] to the Sacerdotal Function, by the d Oration he spoke to [the Emperour] Theodosius himself, and by those other useful Works of his that are extant.

promoted to the Episcopal dignity at one and the same time. And yet, that this is false, Petavius proves by many Arguments, in his Notes upon Synesius, pag. 2 and 3. Notwithstanding, Evagrius is followed by Photius in his Bibliotheca, and by Nicephorus book 14. chap. 53. Although Nicephorus says not that Synesius had been baptized and ordained at one and the same time; but, that when Theophilus had prevailed with him to receive Christian-baptism, afterwards he endeavoured to persuade him to enter upon the Episcopal Function. See Nicephorus's words, at the book and chapter now cited. Valof.

c Many Persons, I perceive, have perverted themselves. That when Synesius was elected Bishop by the Inhabitants of Ptolemais, he wholly disbelieved the Resurrection of Bodies. Notwithstanding, that this is not true, Synesius himself attests in his 105th Epistle, which he wrote to his brother Euphorius, who was then at Alexandria. In that Letter, he gives reasons why he could not undertake the Bishoprick; offered to him.

One of which is, *The Resurrection of Bodies.* His Sentiment concerning which point, he declares in these words; *ἡ δὲ ὑπομνηστικὴ ἀνάστασις ἡν ἡμεῖς καὶ ἀποφύγομεν ἵνα μὴ, καὶ ποτὶς αὖτις τὴν ἐκείνην ἀποφύγομεν ἐκδοχὴν, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀνάστασις.* I account a Sacred and Mystical thing, and am far from assenting to the opinions of the Vulgar. Synesius therefore did not wisely deny the Resurrection of the dead; but expounded it agreeable to the Platonicks, and to Origen. Baronius (at the Year of Christ 410,) thinks, that whatever is said by Synesius in this Epistle, is not spoken seriously, but feignedly and dissemblingly, that he might decline the burthen of a Bishoprick. But Petavius has deservedly found fault with this opinion of Baronius. For he says, that 'tis much more likely, that Synesius wrote these things to his brother in a manner agreeable to what he then thought. But, that having been afterwards instructed by Theophilus and other Prelates, before he was made a Bishop, he embraced a true opinion concerning the Resurrection. Lucas Hoffmannius has at large examined this question, in a peculiar Dissertation, which is in favour to the Studious, we have set forth at the close of our Annotations. [The Learned Reader will meet with this Dissertation, de Synesio Episcopo de fide Episcopatu, at the Close of the third Vol. of the Ecclesiastick Historians set forth by Valefius, at pag 202 of Valefius's Notes.] In the interim, the Reader is to be advertised, that there is a Mistake in the Contents of this Chapter, and in Photius's Bibliotheca, where Synesius is termed Bishop of Cyrene. Synesius was indeed by Country a Cyrenaean. But he was Bishop of Ptolemais, which is a City in Cyrenaica. Valof.

d He means the Oration de Regno. Which notwithstanding was not spoken to Theodosius Junior, but to Arcadius in the Year of Christ 400, that is, ten Years before Synesius had undertaken the Bishoprick; as Dionysius Petavius has rightly observed in his Notes at that Oration of Synesius. Valof.

CHAP. XVI.

How the Divine Ignatius, having been removed from Rome, was deposited at Antioch.

AT the same time also, as 'tis recorded by a Evagrius, \* Johannes the Rhetorician and others, does the Divine Ignatius (after he had obtained, quently agreeable to his desire, the bellies of wild-beasts quote the for his Tomb, in the Amphitheatre at Rome; History of this Johannes the Rhetorician in his following books. For instance, in chap. 12 of his second book, in chap. 10. and 23. of his third book, and in the fifth chapter of his fourth book. But he is a far different Person from that



Zoilius [built] the Royal Porticus, which [is placed] \* at the South-side of Rufinus [his Por-  
ticus ;] and retains his name even to our age, Robert The reading  
although the buildings have [frequently] been Edition  
altered on account of various calamitous acci-  
dents. Moreover, Callistus has raised a most and here is  
magnificent and splendid structure (which as this *seems*  
well the Ancients as those of our Age, have *to remove*  
termed Callistus's Porticus,) before *The positive*  
\* that Palace which is made the \* Or, *though*  
Court of Judicature ; directly at the buildings  
opposite to the Forum, in which there are  
is a most beautiful house, the *at the*  
*Prætorium* of the Masters of the *Southern part of Ro-*  
mans. After these *binus's*  
persons, Anatolius being sent Master of the *The*  
lice into the East, built that termed Anatolius's from Chris-  
Porticus, and beautified it with matter of all *topo-*  
sorts. These [Remarks] (though they are *son's Copy,*  
foreign to our design in hand, yet) [will not *have set it*  
seem] unhandsome and contemptible to lovers *forth thus*  
of Learning. *the ex*  
*palatium*

at the [Southern] side of Rophinu's Palace. Sir Henry Savile also in his Copy which I have by me, has expunged the word *Rufinus*, and in stead thereof has substituted these [ῥοφίνου] *the Roof of the Palace.* And thus *Chrysostom* read, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendered it thus: *Qui ad Australe latu, recti palatii, quod Rufini nomen obtinet, spectat* which looks towards the southern side of the Roof of the Palace, which bears the name of Rufinus. But in regard these words [ῥοφίνου] or [ῥοφίνου] *begot* occur not, either in the Kings, or in the Florentine, or Telerian M.S.S. in my judgment, they ought deferentially to be expunged. *Valef. Valestinus* has rendered this passage thus: *qua ad meridionem latu porticus Rufini sita;* which we have expret in our English Version. The import of the Greek, if rendered word for word, is this, *as the Southern part of Rophinu's side.*

*Concerning the [public] Buildings in Antioch, and who they were that erected them.*

<sup>a</sup> τὸ ἐκκλησίαν τὴν κατὰ τοῦτο. Misiculus renders it, *Mansionem ducum,* the Mansion of the Dukes, or chief Military Commanders. Christopherson's Version is not much different; for he renders it thus: εἰς ὅρανον φορὴ in quo pulcherrima domus est quam praefati praefidiorum incolere solent.] Over against the Forum wherein there is a most beautiful house, in which the Praefecti of the Milice [or of the Military Forces], do usually dwell. But, by ἐκκλησίαν in this place, in my judgment, must be understood, (not the Military Commanders in chief, or Masters of the Milice but) the Magistri Praetorii or Duumviri, who in Greek were termed ἐκκλησίαι, as I have already remarked in my notes on *Aem. Marcellinus*, and *Eusebius*: [see *Euseb. Eccl. Hist.* book 7, chap. 11. note (p.)] and book 8, chap. 11. note (c.c)]. Now, why I suppose this word is rather thus to be taken here, this is the reason, because that house is said to have been in the Forum, over against the Palace wherein was the Court of Judicature. Moreover, such a house at this seems to be more agreeable to a Municipal Magistracy, than to a Resour of the Milice. Besides, these houses were in Greek termed ἐκκλησία. Such a one was the Strategium at Constantinople, as I have noted at the first Book of Socrates, [chap. 16. note (d).] Although the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in The Translations of the Emperor Severus, brings another reason of this word. But now, having examined the business more attentively; by ἐκκλησίαν I understand here the Masters of the Milice brought into the East, who had a splendid Praetorium in the Forum of the City Antioch. Theophanes mentions this Praetorium, in his *Chronicon*, pag. 127. ἀρχιεπίσκοπος δὲ τῶν πατρῶν τὸ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν οὗτον, ὃ ἔως τοῦ θεοδόσιου τὸ ἐκκλησίαν λέγουσαν: For the fire was kindled from the Church of Saint Stephen, and burnt [or, went] as far as the Praetorium of the Master of the Milice. Valer.

*Concerning the several Wars, which hapned  
both in Italy, and Persia, during the Reign  
of Theodosius.*

\* During the times of the same Theodosius, frequent Rebellions hapned in Europe, whilst Valentinianus was Emperour of Rome. Which Theodosius repressed, by sending great Forces both by Land and Sea, [which made up] a Foot Army, as a Naval strength. Moreover, he vanquished the Persians (\* who were grown insolent, Jüderget, Father to Varanes, being then their

Grammatici; † See So-  
it must be crates,  
made vii-book 7.  
τῶ. But chap. 8,  
because and 18.

Peace, which lasted until the twelfth year of  
Anasthufus's Reign. These transactions have been  
related by other Writers; and are also very hand-  
somely reduced into an Epitome, by Eustathius  
the Syrian of Epiphania, who has likewise written  
the Siege of Amida. At the same time, as 'tis  
said, the Poets Claudianus and Cyrus flour-  
ished. Further, this Cyrus arrived at the highest  
Chair of the Prefects, which [grand Officer]  
Tiberian our Ancestours termed The Prefectus Pretorio  
MS. In [or Prefect of the Court.] He was also Master  
of the Western Militie, at which time Carthage was  
taken by the Vandals, those Barbarians being  
governed by Genserichus.

Here it must be *disjunctus*; not *disjunctus*, as  
it is in *Reber's* Stephens's Edit. Valef.

This is the Claudian, whose excellent Verses are at this day extant.  
But, a twofold difficulty occurs at this place: (1) How a *Latine* Poet  
should come to be mentioned here by *Eugarius*? (2) Why he is placed  
by the same *Eugarius* on the times of Theodosius Junior, when as  
The Claudians, whose verses we now have, flourished in the Reigns of  
Arcadius and Honorius, as His writings inform us? The answer to  
the first Question is easie. For Claudian wrote not only *Latine*, but  
Greek Poems also. On which account, in the Old Epigram which was  
inscribed on the Basis of his Statue, he is said to have had the soul of  
Virgil and Homer also, transfused into him. He began to write a  
*Latine* Poem first in the year of Christ 355, whereon Olybrius and  
Probinus were Consuls. He wrote an Elegant Poem on their Consulate,  
which is still extant. When this attempt had succeeded happily to  
Claudian, it encouraged him to the writing of *Latine* verses afterwards;  
whereas he had published only Greek Poems before, as himself attests  
in his Elegy to Probinus, in these words:

Romani bibimus primum Te Consule fontes,  
Et Laris cessit Graja Tbalia toga.

Incipiensque tuis a facibus omnia cecit,  
Fataque debebo postiora Tibi.

'Tis certain, Claudian was by Nation a Grecian, born at the City A-  
lexandria, as Suidas informs us at the word *κλαυδιανος*. Claudian  
himself also attests the same, in his Poem to Hadrianus Prefectus Pre-  
torio, (who was himself also an Alexandrian.) For he writes thus con-  
cerning Alexander the Macedonian;

Conditor hic patriæ Sic hostibus ille pereperit.

And in the close of the same Poem, he has these words:

Saviet in miseros cognata potentia civis.  
Audiat hæc commune solum, longæque carinis  
Nota Pharos, &c. Valef.

The Poet Cyrus was by Nation an Egyptian, born at the Town  
Panopolis. Who having on account of his poetick faculty been highly  
acceptable to Eudocia Augusta, wife to Theodosius Junior, (for this  
woman was *παρσις*, a Great lover of verses;) is promoted by the  
Emperour Theodosius to the Prefecture of the Pretorium, and to  
that of the City. He was also Ex-Consul, and Patricius, as Suidas re-  
lates. But afterwards, when the Emperess Eudocia, on account of some  
unknown reason, had left the Palace, and was gone to the City Je-  
rusalem; Cyrus, deprived of his power, is made Bishop of Coesary  
a City of Phrygia, or rather of Synnars, as the Author of the Alexan-  
drian Chronicle and Theopanes do inform us. He lived till the times  
of Leo Augustus, as Suidas attests. Theophylact (in the 8th book  
of his History, chap. 8.) makes mention of this Cyrus the Consul and  
Poet; where he says, that the Church of the God-bearing Virgin at  
Constantinople, was built by him, in the times of Theodosius Au-  
gustus. Valef.

## CHAP. XX.

Concerning the Emperess Eudocia, and her  
daughter Eudoxia; and how [Eudocia]  
came to Antioch, and [went] to Jerusalem.

Moreover, this Theodosius married Eu-  
docia, (after she had received salu-  
tary Baptism; by original extract an Athenian,

[a Woman] eloquent and beautiful;) by the  
mediation of Pulcheria Augusta his sister. By  
her Theodosius had a daughter, [by name] Eu-  
doxia, whom, when the afterwards came to be  
marriageable, the Emperour Valentinianus mar-  
ried, having [on that account] gone from  
the Elder Rome and arrived at Constanti-  
nople. [But,] a long time after this, [Eu-  
docia] in her journey which she made to the  
Holy City of Christ our God, comes hither; he added  
here, after  
this manner: *ἡ δὲ ἑρπύστης ὄρεται, But a long time after this, she;*  
that is, Eudocia. For, unless you add this particle; what follows will  
be meant concerning Eudocia, Eudocia's daughter; of whom *Eugarius*  
has spoken just before. But, the adding of this particle [ἡ, Bar]  
shews that the discourse is not now concerning Eudocia, but her Mother  
Eudocia. Valef.

Myself have mistaken. Myself and Christophorus understood this  
place very erroneously. For, they supposed that by the word *ἐκείνη*  
the City of Jerusalem was meant; when as the City Antioch is to be un-  
derstood. For *Eugarius* wrote his History at Antioch, in which City  
he had first the Mansion of his own fortunes, as we have shown in our  
account of his Life and Ecclesiastical History. Moreover, Niciphanus  
fell into the same mistake with Myself and Christophorus. For in  
his 14th book, chap. 50. where he writes out this passage of *Eugarius*,  
he understands the word *ἐκείνη* of the City Jerusalem. But,  
'twas easie to have perceived from *Eugarius's* following words, that these  
words could not have been meant of the City Jerusalem. For Je-  
rusalem was not a Colony of Greeks, but rather of Jews, and after  
that, of Romans. Nor did *Ulpianus*, *Libanius*, and the other wri-  
ters here mentioned by *Eugarius*, write concerning the City Je-  
rusalem. Nor, lastly, could the Emperess Eudocia, who by original  
extract was an Athenian, speak to the Citizens of Jerusalem in this  
verse,

Τυρρηνίης ἥντις ἐγὼ ἀνάλωθ' ὄρεται.

I boast that I am of Your Stock and Blood.

'Tis certain, the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle does say, that  
Eudocia made an Oration to the Antiochians out of a Golden Cle-  
riot, Valef.

And having made an Oration in publick to the  
people here, she closed her Speech with this  
Verse:

I boast that I am of Your Stock and Blood.

(Intimating thereby the Colonies which had been  
sent hither out of Greece. If any one be de-  
sirous of having an exact account of these [Co-  
lonies,] *Strabo the Geographer*, *Phlegon*, *Dio-  
dorus Sicilius*, *Arrianus*, and *Pisander the Poet*, place in  
have written concerning them with great accu-  
racy. Valef.

There were two Pisanders, Poets. The one a Rhodian, who wrote  
the Poem *Heraclea* in two books, which treats concerning Heracles  
the *Αἰώνιος*. Some make this Pisander ancienter than Hesiod. Others place  
him on the thirty third Olympiad, as Suidas relates. The other Pisander  
was a Lycæus, born at Larinda a Town of Lycæa, son of the  
Poet Nestor. Suidas says he flourished in the Reign of Alexander son of  
Mammæa. He wrote six books in Heroick Verse, *ἡρώϊον ὁμοειμένον*,  
concerning the marriages of the Heroes and Goddesses, which were writ-  
ten with all manner of History, as Suidas attests. *Ζεφίμης* mentions that  
work in his fifth Book: where he speaks concerning the building of the  
City Hemona: *ἀπὸ τῶν ἡρώων ὁμοειμένον, ὃ τῷ πρῶτῳ ἡρώϊον ὁμοειμένον*  
*ὁμοειμένον, ὁμοειμένον, ὁμοειμένον, ὁμοειμένον*; which words of  
*Ζεφίμης*, *Lucianus* translates in this manner; *Sicuti Pisander*  
*Poeta memorie prodidit, qui heroum divinarumque nuptiarum*  
*titulo totam hanc propemodum historiam complexus est.* As Pisander  
the Poet has recorded, who under the Title of Heroick and Divine  
marriages, has in a manner comprized this whole History. This is  
not the meaning of *Ζεφίμης's* words. For *Ζεφίμης* says, that Pisander  
the Poet, in that Poem of his concerning the marriages of the Heros  
and Goddesses, has in a manner comprehended all History. Suidas does  
likewise attest the same; whose words concerning Pisander are these  
*ἡρώων ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον*  
*ἡρώων ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον ὁμοειμένον*  
he wrote a various History in verses; which he intitled, concern-  
ing the marriages of the Heroes and Goddesses, in six books. In this  
work therefore, Pisander had written concerning *Τριπολεμίου* the  
Argive, and concerning *Ἰά*, who were the first that built Antioch, a  
City of Syria. Further, this work seems to have been comprehended in  
sixteen books, and not in six, as 'tis erroneously extant in Suidas.  
For *Stephanus* in his book de *Urbibus*, cites the tenth, and fourteenth  
book of Pisander. Valef.

racy:

[ὑπο γῆν, *under the earth*] read [ὑπὲρ γῆν, *above the earth*;  
which latter reading *Nicéphorus* (book 14 chap. 50.) has followed.  
Besides, the word [δοξά, *seem*] was wanting here; which we have  
put in from the *Florentine MS.* In the *Tellerian MS.* I found it written  
[ὑπὲρ γῆν, *above the earth*. Vale!]  
† *Τὰς κακὰς ἀπολαύσεις*. *Musculus* and *Christophorus* have  
rendered this place very ill. *Nicéphorus* has explained it well in the





There are amongst them frequent and unwearied bendings of the knees, and [after them] <sup>a</sup> Laborious stations; Desire being the only recreation of their Age, and of their voluntary infirmity. They are a kind of *Champions* without flesh, *Wrestlers* without blood; who instead of a splendid banquet and delicious dainties, have a fast, and in place of a full-furnish'd Table, nothing (as near as 'tis possible) that they may

taft of. Whensoever a stranger comes to them, though it be in the morning, yet they receive him with a singular hospitality, and friendly invitation to eat and drink; having found out another sort of fasting, to wit, to eat even against their will. So that this thing strikes [all men] with an astonishment, that (whereas they want <sup>a</sup> so many [necessaries] for sufficient food, yet) they are contented with so very few: being enemies to their own wills and nature, but slaves <sup>a</sup> to the desires of their neighbours; that in all things the sweets of the flesh might be expelled, and the soul might have the Government, prudently chusing and conserving what is best and most acceptable to God. Blessed persons, in respect of the life they lead here; but much more blessed on account of their translation to that other, after which they pant continually, hasting to see <sup>a</sup> him whom they love.

field of [τῆς τοῦ πληγῆς διδύμου] it is plainly written thus, τῆς τοῦ πληγῆς διδύμου, so the desires of their neighbours. Sir Henry Sassi had drawn a line under this place, signifying thereby, that there was a fault here. But he saw not how it was to be mended. Nicephorus also retains the vulgar reading. *Valef*

<sup>a</sup> The πλεονεξία αὐτῶν. The reading in the *Tellerian* MS. ple-

ses me better; which is [τὸ πλεονεξία αὐτῶν, the thing desired by them;] this to me seems more elegant. *Valef*.

## C H A P. XXII.

*What [Structures] the Empress Eudocia built in Palestine, and concerning the Church of the Proto-Martyr Stephen, within which she was piously buried: moreover, concerning the Death of the Emperour Theodosius.*

WHEN therefore the Wife of *Theodosius* had conversed with many such persons as these, and had built many Monasteries, like unto them which I have mentioned; and moreover, had repaired the walls of *Jerusalem* [and made them] much better; she erected a vast Church, eminent for its <sup>a</sup> splendidence and beauty, [in <sup>a</sup> Or, Excellence] of *Stephen* the first of the *Deacons* and *Martyrs*, about the distance of one furlong from *Jerusalem*. In which Church she was deposited, after her departure to an immortal life. Further, *Theodosius* [having ended his life] sometime after these things, or, as some will have it, before *Eudocia*; and changed the Empire (which had been Governed by him eight and thirty years,) [for an eternal life:] the most incomparable *Marcianus* assumes the *Roman* Empire. The Actions therefore, which were perform'd by Him during his Ruling the *Eastern* Empire, shall most plainly be set forth <sup>†</sup> in the following Book, <sup>†</sup> Or, in the following History. provided divine assistance will furnish us with its own favour and benevolence.

# THE SECOND BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History

OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,

And [one] of the EX-PÆFACTS.

## CHAPTER I.

*Concerning the Emperor Marcianus, and what signs preceded, \* declaring he should be Emperor.*

\* Or, declaring his Empire.

\* Or, dis-  
course.

\* Or, he was  
crowned  
with.

\* Instead of [Patriarch] it must be *Prætor*, which is the reading in the Tellurian MS. and in Nicephorus, Book 14. This is the *Prætor*, out of whose *Books of History* we have the *Excerptæ* (regardant). Valef.

\* Or, endeavouring.

WHAT was transacted during the Times of Theodosius [Junior,] we have comprehended in our First Book. Come on, we will now bring Marcianus forth, that famous Emperor of the Romans; and in the first place we will relate, who and whence he was, and in what manner \* he arrived at the Roman Empire: and then we will declare the affairs transacted by him, in their proper places [and times] Marcianus therefore, as 'tis related by many others, and also by \* Priscus the Rhetorician, by original Extract was a Thracian, the Son of a Military man. \* Desiring to follow his Father's course of life, he went to Philippopolis, [hoping] he might there be enrolled in the Companies of the Millice. As he was going thither, he sees the body of a man newly slain, which lay thrown upon the ground. Near to which he made a stand, (for he was eminent in respect of his other [endowments,] but most especially, on account of his humanity and compassion;) lamented what had hapned, and for a sufficient while desisted from proceeding on his journey, being desirous to perform what was fitting [to be done to the dead body.] When some persons had seen this, they gave the Magistrates of Philippopolis an account of it. Who having apprehended Marcianus, interrogated him concerning the Murder of the Man. When therefore conjectures and probabilities prevailed more than truth it self, and than the tongue of the person accused denying the Murder; and when [Marcianus] was about to undergo the punishment of a Murderer; divine assistance on a sudden discovered the person that

had committed the Murder. Who having been punish'd for that fact with the loss of his head, [thereby] \* preserved the head of Marcianus. \* Or, *præ-* Being thus unexpectedly saved, he goes to one *domus*, or, of the Companies of the Millice in that place, *forgeat*, \* it being his desire to enter himself a Soldier therein. They admired the Man, and conjecturing upon good grounds that he would in future become a great person and one of extraordinary worth, they received him most willingly, and enrolled him amongst themselves, not least of all, as the Military Law directs; but, in the place of a Soldier newly dead, whose name was *Augustus*, they registered Marcianus (who was likewise called *Augustus*,) in the Muster-Roll. Thus [Marcianus by] his own name was before-hand in possession of the denomination of our Emperours, who at such time as they put on their Purple [assume] the Appellation of *Augusti*. As if the name had refused to abide with him without the dignity; and again, as if the dignity could have required no other name for its being majestically adorned. So that, his *Proper*, and his *Appellative* name was the same; both his *Dignity*, and likewise his *Appellation*, being declar'd by one and the same denomination. Moreover, another accident hapned, from which it might be conjectured, that Marcianus would come to be Emperor. For, having had a Mil-  
lity, to desire and to sue for. So Dionys. Halicarnassensis, about the close of his 14th Book, uses this Phrase, *magistratus tibi dedit to sue for an Office*. But, Appian usually words it thus, *magistratus eis eis plus attulit*. And so does the Old Author in Suidas, in the word *magistratus*. Now, Candidates, when they sued for an Office, were wont *nomen suum præstare*, to tell their name and be called. Johannes Langus renders it, *Militare Sacramentum dicere*, to be the Military Oath. Which Version I disprove of. For *magistratus* is the *alium militare*, the Muster-Roll, wherein the names of all the Soldiers were registered. Egerius, Book 2. Chap. 3. terms it *Magistralium*, the List of Soldiers. Evagrius uses *magistratus* in this sense hereafter in this Chapter; *magistratus tibi est augustinus* is *magistratus* *magistratus*, they registered Marcianus (who was likewise called Augustus) in the Muster-Roll. Further, the names of the Soldiers were inserted into the Muster-Roll, before they had laid the Oath. As Vegetius steels in the fore quoted place. *Candidatus solum magis* use of the same term, in his first book *Histor.* where his words concerning Leo are these: *et in eo datus est tibi in datus est tibi* *magistratus* *magistratus*, who was of that Order in Thraciam, having been registered in a Military Company. Valef.

tary Command under *Alar* [in the War] against the *Vandals*, it hapned that *Marcianus*, together with many others, was taken Prisoner, (*Alar* having been very much worsted by the *Vandals*;) and brought into a Field with the other Captives; it being *Geiserichus*'s desire to see the Prisoners. After they were gathered together, *Geiserichus* being seated in an high room, pleased himself with viewing the multitude of those taken Prisoners. And in regard much time was spent [there, the Prisoners] did what each of them had a mind to: (For *Geiserichus* had given order, that those who guarded the Captives, should loose them from their bonds.) Some of them therefore did one thing, others another. But *Marcianus* laid himself down on the ground, and slept in the Sun, which was hot and more scorching than usual at that season of the year. [In which very interim] an Eagle came down from on high in the Air, and raising her self by a flight with her face perpendicularly opposite to the Sun, made a shadow like a Cloud over *Marcianus*, whereby she refreshed and cooled him. *Geiserichus* wondering hereat, with great foresight conjectured at what would happen; and when he had sent for *Marcianus*, he caused him to be dismissed from his Captivity, having first bound him in great Oaths, that after his coming to the Empire, he should inviolably keep his faith to the *Vandals*, and not move his Arms against them. Which ingagement, as *Procopius* relates, *Marcianus* did in reality keep and perform. But leaving this digression, let us return to our Subject.

*Marcianus* was pious towards God, just as to what related to his Subjects: accounting those true riches (not which were hoarded up, or brought together from the Collections of Tribute; but them only) which might supply the wants of the indigent, and render their Estates who possess much, secure and safe. He was formidable, not for his punishing, but because [twas feared] he was about to punish. On these accounts therefore he obtained the Empire, [which fell to him] not by an hereditary Right, but [was] the reward of his virtue; as well the Senate, as all other persons of what degrees and orders soever, conferring the Imperial dignity upon him by a general suffrage, to which they were persuaded by *Pulcheria*, Whom, in regard she was *Augusta*, *Marcianus* married; but knew her not as a Wife, the continuing a Virgin till her death. And these things were done, before *Valentinianus* Emperour of Rome had confirmed this Election by his own consent. Notwithstanding, by reason of [*Marcianus*'s] Virtue, he afterwards made it authentic. Further, it was *Marcianus*'s desire, that [one] Worship might in common be exhibited to God by all persons, (those tongues, which had been confuted through impiety, being again piously united;) and that the Deity might be praised with one and the same \* *Doxology*.

came to him, both the \* *Responsales* of *Lao Bishop* of the *Elder Rome*, affirming that *Dioscorus* in the second *Ephesine Synod*, had not admitted of *Leo*'s Letter, wherein was contained † the Doctrine of the true Faith: and also those persons who had been injured by the same *Dioscorus*, intreating that their Cause might be judged in a Synod of Bishops. But above all *Eusebius*, who had been Bishop of *Dorylaeum*, was most † Or, the unfortunately urgent, saying, that by the treacherous contrivances of *Chrysaphius Theodosius*'s \* *Protector*, he and *Flavianus* had been deposed, because, to *Chrysaphius* demanding Gold for *Flavianus*'s own Ordination, *Flavianus* (to shame him) \* had sent the sacred Vessels; and because *Chrysaphius* agreed with *Eutyches* in his erroneous and false Opinions. *Eusebius* said moreover that *Flavianus* had been beaten, and kickt, and in a miserable manner murdered by *Dioscorus*. *Chrysaphius* is thus termed by *Priscus Rhetor*, in his Excerpt. Legationum. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* calls him *Spasbarius*, which we may render Esquire of the Emperour's body. He is termed *Spasbarius* also in *Gestis de pempine Acacii*, which *Jacobus Sirmondus* hath set forth. Valef.

\* *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon* relates that *Theodosius Junior*, who then made his Residence at *Chalcedon*, by the impulse of *Chrysaphius* commanded *Flavianus*, (newly ordained Bishop of *Constantinople*.) that for his Ordination he should send him the *Eulogia*, [that is, the Loaves of Benediction, or, pieces of the Blessed bread. See *Socrat. Book 7. Chap. 12. Note (65)*] and also *Mauricius*'s *Glossary*, at the word *Eulogia*.] And when *Flavianus* had sent white loaves, in the name of a Benediction, *Chrysaphius* made answer, that the Emperour demanded golden *Eulogia*. In answer to which *Flavianus* wrote back, that he had no money which he could send, unless instead of money he should present him with the sacred Vessels of the Church. And this thing, as *Theophanes* says, raised a deadly grudge between *Chrysaphius* and *Flavianus*. Valef.

For these reasons, a Synod is convened at *Chalcedon*, Couriers and Expresses being sent, and the Bishops in all places called together. \* by the most pious Emperour's Letters, first at *Nicaea*: (in so much that, *Leo Bishop of Rome*, writing to them concerning those persons he had sent to supply his own place, to wit, *Paschasius*, *Luccentius*, and the rest, inscribed [his Letters thus,] To those convened at *Nicaea*;) but afterwards at *Chalcedon* in the Country of the *Bythinians*. \* *Zacharius Rhetor*, in favour to *Nestorius*, does indeed \* affirm that he was sent for out of Exile [to this Council.] But, that this was not so, may be conjectured from hence, that the Synod does every where *Anathematize Nestorius*. The same is also expressly attested by *Euthatius Bishop of Borystus* (in his Letter to *Johannes* a Bishop, and to another *Johannes* a Presbyter, concerning the matters agitated in the Synod,) in these very (as it may words: Those persons meeting again, who demanded *Nestorius*'s Reliques, cried out, against the Synod, [in this sort:] For what reason are Holy Men Anathematiz'd? In so much that the Emperour, being highly incensed, commanded his Guards, to drive them a far off. How therefore *Nestorius* could have been called [to this Council,] who was dead long before, I cannot tell.

(as an History ought to be written,) but was corrupted with favour and hatred, that is, *Evagrius*, with affection and partiality, as *Evagrius* says. *Evagrius* attests the same concerning him, in Book 3. Chap. 7. And in Chap. 18. of his third Book, he accuses the same *Zacharias* of negligence. Valef.

† In the *Florentine MS.* the reading of this place is more entire thus, *in the Synod of Chalcedon, Leo Bishop of Rome*. And we have rendered it accordingly. Valef. In *Robert Stephens* Edition, the words [in this Synod, out of Exile,] are wanting.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, and what was the Occasion of its being convened.

Wherefore therefore the Emperour's mind was taken up with these desires, that



[Further,] so great a plenty [of blood] is extracted out thence, that both the pious Emperours, and also all the Priests [there] convened, moreover the whole multitude which flock together at that place, in a most plentiful manner to partake of it, and likewise send it over the whole World, to the Faithful that are desirous of it. And the congealed blood lasts [so as it is] for ever, nor is the most holy blood in any wife changed into any other colour. \* These

miracles are performed, not at any determinate period of time, but according as the Life of the Bishop, and the gravity of his Morals shall † deserve. For, 'tis reported, that when ever a Person of probity, and one eminent for his Virtues, does govern [that Church,] this miracle is performed, and that most frequently: but when there is no such Prelate, such divine signs as these do rarely happen. But I will relate another [miracle,] which no time or season || interrupts: nor does it make any difference between the Faithful and the Infidels; but 'tis alike \* shewn to all Persons. When any Person comes into that place, wherein the precious Chest is, which contains most of the holy Reliques, † he smells a fragrant scent, which transcends all the usual flavours [smelt] by men. For, this scent is neither like that || which arises from Meadows, nor like that sent forth by any the most fragrant things; nor is it such a one as is made by Perfumers: but 'tis a certain strange and most excellent scent, \* which of it self demonstrates the [Virtues and] power of those things that produce it.

And so Nicophorus read for he has expressit this place of Evagrius thus: *τοῦτον τὸ ἀράδιστον τὸ δὲ δῶρον, quod dedit* the power of that thing which produces it.

## CHAP. VI.

Concerning those things which were agitated and established in the Synod; and how Dioscorus [Bishop] of Alexandria was deposed; but, Theodoret, Ibas, and some others were restored.

IN this place, the Synod I have mentioned is convened, the Bishops Paschasius and Lucentius, and Bonifacius the Presbyter, administering (as I have said,) the place of Leo Pontiff of the Elder Rome: Anatolius presiding over the Constantinopolitan [Church;] and Dioscorus being Bishop of [the Church of] the Alexandrians. Maximus [Bishop] of Antioch, and Julianus of Jerusalem [were there also.] Together with whom were present those Prelates whom they had about them; and also those Personages who held the principal places in the eminent Senate [of Constantinople.] To whom they who filled Leo's place, said, that Dioscorus ought not to sit together with them in the Council. For this they [affirmed] was given them in charge by their Bishop Leo, and unless it were observed, they would remove out of the

Church. And when [those] of the Senate asked, what were the matters objected against Dioscorus; they returned answer, that he ought to render an account of his own judgement, who, contrary to what was fitting and just, had accepted the Person of the Judge. After which words, when Dioscorus by the Senates Decree had come forth into a place in the midst; Eusebius made his Request, that the Supplicatory Libel; which he had presented to the Emperour, might be recited; which Request he worded thus: *I have been injured by Dioscorus; the Faith hath been injured; Flavianus the Bishop hath been murdered, and together with me unjustly deposed by him: do you give order, that my Supplicatory Libel may be read.* Which thing when [the Judges] had discoursed of; the Libel was permitted to be read; the contents whereof were these.

\* To the Lovers of Christ, our most religious, This, a most pious Emperour, Flavius Valentinianus, whole Pious and Marcianus, always Augusti; From Eusebius, face, as far the meanest Bishop of Dorylaeum, who speaks in words, defence of himself, of the Orthodox Faith, and ways Augusti, is memory who was Bishop of Constantinople. [It is] the design of your power, to make provision for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand to all those who are injured: especially to them who are reckoned amongst the Ecclesiasticks. For hereby you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath been given you to Rule and Govern \* the World. In regard things underefore the Faith der the of Christ and we Sun.

have suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all reason and equity, from Dioscorus the most reverend Bishop of the great City Alexandria; we address to Your piety, entreating we may have Right done Or. Now, the business is this. At a Synod lately held in the Metropolis of the Ephesians, (would to God that Synod had never been held, that it might not have filled the World with mischief and disturbances!) that \* Good \* Tis Iroman Dioscorus, disregarding the consideration of what is just, and [not respecting] the fear of God, (for he was of the same opinion, and entertained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded and heretical Eutyches; but concealed it from many Persons, as 'twas afterwards plainly evidenced from his own declaration: ) † took an occasion, to defend from that accusation which I had brought against Eutyches, a Person of the same opinion with himself, and from that Sentence pronounced against the same Eutyches by Bishop Flavianus \* of holy \* Tis I memory; [whereby] be assembled a multitude of persons, of disorderly and tumultuous Persons: and having of himself possessed himself of power by money, as much as in him lay, he has weakened the pious Religion of the Orthodox, and has confirmed the ill opinion of the Monk Eutyches, which long since, even from the beginning; hath been condemned by the holy Fathers: Whereas therefore; the matters are not small

wanting in the King, and Eutyches, and Tellerian Manuscripts. Christophorus was the first that put in these words; from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council; notwithstanding, they seem not at all necessary at this place. Valef. The said Preface is wanting in Stephens's Edition; where also, instead of *μεγ. δόξης*, by Eusebius, the Reading is [ *ἐκ δόξης*, concerning Eusebius.]

Instead of [ *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν* ], to those who perform the Priesthood; it must without doubt be written [ *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν αὐτήν* ], to those who are reckoned amongst the Ecclesiasticks; as the Reading is in the first Edition of the Chalcedon Council, where this Supplicatory Libel of Bishop Eusebius to the Emperour Marcianus is recorded. Valef.

Instead of [ *ἐν τῇ πόλει* ], I doubt not but Evagrius wrote, *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, you most pious. Tis certain in the first Edition of the Chalcedon Council, the Reading is *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, worshipping. Which though it be corrupt, nevertheless confirms our Emendation. Valef.



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conomy into two Sons; and it likewise expels those from the convention of sacred Persons, who audaciously assert the Deity of the Only Begotten to be possible: it \* confutes them also who maintain a Mixture or Confusion in the two Natures of Christ: and it expels those who foolishly assert, that the form of a servant, which Christ took from us [men] is of a Celestial or of some other Substance: Lastly, it Anathematizes such Persons, as seditiously prate of two Natures of [our] Lord before the Union, but after the Union feign [them to have been] one. Following therefore [the steps of] the holy Fathers,

\* Or, resist.

ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὸν αὐτὸν ἱερολογεῖν ἡμῶν ἰδὲν ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὑποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. In the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod, this place is worded otherwise, to wit, in this manner: ἡ Ἐκκλησία τὸν αὐτὸν ἱερολογεῖν ἡμῶν ἰδὲν ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς, καὶ ὑποκρίνεται ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ. To confess our Lord Jesus Christ [to be] one and the same Son, with one consent we do all teach and declare. Which reading seems to me to be far the truer. *Valef.*

† We confess our Lord Jesus Christ [to be] one and the same Son, and with one consent We do all teach and declare, that the same Person is perfect in the Deity, and that the same Person is perfect in the Humanity, truly God, and truly Man; that the same Person [subsists] of a rational Soul and Body, that he is Consubstantial to the Father as touching his Deity, and that he is of the same Substance

with us according to his Humanity, in all things like unto us, sin only excepted; that, according to his Deity he was begotten of the Father before Ages; but that, in the last days, the same Person, on our account and for our salvation, according to his Humanity, was born of Mary the Virgin and Theotocos: that, one and the same Jesus Christ, the Son, the Lord, the Only Begotten, is inconsciously, immutably, indivisibly, and inseparably \* manifested in two Natures: that the difference of the Natures is in no wise extinguished by the Union: but rather, that the propriety of each Nature is preserved, and † meets in one Person, and in one Hypostasis: not as if [he] were parted and divided into two Persons: but [he is] one and the same Only Begotten Son, God the Word, the Lord Jesus Christ, according as the Prophets of old, and Christ himself hath taught us concerning himself, and [according as] the Creed of the Fathers hath delivered [it] to us. These things therefore having with all imaginable accuracy and concinnity been constituted by us, the Holy and Oecumenical Synod has determined, that it shall not be lawful for any Person, to produce, or write, or compose, or think, or teach others, another Faith. But whoever shall dare, either to compose, or to produce, or to teach any other Faith, or to deliver another Creed, to those who have a mind to turn from Gentilism, or Judaism, or from any other Heresy whatever, to the knowledge of the Truth; those Persons, if they be Bishops, shall be \* divested of the Episcopal Dignity; if Clergymen, they shall be † degraded. But if they be Monks, or Laicks, they shall be Anathematized. When therefore this Determination had been read, the Emperor Marcianus also [came to] Chalcedon, and was present at the Synod; and having made a Speech [to the Bishops], he returned. *Juvenalis* also and *Maximianus* on certain conditions determined those [differences] which were between them about [some] Provinces; and *Theodoret* and *Ibas* were \* restored; and some other matters were agitated; which, as I have said, [the Reader] will find recorded at the end of this Book [Lastly,] it was decreed, That the Chair of † New Rome, || in regard it was the

\* Or, known.

† Or, runs together into one, &c.

\* Or, estranged from.

† Or, alienated from the Clergy.

‡ Removed, or put to flight.

\* Or, recalled.

† Constantinople.

|| Or, in regard it was the second after the elder Rome.

next See to the Elder Rome; should have precedence before all other [Sees.]

## CHAP. V.

Concerning the Sedition which happened at Alexandria, on account of Proterius's Ordination; likewise [concerning what hapned] at Jerusalem.

After these things, *Dioscorus* \* was banished \* Or, was to *Gangra* [a City] in *Paphlagonia*; and by common Vote of the Synod, *Proterius* obeyed to dwell at, retains the Bishoprick of *Alexandria*. After he had taken possession of his own See, a great and most insufferable Tumult arose, the populace fluctuating [and being divided] into different opinions. For some demanded *Dioscorus*, as it usually happens in such cases: Others adhered pertinaciously to *Proterius*. So that thence arose many and those deplorable calamities. 'Tis certain *Priscus* the Rhetorician does relate [in his History] that at that time he came \* out of the Province of *Thebais* to *Alexandria*, and saw the People making an Attack against the Magistrates. And, that when the Souldiers would have put a stop to the Tumult, the People threw stones at them, and made them run; that after this the Souldiers took refuge in that which heretofore *Agrippa* had been \* *Serapis's* Temple, where the People besieged them, and burnt them alive. That, the Emperor having notice hereof, sent two thousand new raised Souldiers thither: who having perceived the opportunity of a fair wind, made so prosperous a Voyage, that they arrived at the great City of *Alexandria* on the sixth day [after they had been ship'd.] That after this, when the Souldiers most filthily abused the Wives and Daughters of the *Alexandrians*, facts far more horrid and nefarious than the former, were perpetrated. And that at last, the People meeting together in the Circus, entreated \* *Florus*, who was then Commander of the Milice [throughout *Egypt*,] that he should come at that time to *Alexandria*. But, the Province of *Thebais* was not governed by a *Profectus*, but by a *Præfatus*; as we are informed from the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. Besides, *Priscus* Rhetor says not, that the Governour of the Province of *Thebais*, but that he himself came then to *Alexandria*. *Priscus* had indeed been long conversant in the Province *Thebais*, with *Maximinus* the Commander, whose Councilor and Assessor he was, when he waged war against the *Nubæ* and *Blemmyes*, as himself informs us in his *Excerpt. Legationum*. In the *Pellierian* Manuscript, I found this place written thus: ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας, καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας. But I should rather write it thus, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας. In *Robert Stephens's* reading here is, ὁ αὐτὸς ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ἀλεξάνδρειας.

*Nicephorus* has added some passages here concerning *Serapi's* Temple, which are sufficiently profound, and which I remember not to have read any where else. Therefore I conjecture, that *Nicephorus* used these passages out of *Priscus* Rhetor's History, which then was extant entire. *Valef.* See *Nicephorus's* Eccles. Hist. book 15, chap. 8.

Of this *Florus* (who was *Præfatus* *Aegypti*, and also *Dux* of *Egypt*.) *Jordanes* has made mention in his book *De Successione Regum*, where he writes thus concerning the Emperor *Marcianus*: *Nobilitas Blemmye quæ Æthiopia prolapta, &c.* He appealed the *Nobades* and the *Blemmyes*, (who had fallen down from *Æthiopia*.) by *Florus* Procurator of the City of *Alexandria*, and drove them from the Territories of the Romans. This *Florus* had succeeded *Theodorus* the *Angulianus*, as we are informed from *Liberatus's* *Breviarium*, chap. 14. Under whom *Proterius* is ordained Bishop, and that Sedition [which *Eugarius* describes here,] was raised at *Alexandria*, in the year of Christ 452. On account of which Sedition, when as the publick [allowance of] bread, &c. (which was wont to be delivered out to the *Alexandrians*), the *Baths* also, and *Shows*, by the Emperor's order had been taken from the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*; the multitude met together in the Circus, and entreated *Florus* the *Præfatus* *Aegypti*, who was come to *Alexandria* a little before this, that these things might be restored to them. Therefore, this hapned on the year of Christ 453. *Valef.*

and

*Chrysostomus* has rendered this place ill, after this manner: *In sancta*  
*die festæ Refurrectionis, Theodosium designant Episcopum, in cuius*  
*Hely Festival day of the Resurrection, they chose Theodosius Bishop*  
*Musculus* renders it righter, thus, *ordinavit in Ecclesiâ Sanctæ Resur-*  
*rectionis, Theodorum illum, &c.* in the Church of the Holy Resur-  
*rection, they ordained that Theodosius, &c.* Concerning this Church  
of the Holy Resurrection I have made several remarks in my Notes  
on Eusebius's Life of Constantine. [See Valerius's Letter to a friend  
De Analysi & Martyrio Hieroglyphinatio, which Letter he has pub-  
lished at pag. 304. of his notes on Eusebius.] But, concerning the  
Theodosius, who invaded the See of Jerusalem, consult *Barnæus*  
the year of Christ 452. *Valf.*

<sup>n</sup> ὁμολογῶν ἐν δόξῃ &c. The term ὁμολογῶν, [confessing] is to be expunged, in regard 'tis superfluous. It occurs not in *Nicéphorus*, and *Sir Henry Savil*, in his Copy, had drawn a line under it. *Vale!*

Again, he that affirms [Christ .so subfist] of *two Natures*, the same person by a necessary consequence does confess [him] in *two Natures*; because, by his affirming Christ [to subfist] of the Deity and of the Humanity, he acknowledges him to consist in the Deity and in the Humanity: the flesh being neither converted into

\* Or, *passing into* the Deity, nor the Deity \* changed into the flesh, of which [two Natures there is] an ineffable Union. So that, by this expression OF TWO, may at the same time commodiously be understood this also IN TWO, and by this expression IN TWO [may also be meant] OF TWO, the one [expression] being

\* Or, *not relinquish'd by the other.*

|| Κατὰ τὴν ἀπόφασιν; which may also be rendered, according to a peculiar mode of expression: but 'tis an uncouth phrase, not often to be met with, especially in such a sense as 'tis here used.

and disjoyned the one from the other, ([which Sentiments they are induced to give entertainment to] either from a certain usage \* about their thinking concerning God, or else from their being prepossessed [with a pervasion of mind] to have it so;) that they condemn [the undergoing of] all sorts of death, rather than they will give their assent to the truth. And from hence arose those [mischiefs] which I have mentioned. In this posture were these matters.

\* Or, about their opinion of God.

## CHAP. VI.

*Concerning the Drought which hapned, and the Famine and the Pestilence: and how in some places the Earth in a wonderful manner brought forth fruits of its own accord.*

\* Or, a scarcity of showers of rain.

ABOUT the same times, here hapned \* a great Drought in both the *Phrygia's*, in both the *Galatia's*, in *Cappadocia*, and in *Cilicia*; in so much that a scarcity of necessaries [followed,] and men made use of unwholesome and destructive food. Whence hapned a Pestilence also. For, because of their change of dyet, they fell sick, and their bodies swelling by reason of the excessive inflammation, they lost their eyes: they were troubled with a Cough at the same time also, and [usually] dyed on the third day. For the Pestilence, no cure could then be found out. But divine providence, the preserver of all things, bestowed on them that were left alive, a remedy against the Famine. For in that barren year, food was showered down out of the air, which they termed *Manna*, in the same manner as [twas heretofore showered down] on the *Israelites*. But, on the year following, the good-natured [Earth] brought forth ripe fruits on its own accord. Moreover, [this calamity] destroyed the Country of the *Palestinians*, and innumerable other Provinces; [these

\* The Famine and the Pestilence.

\* two] mischiefs spreading themselves over the whole earth.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the Murder of Valentinianus, and the taking of Rome; and concerning those other Emperours who governed Rome [after Valentinianus's death.]*

WHILEST these things \* were transacted in the Eastern parts, *Aetius* † is in a miserable manner murdered at the Elder Rome. *Valentinianus* also Emperour of the Western parts, and together with him *Heraclius*, [is slain] by some of *Aetius's* Guards; the Plot from against them being framed by *Maximus* (who afterwards posselt himself of the Empire,) because *Valentinianus* had abused *Maximus's* wife, having by force debauch'd her. Further, this *Maximus*, by making use of all manner of violence, compelled *Eudoxia* (who had been *Valentinianus's* wife,) to be married to himself. She, deservedly accounting this fact to be contumelious, and the highest indignity, took a resolution to cast every Dye (as the saying is,) [to the end the might be revenged] both for what had been done in relation to [the assassination of] her husband, and also for the reproach which had been brought upon her own Liberty. For, a woman is fierce, and of an anger \* implacable, if (when she uses her utmost endeavour to preserve it inviolate,) her chastity be forcibly taken from her, and especially by him who hath been her husband's *Assassine*. She sends therefore into † *Africa*, to *Gizericus*, and having forthwith presented him with many Gifts, and by her Declaration put him into a good hope of what was behind, she prevails with him to make a sudden and unexpected Invasion upon the Roman Empire, promising she would betray all to him. Which having in this manner been performed, Rome is taken. But *Gizericus*, in regard he was a Barbarian and of a disposition inconstant and mutable, kept not \* his promise even with her; but having burnt the City, and made plunder off all [its riches,] he took *Eudoxia* together with her two daughters, marched back, went away, and returned into *Africa*. The elder of *Eudoxia's* daughters, by name *Eudocia*, he married to his own son † *Himericus*. But the younger, (her name was *Placidia*,) together with her mother *Eudoxia*, he sent some time after to \* *Byzantium*, attended with an Imperial Train and a Guard, to the end he might pacifie *Mar-tinople*.

For he had highly incensed him, both because Rome had been burnt, and also in regard the Imperial Princesses had been so contumeliously used. Moreover, *Placidia* is match'd by *Marcianus's* order, *Olybrius* having married her; who was look'd upon to be the eminentest personage amongst the [Roman] Senators, and after the taking of Rome had betaken himself to *Constantinople*. Further, after *Maximus*, *Avitus* reigned over the Romans eight months. \* After *Valentinianus's*

*Placidia's* death, and after the murder of *Maximus*, *Avitus* was proclaimed Emperour, first at *Tonlose*, and then at *Orleans*, in *Valentinianus's* eighth Consulate [which he bore] with *Anthemius*, in the year of Christ 455, on the sixth of the Ides of July as 'tis recorded in the *Old Chronicle*, which *Cyprianus* first published in his *Fasts*. On the year following, the same *Avitus* was Consul, as 'tis related in the *Fasts* which *Jacobsus Sirmondus* has published under the name of *Idatius*; and on the same year he was deposed at *Placentia*, as *Marius* and *Cassiodorus* inform us in their *Fasts*, as likewise *Old Chronographer* put forth by *Cyprianus*. But, on what day, and in what month *Avitus* resigned the Empire, I do not find declared by

<sup>a</sup> The passage in *Herodotus*, which *Euvagrius* points at here, occurs B. 2. of his *History*. pag. 157. Edit. Paul. Stephens. 1618. Val. f.

Moreover, <sup>a</sup>during Severus's Governing the Romans, Marcianus changed his Kingdom, and departed to better Inheritance, when he had Governed the Empire <sup>b</sup>seven years only lived in the Consulate of *Constantinus* and *Rufus*, on the year of Christ 457, in the month *February*. *Majorianus* was proclaimed Emperor at *Retinova* in the same year, on the *Calends* of *April*, that is, almost two months after *Marcianus*'s death. To whom succeeded *Severus*, on the year of Christ 461, in the Consulate of *Severinus* and *Degalafrus*, almost five years after the Emperor *Marcianus*'s death. Further, this *Severus* was by another name termed *Serpentus*, as *Theophrastus* informs us in his *Chronicon*, pag. 97. in these words, ὁ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔθνει ἐκ τῆς ἀσπίδος. And *Severus*, called also *Serpentus*, was Proclaimed Emperor must be read, as the most Learned *Franciscus Combesius* has rightly concluded. To certain, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle* he is termed, not, on the fifteenth Indiction, *Leo Augustus* is put Consul the second time with *Serpentus*. Now, it manifestly known, that on this year *Severus Augustus* was Consul with *Leo*. For so *Cassiodorus* relates in his *Fasti*, and also the *Old Author* publisheth by *Cyprian* name. Valef.

<sup>a</sup>*Marcianus* reigned six years and as many months, as *Marcellinus* relates, and *Victor Tunonensis* in his *Chronicon*. He began his Reign in the year, of Christ 450, on the eighth of the *Calends* of *September* on the fifth *Feria*, as 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. And

The *Alexandrians* therefore observing the time, when *Dionysius* Commander of the Milice made his Residence in the *Upper Egypt*, make choice of one *Timotheus*, surnamed *Silurus*, to ascend the Archi-Episcopal-Chair; a person who heretofore had followed a Monastick Life, but afterwards was enrolled amongst the number of the Presbyters of the *Alexandrian Church*. When they had led his person to the *Great Church*,

he was but a Presbyter,) together with four or five persons only heretofore Bishops, and some few Monks, who together with him, were dispersed with the Heretical error of Apollinaris and \* that person. On which account having \* <sup>Two</sup> <sup>times</sup> then been canonically deposed by Proterius of di- <sup>times</sup> <sup>they mean</sup> vine memory, and by a Synod of [the Bishops of] <sup>Emphatic</sup> <sup>and to Pa-</sup> all Egypt, they deservedly experienced the Imperial <sup>lesful</sup> <sup>ness it</sup> displeasure † by Exile. And after some words <sup>of</sup> <sup>that</sup> <sup>opportunity,</sup> <sup>when</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Emperor</sup> <sup>Marcianus</sup> <sup>2nd</sup> <sup>Emper.</sup> of that opportunity, when the Emperor Marcianus <sup>of</sup> <sup>Sacred</sup> <sup>\* Memory</sup> made his departure hence to <sup>God;</sup> <sup>with</sup> <sup>impious</sup> <sup>Expressions</sup> (as if he had been <sup>to</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>subject</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>Laws,</sup>) be in a most shameless man- <sup>ner</sup> <sup>raged</sup> <sup>against</sup> <sup>[and</sup> <sup>reproach'd]</sup> the same Em- <sup>peror</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>impudently</sup> <sup>Anathematizing</sup> the Holy time. <sup>and</sup> <sup>Oecumenical</sup> <sup>Synod</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>Chalcedon,</sup> he draws \* Or, <sup>refi-</sup> after him a multitude of A<sup>c</sup>censary and disor- <sup>Or,</sup> <sup>fel-</sup> derly fellows, with whom he has made war, con- <sup>trary</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Divine</sup> <sup>Canons,</sup> and to the Ecclesi- <sup>astical</sup> <sup>Constitution,</sup> [in opposition] to the Republic, <sup>and</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Laws;</sup> and † has violently thrust him- <sup>self</sup> <sup>into</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Holy</sup> <sup>Church</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>God,</sup> which at that time; the time had its Pastor and Teacher, Our most Holy <sup>trac-</sup> <sup>Farber</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>Arch-Bishop</sup> <sup>Proterius,</sup> who then Cele- <sup>brated</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>usual</sup> <sup>Religious</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>Solemn</sup> <sup>Assemblies,</sup> which <sup>and</sup> <sup>poured</sup> <sup>forth</sup> <sup>his</sup> <sup>prayers</sup> <sup>to</sup> <sup>Christ</sup> <sup>the</sup> <sup>Savi-</sup> <sup>our</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>us</sup> <sup>all,</sup> for Your Religious Empire, and for English <sup>our</sup> <sup>our</sup> <sup>Christ-loving</sup> <sup>Palace.</sup> And, after the rous

In the Great Church of the City Alexandria, was termed *Cæsaria*, as Epiphanius informs us, in Hæc, *Arrian*, and *Libertus*, in his *Breviarium*, chap. 18. But *Socrates* (Book i. chap. 15.) says the name of that Church was *Cæsaria*; *adrianus* declares the reason of this Appellation (in his *Epist. ad Solitar.*) to wit, because that Church had been built in a place which heretofore was called the *Cæsarium*, that is, the Temple of the *Cæsars*. There had been a School in the same place also, and a palace of the Emperor *Adrian's*, which in succeeding times was termed *Licinius's Palace*, as Epiphanius attests. *Valef.*

[ *Alexandria* ] with the greatest celerity imaginable, (to which he had been urged by the nefarious facts there perpetrated,) and wasusing his endeavours to extinguish the kindled fire of the Sedition; some of the *Alexandrians*, incited thereto by *Timotheus*, (as the Contents of the Letter written to *Leo* [the Emperor] do declare,) murder *Proterius* by running their swords through his bowels, when he attempted to get away, and had fled as far as the most Holy *Baptistery*. And after they had tied a rope about him, [they hung him up] at that place termed *The Tetrapylum*, and shewed him to all persons, jeering and crying out aloud, that that was *Proterius* who had been killed. After this, they drag'd the body all over the City, and then burnt it. Nor did they abhor tasting of his very bowels, according to the usage of Savage-beasts; as the *Supplicatory Libel* (wherein all these passages are contained,) sent by all the Bishops of *Egypt*, and by the whole Clergy of *Alexandria*, to *Leo*, who after *Marcianus's* death, as hath been said, was invested with the Empire of the *Romans*, [dorth evidence;] the Contents whereof are conceived in these exprefs words.

To the Pious, Christ-Lover, and by-God-  
designed *Leo, Victor, Triumphator, and*  
*Augustus*; The humble Address pre-  
sented by all the Bishops of Your  
*Egyptick* Diocessis and by the Ecclesi-  
asticks in Your Greatest and Most  
Holy Church of the *Alexandrians*.

Whereas by Celestial Grace Thou have been bestowed as a most Exquisite Gift upon the World, it is no wonder if Thou cease not (Most Sacred Emperor!) daily after God, from making Provision for the Publick. And after some other words. And whilst there was an uninterrupted peace amongst the Orthodox Laity, both with us, and also at the City Alexandria, [disturbances were raised] again by Timotheus, who made a separation of himself from the Catholic Church, and Faith, and sent himself off [therefrom,] soon after the holy Synod at Chalcedon, (at which time

as if he could have received Ordination from two [Bishops:] not so much as one of the Orthodox Bishops throughout the Egyptian Dioceses being there, who are always wont to be present at such Ordinations of the Bishops of the Alexandrians:) takes possession, as he supposed, of the Archiepiscopal Chair; audaciously attempting manifestly to commit adultery upon that Church, which had its own Bridegroom, who performed the divine [offices] therein, and canonically administered his own See. And after some other words. That Blessed person [Proterius] could do nothing else, than (as 'tis written), \* Give place unto wrath, and make his escape to the adorable Baptistry, that he might avoid their incursion, who ran in upon him to murder him: in which † place † he, the most especially, a dread and terror is usually infused into the minds even of Barbarians, and all other Savage and cruel persons, who are ignorant of the adorableness of that place, and of the Grace \* Where-  
flowing therefrom. Nevertheless, these [Ruf- with the  
fians,] who used their utmost endeavour to bring Baptistry  
that defign to effect, which from the beginning was en-  
[they had laid with] Timothy; [these But- Or, re-  
chers] who would not suffer Proterius to be pre- vrence-  
served even within those immaculate \* Rails, † Libe-  
who revered neither the † sanctity of the place, † us [in the  
nor the time it self; (for † it was the Festival- um, chap.  
day of the Salutory Easter; who dreaded not 5) prelati-  
[the dignity of] the Sacerdotal Function, to that Pre- which

terius was which it appertains to mediate between God and Men; kill that guiltless person, and together with him commit a barbarous murder upon six others. And, after they had carried about his Body which was Wounds all over, and likewise barbarously drag'd it almost throughout every place of the City, and [further] in a most lamentable manner insulted over it; without any thing of compassion they scourged the Corps, insensible of its stripes, cutting it limb from limb. Nor did they abstain, according to the usage of Savage beasts, from tasting of his Entrails, whom a little before they were supposed to have as an Intercessor between God and Men. [In fine,] having cast the remains of his Body into a fire, they threw the ashes thereof into the winds; [by the commission of these Barbarities] far exceeding the utmost Savage acts of wild-beasts: the Occasioner and crafty Controverser of all which Nefarious facts, was Timotheus.

He himself stou up in the Church, whether out of fear he had betaken himself. And there on the same day in the Bishopry, he is slain, torn in pieces, cast out, and his Corps is burnt, and his ashes strewn into the winds. All which Liberatus has almost word for word written out of the *Gesta de nomine deaceli*, which we owe to Jacobus Strumius. Valef.

Instead of [ἀναγινώσκοντες] it must undoubtedly be written that: ἀναγινώσκοντες καὶ ὁ λόγος, cutting it in pieces, or, limb from limb. Instead of μέλας, the reading in the Florent. MS. is μέλας; which is a very small difference. Nicephorus confirms our Emendation, at Book 15. Chap. 17; who has it expressly written as I had conjectured. Further, this Supplicatory Libel of the Bishops of the Egyptian Diocesis to the Emperor Leo, if any one has a mind to read it entire, occurs in *Lamine*, in the third part of the Chalcedon Synod, chap. 11. Valef.

Moreover, Zacharias giving a Narrative of these matters [in his History,] is of opinion, that most of these things were done [in such a manner as I have related them;] but says they were occasioned by Proterius's fault, who had raised most grievous Seditions at Alexandria: [he affirms likewise,] that these Facts were audaciously perpetrated (not by the people, but) by some of the Souldiers; which affirmation he grounds on the Letter written by Timotheus to the Emperor Leo. Further, in order to the punishing of these enormities, Stilas is sent by the Emperor Leo.

## CHAP. IX.

### Concerning the Emperor Leo's Circular Letters.

Also, Leo wrote Circular Letters to the Bishops throughout the whole Roman Empire, and to those persons eminent for their leading a Monastick life; asking their opinion, both concerning the Synod at Chalcedon, and also about Timotheus's Ordination: he sent to them likewise Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels presented to him, as well by Proterius's Party, as by that of Timotheus Athanasius. The Contents of the Circular Letters [of Leo] are these.

A Copy of the most Pious Emperor Leo's Sacred Letter, sent to Anastolius Bishop of Constantinople, and to the Metropolitans, and other Bishops over the whole World.

Emperor Cæsar, Leo, Pius, Victor, Triumphant, Maximus, always Augustus; to Anastolius the Bishop. It was the Desire and Prayer of Our Piety, that the most Holy Orthodox

Churches, and also [all] the Cities \* of the Roman Empire, should enjoy the greatest Peace imaginable; nor that any thing should happen, which might disturb their Constitution and Tranquillity. But, what [disturbances] have lately happened at Alexandria, are (we are fully persuaded,) already made known to Your Sanctity. Nevertheless, that you may have a more perfect account concerning all things, what the Causes were of so great a Tumult and Confusion; We have transmitt'd to Your Piety the Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels; which the most Pious Bishops and Ecclesiasticks, coming from the foresaid City [Alexandria] and from the Egyptian Diocesis, to the Imperial City Constantinople, have brought to Our Piety against Timotheus: and moreover, the Copies of the Supplicatory-Libels, which [some persons,] coming from Alexandria to Our Divine Court on Timotheus's account, have presented to Our Serenity: so that, Your Sanctity may apparently know what hath been done by the foresaid Timotheus, whom the populace of Alexandria the \* Honorati, the Decuriones, and the Navicularii, desire to have for their Bishop; [and that you may have an account] concerning other matters \* contained in The Text of the Supplicatory-Libels; and moreover, concerning the Who these Chalcedon Synod, to which [the forementioned persons] do in no wise agree, as their Supplicatory-Libels, here under-placed, do demonstrate. Let therefore Your Piety cause all the Orthodox and Holy Bishops, who at present are resident in this Imperial City, as likewise the most Pious Ecclesiasticks, forthwith to come together unto You. And having with great care \* treated of, and enquired into all things; (as much as the City Alexandria hath already been disturbed, the State and Repose whereof is our greatest care;) acquaint us with Your Sentiment concerning the foresaid Timotheus, and concerning the Chalcedon Synod, without any humane fear, and without affection or hatred, placing before your eyes the only fear of the Omnipotent God, in regard you well know, that you shall give an account concerning this affair to the incorrupt Deity. That the Civil so, We having been perfectly informed of all things, by Your Letters, may be enabled to \* promulge an accommodate Edit. \* Or, give a see Cities, in form. as in the Provinces.

the πολιτῶν were the Decuriones.] Gregorius Nazianzenus joins them both together, in his 49th Epistle to Olympius, where his words are these: μέγας πολὺς τε καὶ πανόμοιος καὶ ἀνέκτιστος. That is, all the Citizens, the Decuriones, and the Honorati. The same Gregorius, in his 22d Epistle to the Cæsarienses, joins the same persons both together, in these words: τίς ἐστὶν ὁ ἀνέκτιστος καὶ πανόμοιος; that is, all those who are of the Order of the Honorati, or of the Decuriones. The Old Translator therefore of this Letter, renders this passage truly, thus, Honorati & Curiales & Naviculari, the Curiales, and the Naviculari. The Naviculari were the Masters of the Vessels in the River Nile, who convey'd the Corn and publick Provisions from Egypt to Constantinople. Aurelianus seems to have instituted their Body, as he himself shews in his Epistle to Arabianus, which is cited by Vopiscus. These Naviculari, or Navicularii were a Society of Sea-faring Men, ordain'd for Transportation of Corn and publick Provisions in several Quarters of the Empire. (For there was a Body of them in the East, another in Africa, and a third at Alexandria;) they were a set number, and transported the said Provisions at their own expence, succeeding by turns in the charge and burthen; to which their Sons and Heirs were liable, as were also those who posselt their Estates after them, according to that proportion which they posselted. To this Function they were always obnoxious, so that scarcely could they be excused by any great Honour obtained. They were forced to build Ships and Vessell of certain Burthen; but the Materials for them were supplied by the Country. Their Charge was great, and so were their Privileges, as may be seen by various Laws extant concerning them in the Theodosian Code. Valef.

I am of the same Opinion with Sir Henry Savil, who at the margin of his Copy had remark'd, that in his Judgment the reading should be ἀνέκτιστος, contained: so Christopherston read; and 'tis so in Nicephorus.

Phorus, Book 15. Chap. 18. *Valc.* In Robert Stephens the reading is *μαρτυροῦν*, given, or, exhibited.

This was the Letter sent to *Anatolius*. [The Emperor] wrote Letters like this, to other Bishops also, and to those eminent persons, who  
 \* Or, lead (as I have said, at that time \* lead a life void of the furniture [of living] and remote from matter. Of which number was *Symeon*, the first Inventor of the Station † in a Pillar, whom we have mentioned in the First [Book of our] History: amongst whom also were *Baradatus* † Or, upon, and \* *Jacobus* the Syrian.

*Nicephorus Callistus* terms this *Jacobus*, *Nisibenus*, and adds, that mention is made, as well of him, as of *Varadatus* [Or, *Baradatus*], by *Theodoret* in his *Historia Religiosa*. Notwithstanding, *Theodoret*, in Chap. 21. of his *Historia Religiosa* does not say, that *Jacobus* was a *Nisibene*; which thing *Theodoret* would not in any wife have omitted, if *Jacobus* had indeed been a *Nisibene*. For, whereas he notes, that this *Leo* *Jacobus* was like the former *Jacobus Nisibenus*, not only in Name, but in Manners, and Dignity, (for both of them no wife have omitted that at that place. Neither does *Theodoret* *Leo* [Collected. Book 1.] make this *Leo* *Jacobus*, who answered *Leo Augustinus* his Circular Letters, a *Nisibene*; nor yet *Theopanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 96. There is also the extent an Epistle of *Theodoret* †, written to this *Jacobus*, in which he terms him a *Presbyter* and a *Monk*. Instead of *Baradatus*, *Theopanes* styles him *Bardas*, corruptly, as I think. In the Tenth part of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 375, amongst the Monks. In whom the Emperor *Leo* wrote Letters, the first named is the Monk *Jacobus Nisibenus*, then *Symeon* and *Baradatus*. *Ephraem* Bishop of *Antioch* makes mention of them also, in his Epistle ad *Monachos Syriacos*, that is, *Severianus*; and in his third Oration, which he wrote to the Monks *Damianus* & *Johannes*, as it occurs in *Phorus*. *Valc.*

## CHAP. X.

Concerning those things which the Bishops and Symeones the Syllite wrote in answer [to the Emperor Leo's Circular Letters.]

IN the first place therefore, *Leo* Bishop of the Elder *Rome* wrote in defence of the *Chalcedon Synod*, and disallowed of *Timotheus*'s Ordination, \* as having been illegally performed. Which Letter of *Leo*'s, the Emperor *Leo* sent to *Timotheus* Prelate of the *Alexandrian Church*, by † *Diomedes* the *Silentiarius*, who was employed in carrying the Imperial Mandates.

\* I am of the same mind with *Christophorus* & *Sir Henry Savile*, who in the d of [of] *adignus*, and having been illegally] having mended it [as *adignus* *adignus*, as having been illegally performed.]  
 † This certain, in these Books of *Evagrius*, is most frequently put instead of *die*; which we, following the Authority of the MS. Copies, have mended. But at this place, in regard the Manuscript Copies differed not from the printed ones, we scrupled the altering of any thing. *Valc.*

b The Name of this *Silentiarius* was wanting in the ordinary Editions, and in *Nicophorus*. We have put it in, from the incomparable *Florentine Manuscript*; wherein it plainly and expressly written thus; *Diomedes* *Silentiarius*, by *Diomedes* the *Silentiarius*. Concerning the *Silentiarius*, I have before observed something in my Notes on *Ann. Marcellinus*. *Valc.*

c *Nicolaus Alemannus* (in his *Historical Notes* on *Procopius*'s *Historia Aneas*, pag. 103. Edit. Lugd. 1523.) tells us, that the *Silentiarius*, whom *Procopius* (as he remarks,) sometimes terms *Domestici* and *Prætorii*, were most Officers of the greatest Honour about the Emperor: in regard they were of the Emperor's most Chamber; on which account they were also termed *Cubicularii*. He says further, that the word *Cubicularii* (out of which there was an immediate passage into the very Chamber of the Emperor, by reason of the silence there kept in Reverence to the Emperor,) was termed *Silentiarii*, the Silence; which the Greeks by a corrupt name called *συνεσιτις*: whence the *Cubicularii* had the name of *Silentiarii*. *Mensius* (in the word *συνεσιτις*) makes two Orders of these Officers: the first was a meaner sort of Officer, their business was to command the people to be silent and quiet. The other Order of the *Silentiarii* was far more honourable; they were, says *Mensius*, over the Secrets of the Emperor, and are reckoned amongst the *Clarissimi*. See Dr. *Hewell*'s account of these Officers, Part II. of his Hist. chap. 1. pag. 51.

To whom *Timotheus* returned answer, wherein he blamed the *Chalcedon Synod*, and [found fault with] *Leo*'s Letter. The Copies of these Epistles are extant \* in that Collection of Letters termed the *Encyclica*. But I have designedly omitted the inserting them, because † \* would not have this present Work swell to a Greatness of bulk. The Bishops of other Cities likewise stedfastly adhered to the Sanctions [of the Synod] at *Chalcedon*, and † unanimously condemned *Timotheus*'s Ordination. Excepting only \* *Amphilochius* [Bishop] of *Side*; who wrote a Letter to the Emperor, wherein he cried out indeed against *Timotheus*'s Ordination; but admitted not of the Synod at *Chalcedon*. *Zacharias* the Rhetorician has written in his Epistles concerning these very affairs, and has inserted in this very Letter of *Amphilochius*'s into his *Historia*. Moreover, *Symeon* of Holy Memory wrote two Letters concerning these matters, one addressed to the Emperor *Leo*, another to *Basilius* Bishop of *Antioch*. Of which two Letters, I will insert into this my History that which he wrote to *Basilius*, in regard 'tis very short; the Contents whereof are these.

Your *Leo*'s Letter; which he wrote in general to all Persons, &c. But *Libertus* *Diocletianus* in his *Breviarium*, chap. 15. does incomparably well declare what these *Encyclica* [that is, Circular Letters] were, in these words. *Imperator scripsit singularum civitatum Episcopis de unius negotio*, &c. The Emperor wrote to the Bishops of every City, concerning each affair, consulting what ought to be done, &c. *Whom return answer*, that the *Chalcedon Synod* is to be vindicated even unto blood; but that *Timotheus* was not only not to be reckoned amongst the Bishops, but to be deprived even of the Christian Appellation. And these Epistles or Relations of all the Bishops, in one body of a book, are termed *Encyclica*. Further, these *Encyclica*, translated almost all into Latin, are extant in the third part of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 372; &c. of the Cologne Edition; an exquisite piece of Ecclesiastical Antiquity, which I heartily wish were extant in Greek. There is mention made of these *Encyclica* in *Vitar* *Thuronius*'s *Chronicon*. *Valc.*

e There is mention of this *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Side*, in *Pocutius*'s *Bibliotheca*, chap. 52. Where the Letters of *Artius* and *Sigismondi* Bishops of *Constantinople*, written to him, are recorded. The same *Amphilochius* was present at the *Ephesine* and *Chalcedon Synods*: as 'tis apparent from the *Synodical Acts*. Further, *Eulogius* Bishop of *Alexandria*, book 9, does attest, that this *Amphilochius* Bishop of *Side*, although at the beginning he had affirmed in his Letter to the Emperor *Leo*, that he could in no wife give his assent to the *Chalcedon Synod*, yet some little time after, consented and subscribed to that same Synod. *Eulogius*'s words are related by *Pocutius* in his *Bibliotheca*, pag. 879; Edit. David *Hoeschel*, 1611. *Valc.*

To my most Pious and most Holy Lord, the Religious *Basilius* Arch-Bishop; the Sinner and mean *Symeones* [witheth] Health in the Lord.

It is now, My Lord, opportune to say, Blessed be God, who hath not turned away our Prayer, nor [removed] his mercy from us Sinners. For, on receipt of the Letters of Your Dignity, I admired the Zeal and Piety of our Emperor most dear to God, which he hath shown, and [now] does demonstrate towards the Holy Fathers, and their most firm Faith. Nor is this Gift from us, according as the Holy Apostle saith; but from God, who through our Prayers hath given \* Him this propensity and singular earnestness \* The End of mind. And, after some few words: Wherefore, I myself, a mean person, and of slender account, † the untimely Birth of the Monks, † have made known my Sentiment to his Imperial Majesty concerning the Faith of the six hundred and thirty Holy Fathers convened at *Chalcedon*; who do persist in, and am grounded upon

<sup>d</sup> Baronius in his *Ecclesiastick Annals*, at the Year of Christ 519 says that *Evagrius* is mistaken, in affirming, that that Earthquake which came to pass at *Antioch* in *Trajan's* Reign, hapned on the Year (according to the *Antiochians* Account) 159. For, that Earthquake hapned in the Consulate of *Mæfala* and *Pedus* as 'tis manifest from



Dion, who asserts that the Consul *Pedo* perished in that Earthquake. Further, the Consulate of *Massala* and *Pedo* fell on the Year of Christ 115, as 'tis agreed amongst all Chronologers. It was then, according to the *Antiochians* account, the hundred sixty third year, not the hundred fifty ninth year, as *Evagrius* says. For the years of the *Antiochians* precede Christ's Nativity forty eight years. Moreover, concerning these years of the *Antiochians*, amongst the Ancients the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* has spoken best of all, in the affairs of *Julius Cæsar*: but amongst the Moderns, *Dionysius Petavius* [gives us the best account hereof] in his books of *Doctrina Temporum*, and in the second part of his *Rationarium*, chap. 14. to which Author nevertheless I can't give my assent in that which he affirms, viz. that the beginning of these years is deduced from the Month *October*, which was the popular [or ordinary] beginning of the year amongst the *Antiochians*. In my Annotations on *Eusebius*, [See *Euseb.* book concerning the Martyrs of *Palestine*, chap. i. note (e.)] I have in my judgment, sufficiently demonstrated, that the *Antiochians* began their year from the Month *Diis*, or *November*. Nor, is that true which *Petavius* writes at the same place, viz. that the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* seems to deduce the beginning of these years from the Month *May*. For the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* does not say that; he affirms only, that the Decree of the Senate, whereby *Antioch* was pronounced a free City, was received by the *Antiochians* on the Month of *May*, and then also publicly proposed. *Valf.*

But this [Earthquake] in the times of *Leo* [happened] on the five hundred and sixth year, as 'tis declared by the most accurate and diligent Writers. Further, this Earthquake ruined almost all the Houses of the *New City*, the Inhabitants whereof were very numerous, nor was there any part of it empty, or wholly neglected; but 'twas extraordinary beautified and adorned by the [preceding] Emperours magnificence, who strove to out-do one another [in that thing.] Likewise, the first and second fabrick of the Palace fell down; but the other Building continued standing, together with the adjoining Bath; which having been useless before at such time as this calamitous accident happened, was of necessity [made use of] for the bathing of \* the Citizens, the other Baths having been ruined. Moreover, the *Porticus*'s before the Palace fell down, and the *Tetrapylum* [which stood] behind them. Besides, the Towers of the *Hippodrome* which [were] near the Gates, and some of the *Porticus*'s which led to these Towers fell. In the old City the *Porticus*'s and Houses were wholly untouched by the Ruine: but some small part of *Trajan's*, *Severus's* and *Adrianus's* Baths, was shaken, and overturned. This Earthquake also ruined some [parts] of the *Geitonia* of [that Region] termed the ' *Ofsracine*, together with the *Porticus*'s, as likewise that termed the *Nymphæum*, Every of which particulars *Johnannes the Rhetorician* has related with a singular ac-

\* Or, the City.

In the incomparable Florentine Manuscript, this whole place is written thus; Καὶ τὸ ἵπποδρόμου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν πυλῶν, καὶ τῶν πύργων ἅν' αὐτῶν σὺν, Besides, the Towers of the Hippodrome [or Cirque] which [were] near the Gates, and some of the *Porticus*'s which led to these Towers, fell. Which doubtless is the better Reading. The Gates of the Cirque were fortified with two Towers on each side. There were also some *Porticus*'s, which led to these Towers, from the Gates of the Cirque, as I suppose. In the Tellerian MSS. I found it written, καὶ τῶν πύργων σὺν, some of the *Porticus*'s [which led] to these [Gates]. *Valf.* In *Roberti Stephani*, this whole Clause is worded thus; καὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν πύργων σὺν, καὶ τῶν πύργων σὺν, καὶ τῶν πύργων σὺν, and the Towers of the Hippodrome from the Gate, and some of the *Porticus*'s [leading] from them.

[Instead of [Ofsracine], the Reading in the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. and in *Nicephorus*, is true; which is thus, *Ofsraeme*. Our *Evagrius* mentions this place again, at chap. 8. book 6. But what the *Ofsraeme* was, 'tis hard to say.—*Geitonia* is a continuation of Houses which received [or stood behind] the publick *Porticus*'s, which *Libanius* also confirms in his *Antiochians*, pag. 372. Edit. *Parisi* 1627. It was termed *Ofsraeme*, because the Potters Work-houses were there. The Old *Glosses* render *ὑψηλῶν*, scilicet, a thing made of Pottery earth. *Valf.*

So the Greeks termed the Temple of the *Nymphs*; which *Johnannes* describes in his *Antiochians*, pag. 372. Edit. *in primis*. *Valf.*

curacy. This Writer therefore affirms, that a thousand Talents of Gold were by the Emperor remitted to the City out of the Tributary Function; and that to the Citizens [were abated] the yearly Tolls paid to the publick Treasury for those Houses which had been destroyed by that Calamity: and moreover, that the same [Emperor] took care of the publick [Works and] Buildings.

des it thus: *Dixit etiam mille auri talenta Civitati ibi ab Imperatore de tributis esse remissa; & ex Tributis quoque constantium esse, ut ci-vibus ibi qui ex calamitate adfecti erant, ades ipsorum singule publica edificia restituerentur. He says also, that a thousand talents of Gold were by the Emperor remitted to that City of the Tributaries; and that 'twas constituted out of the Tributaries also, that to those Citizens who had been afflicted with that Calamity, their Houses together with the publick Edifices should be repaired. But *Christophorus* translates it in this manner; *Aut porro, cum Civitati de Tributis mille auri talenta ab Imperatore esse condonata, cum Civibus etiam Vestigia qui ex calamitate afflicti erant: He says further, that both to the City a thousand talents of Gold of the Tributaries were remitted by the Emperor, and also the Taxes [or Customs] to those Citizens, who had been afflicted with that Calamity. Where you see, that both Translators referred these words [τὸν ὑπαγεγονισμένον] to the Citizens; which is in no wise to be born with. For *Evagrius* would not have said τὸν πᾶσι τὸν ὑπαγεγονισμένον, but rather τὸν ὑπαγεγονισμένον. *Nicephorus* therefore understood these words righter, to wit, concerning the Houses of private Men, the Taxes whereof the Emperor remitted to the Citizens of *Antioch*. Nevertheless, *Nicephorus* has not fully apprehended *Evagrius's* meaning. For thus he expresses this place of *Evagrius*; καὶ τὰ δὲ τὸν κοινὸν τῶν οἰκίᾶν χρυσὸν μὲν πάλαι βασιλεῖα ἀπέγραψεν τὴν πόλιν τὸν ἵπποδρόμου καὶ τῶν πύργων καὶ τῶν ὑψηλῶν πυλῶν. That is, as *Langus* renders it; Terra motus istius gratia, &c. And because of this Earthquake, and on account of the Houses perished, the Emperor, 'tis reported, forgave the City a thousand Talents of Gold, the Tributaries of the Annual Payments. But *Evagrius*, or rather *Johnannes the Rhetorician*, says more. For he affirms, that the Emperor remitted to the *Antiochians* a thousand Talents of Gold of the Tributary Function; but forgave to each Citizen the Tributaries of those Houses which had been ruined by the Earthquake. Now these Tributaries may be understood in a twofold sense; Either (1.) concerning the Annual Pension which by Hires was paid to the Owners [or Lords] of the Houses; Or (2.) concerning the Money which was paid to the *Fiscus* [Exchequer,] because those Houses had been built upon the publick Soil. In such manner as amongst us, an Annual Rent is wont to be paid by Possessors of Houses as well in the City as Country, to the Lords of the Soil. And in this latter sense I had rather take τὸν κοινὸν [the Tributaries] here. For this word was more frequently used to signify Tributes, Tolls, or Customs, which are paid to the publick. But if this Term should be so taken here, as to signify the Price of Houses which is usually paid by the Hirer, there would have been no Liberality of the Emperor's in that. For he would have given nothing of his own to the Citizens, but that which was another's. *Valf.***

[Instead of *ὑπαγεγονισμένον* & τῶν πύργων] the Reading undoubtedly must be πύργων, the same; add the words & βασιλεῖα, Emperor. And thus *Christophorus* seems to have read. Further, concerning this Earthquake, *Isaac Syrus* had written an *Elegy*, as *Marcellinus* attests in his *Chronicon*, in these words: *Patrio & Ricimeri Coss.* &c. In the Consulate of *Patricius* and *Richimer*, *Isaac* a Presbyter of the *Antiochian Church* wrote many things in the Syrian Language, and especially against the *Nestorians* and *Eutychians*. He likewise bewailed the ruin of *Antioch* in an *Elegy*, in such manner as *Ephrem Diaconus* did the fall of *Nicomedia*. *Valf.*

### C H A P. XIII.

Concerning the Fire which [happened] at Constantinople.

Here hapn'd together with these [mischiefs.] 'Tis not a like, or rather a far more grievous [ca- amongst] lamity] at Constantinople; this mischievous ac-

concerning the year wherein this Fire hapned at Constantinople. For *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* place it on the fifth year of *Leo*, in the fifteenth Indiction, *Leo Augustus* being the second time Consul with *Severus*, which was the year of Christ 462. But *Marcellinus Comes* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* place this Fire of Constantinople in the Consulate of *Basiliscus* and *Hermenericus*, that is on the year of Christ 467. Our *Evagrius* seems to have followed the former Opinion. For the Verb [συμπεσόντων, hapned together,] which he uses at this place, gives an indication of what I have said; to wit, that that Conflagration of Constantinople hapned no long time after the *Antiochian Earthquake*. Further, concerning that Fire wherewith the City Constantinople was consumed in the times of *Leo Augustus*, *Candidus Isaurus* does also write, in the first book of his History, and relates that many things were usefully ordered therein by *Aspar* the *Patrius*. *Valf.*

cident

cident began in that part of the City that lay towards the Sea, which they term the \* Ox-Street. 'Tis reported, that about such time as Candles are usually lighted, a certain mischievous and execrable Devil having clothed himself in the shape of a Woman, or rather in reality a poor Woman infligated by the Devil, (for 'tis reported both ways) carried a Candle into the Market, being about to buy some \* Salt-fish; and that the Woman set down the Candle there, and went away. And, that the fire having taken hold of some Flax, raised a vast flame, and in a moment burnt † the Market house. After which, that it easily consumed the adjoining buildings, the fire preying all about, not only upon such [houses] as might with ease be fired, but upon Stone-buildings also; and that it continued till the fourth day; and that, having exceeded all possibility of being extinguished, all the middle of the City, from the Northern to the Southern Quarter, five furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, was in such a manner consumed; that nothing, either of the publick or private buildings, was left [standing] within this compass, not the Pillars, nor Arches of Stone: but, that all the most hardned matter was burnt, as if it [had been] straw, or [any] such combustible stuff. Further, this calamitous mischief raged in the Northern part, \* wherein is the Haven of the City, from that termed the † Balsorot, unto the Old Temple of Apollo. In the Southern part, from Julianus's Haven to those houses which stand not far off from that Oratory termed the Church of \* Concordia. And in the middle part of the City, from that termed Constantine's Forum, to that called Taurus's Forum, [it left] a miserable and most deformed spectacle to [the view of] all Men. For, whatever [Edifices] had stood stately to behold in the City, or had been brought to a Magnificence and incomparableness of Beauty, or \* accommodated to publick or private uses, were every one on a sudden transformed into mountains and hills, inaccessible and impassible, made up with all manner of Rubbish, which deformed the pristine beauty and sight [of the City.] In so much that even the possesseurs themselves of the places could not discern, what any one of those former [Edifices] had been, and in what place [it had stood.]

ried a Candle into the Market, being about to buy some \* Salt-fish; and that the Woman set down the Candle there, and went away. And, that the fire having taken hold of some Flax, raised a vast flame, and in a moment burnt † the Market house. After which, that it easily consumed the adjoining buildings, the fire preying all about, not only upon such [houses] as might with ease be fired, but upon Stone-buildings also; and that it continued till the fourth day; and that, having exceeded all possibility of being extinguished, all the middle of the City, from the Northern to the Southern Quarter, five furlongs in length, and fourteen in breadth, was in such a manner consumed; that nothing, either of the publick or private buildings, was left [standing] within this compass, not the Pillars, nor Arches of Stone: but, that all the most hardned matter was burnt, as if it [had been] straw, or [any] such combustible stuff. Further, this calamitous mischief raged in the Northern part, \* wherein is the Haven of the City, from that termed the † Balsorot, unto the Old Temple of Apollo. In the Southern part, from Julianus's Haven to those houses which stand not far off from that Oratory termed the Church of \* Concordia. And in the middle part of the City, from that termed Constantine's Forum, to that called Taurus's Forum, [it left] a miserable and most deformed spectacle to [the view of] all Men. For, whatever [Edifices] had stood stately to behold in the City, or had been brought to a Magnificence and incomparableness of Beauty, or \* accommodated to publick or private uses, were every one on a sudden transformed into mountains and hills, inaccessible and impassible, made up with all manner of Rubbish, which deformed the pristine beauty and sight [of the City.] In so much that even the possesseurs themselves of the places could not discern, what any one of those former [Edifices] had been, and in what place [it had stood.]

\* Or, called.

† In his third book of Imaginibus. For it was called διώροια [Civitas], because the hundred and fifty Fathers of the Constantinopolitan Synod in the Reign of Theodosius the Great, [See Socrates's Eccles. Hist. book 8, chap. 8.] meeting therein, agreed in one opinion concerning the Consubstantial Trinity. Valef.

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the universal Calamities.

A Bout the same times, when the \* Scythian War was raised against the Eastern Romans, the Country of Thracia, and the Hellespont

Eastern Romans, under the Command of Dengizich son of Attila, in the Consulate of Zeno, and Marcianus, on the Year of Christ 469; as Marcellinus Comes relates in his Chronicle. Nevertheless, the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle places that War on the foregoing Year, whereon Anthemius Augustus was Consul; and that the same Consul Ginzirichus Son to Attalus was slain by Anagastus Magister Militum [Master of the Milice] of Thrace: I read Dengizichus, from Priscus Rhetor, who describes this War, pag. 44, 45 of the King's Edition. Further, this Anagastus Magister Militum throughout the Thracia's, who slew Dengizichus King of the Hunni in Battle, had succeeded Arnegisellus Magister Militum. Valef.

were shaken with an Earthquake; as was Ionia, and likewise those Islands called the Cyclades: in so much that in the Islands Cnidus and Cos very many [Buildings] were overturned. Further, Priscus relates, that at Constantinople and in the Country of the Bithynians, there hapned most violent storms of rain, the waters descending from Heaven in the manner of Rivers, for the space of three or four days. And, that Mountains were levelled into Plains, and Villages, overwhelmed with Waters, perished. Moreover, that Islands arose in the Lake Boeiae, (which is not far distant from Nicomedia,) from the vast quantity of dirt and filth conveyed into it. But these things came to pass sometime afterword.

CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Marriage of Zeno and Ariadne.

[Moreover,] Leo takes Zeno to be his Son in Law, by [giving him] his Daughter Ariadne in Marriage. This Person having from his Cradle been called \* Aricmesius, after his Marriage assumed the name of Zeno, from a certain \* Person so named, who had arrived at great glory amongst the Isauri. But, by what means this Zeno arrived at this [height] of Honour, and on what account he was by Leo preferred before all Persons, Eusebius the Syrian had declared.

\* Aricmesius, 'tis δευκλόμενος, Aricmesius. Further, Ariadne married Zeno on the third year of Leo Augustus's Reign, as Theophanes relates in his Chronicle. Valef.

He means Flavius Zeno, who was Consul in the Reign of Theodosius Augustus, on the year of Christ 448, and Magister Militum throughout the East. Concerning whose singular power, see what I have written in my Annotation at Priscus Rhetor's Excerpta Legationum, pag. 207. of the King's Edition. Valef.

CHAP. XVI.

Concerning Anthemius Emperour of Rome, and those Emperours who succeeded him.

BY reason of an Embassie of the Western Romans [to Leo,] Anthemius [by him] is sent [and treated] Emperour of Rome, to whom Marcianus the preceding Emperour had married his own Daughter. [Not long after,] Basiliscus Brother of Verina the Wife of Leo [Augustus], is sent Master of the Milice against Ginzirichus, with a choice Army of Souldiers, a Concerning that

vast Army, which the Emperour Leo sent against the Vandals into Africa, Theophanes, Cedrenus, and Idatius in his Chronicle, are to be consulted. Concerning the preparations of the same War, Censidus Isaurus writes also, in the first book of his History; the passage whereof, because 'tis not yet extant, I will annex here: Κωνσταντίνος ἰσαυρὸς ὅταν ἐν τῷ ἁλῶν ἰσταμένη, ἡ εὐδ' ὑπερῶν βασιλευσάντων, ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκστρέψαντων τὴν χεῖρ' βασιλῆαν ἀποσταλὴν γερμανοὺς ἀπέστειλε. ἵκαν ὅτι οἱ ταῦτα ἐπαινεῖται κακοκρίτες, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῷ γένει χερσὶ λίαν τελευταμένηας ποιεῖν ἐκταχολίας. Διὰ τὸ τὰ νῦν ἔχοντα

ἡ δὲ Σουλδαῖος, ἐπιτακτικῶς πρὸς μισθίους, ὃ ἀργεῖον λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; That is, Candidus the Historiographer says,  
 that Leo, termed also Marcelus, who reigned after Marcianus, spent  
 an innumerable sum of Money in an Expedition against the Vandals.  
 For, as those have attested who furnished that money, forty seven thousand  
 pounds of Gold were distributed by the Prefect Praetorius; by the  
 Comes Largitionum were spent seventeen thousand pounds of Gold, and  
 of Silver seven hundred thousand pounds; in regard this charge was  
 abundantly supplied, partly by the goods of Persons proscribed and partly  
 by the Emperor Anthemius. This eminent passage is extant in Suidas, in  
 the word *κασιγῆς*, but the Author's name is corrupted. In the same place  
 of Suidas, instead of [ἡ δὲ Σουλδαῖος ἀρτίων,] it must be made  
 [τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων, &c.] Further, this Vandalick Expedition  
 had happened in the year of Christ 468, as Baronius has rightly observed;  
 which is confirmed by Cedrenus, Marinus and Marcellinus. Two years  
 after this, another Expedition against the Vandals was undertaken by  
 the Commander (Dux) Heraclius, and Marcellus, as Theophanes re-  
 lates in his *Chronicon*, who is the only Person that I know of, who has  
 made mention of this Expedition. Procopius, in his *Vandalick*, has  
 confounded this second Expedition with the former. Further, this  
 second Expedition had an event fortunate enough. For Gizerichus  
 being put into a fear, was compelled to make a Peace with the Oriental  
 Romans. Valef.

All which have with great accuracy been re-  
 corded by *Priscus* the Rhetorician: as likewise  
 in what manner the same [Emperor] Leo killed  
*Aspar* (who had invested him with the Em-  
 pire, whom he circumvented by Treachery, ren-  
 dering him this reward, as 'twere, of his own pro-  
 motion;) and his Sons *Aradabius* and *Pa-  
 rius*, whom some time before he had created Ca-  
 sars; that he might possess himself of *Aspar's* Fa-  
 vour and Benevolence. But, after the murder of  
*Theophanes Anthemius*, who had reigned five years at Rome,  
 informs us *Olybrius* is proclaimed Emperor by Ricimeres;  
 and after him *Glycerius* is made Emperor.  
 Whom *Nepos* having expelled, during the  
 space of five years holds the Empire, and or-  
 dains *Glycerius* *Bishop of the Romans* at Salo-  
 na, which is a City of Dalmatia. Afterwards *Nepos* is dri-  
 ven here: *ὁ δὲ Σουλδαῖος* καὶ ἡ *ῥητορικὴ* ὃ ἀρτίων λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; But having at  
 last been wounded and allured by gifts and many riches, by Gizeri-  
 chus, he yielded, and was volitionally vanquished, as *Priscus* the  
 Thracian has related. It must undoubtedly be written thus; *ὃ ἀρτίων*  
*ἐπαύριον* ὃ *δὲ Σουλδαῖος*, as *Priscus* the Thracian has related. For *Priscus* the  
 Historian had described that War, as *Evagrius* attests. Now *Pris-  
 cianus* was a Thracian, born at Panium a Town of Thracia, which Town  
 is mentioned by Hierocles. Provincia Europa sub Consulatu urbes qua-  
 tuordecim. Endoxia, Heraclea, Arcadepolis, Bispe, Panion, Orni, &c.  
 The Province Europa under a Consulatus [contains] fourteen Cities.  
 Endoxia, Heraclea, Arcadepolis, Bispe, Panion, Orni, &c. Besides  
 Suidas does also affirm, that *Priscus* the Writer of the Histories was a  
 Panite. Valef.

As to my self it seemeth, I have restored this place not unhappi-  
 ly, after this manner; *ὃ ἀρτίων* καὶ ἡ *ῥητορικὴ* ὃ ἀρτίων λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; *Cedrenus* confirms  
 our Emendation, at the twelfth year of *Leo Augustus*, in these words;  
 τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ *ῥητορικὴ* ὃ ἀρτίων λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; On the same  
 year also *Patricius Aspar's* Son, is created Caesar by Leo, and is sent  
 to Alexandria to draw off *Aspar* from the Asian Opinion and to make  
 him faithful and kind to the Emperor. And *Theophanes* expresses  
 it thus; τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ *ῥητορικὴ* ὃ ἀρτίων λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; On the same year *Patricius* the Son of  
*Aspar*, whom the Emperor Leo had made Caesar, went to Alexandria,  
 with a design to draw off *Aspar* from Asianism, and to render him  
 faithful and friendly to the Emperor. Valef. In *Robert Stephens*,  
 the Reading is, *ὃ ἀρτίων* καὶ ἡ *ῥητορικὴ* ὃ ἀρτίων λόγος ἐπαύριον  
 οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀπὸ τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ἀρτίων ἐν τῶν ἀπολαύσεων ὃ  
 ἐν τῶν βασιλέων ἀπολαύσεων; that he might pos-  
 sess himself of *Aspar's* Majesties.

The Proposition *καὶ* is to be expunged, which led Translators  
 into a mistake. For *Nepos* was not made Emperor on the fifth year  
 after *Glycerius's* Deposition, but on the same year whereon *Glycerius*  
 had been rejected. (as 'tis related in the *Old Fasti*, which *Cyprianus*  
 avers for fourth;) that is, on the year of Christ 474. After this *Nepos*  
 held the Empire five years. For he was slain when *Basilus* was Consul  
 alone, on the year of Christ 480; as *Marcellinus* attests in his  
*Chronicon*, and as 'tis affirmed by the *Old Author* of the *Fasti*,  
 whom *Cyprianus* published. From which Author we are informed,  
 that *Julius Nepos* retained the name of Emperor until his death.  
 Valef.

'Tis false, that *Glycerius* from being Emperor was made Bi-  
 shop of Rome. Nor is it true, that he was constituted Bishop of Por-  
 to, which some have affirmed, following *Marcellinus* as their Author.

Notwithstanding, *Marcellinus* does not say so. For his words are these;  
*Leo solo Cof. Glycerius Caesar Rome Imperium tenuit, &c.* Leo hold-  
 ing Consul alone, *Glycerius* Caesar holding the Empire of Rome, is driven  
 from the Empire by *Nepos*, Son of the Sister of *Marcellinus* heretofore  
*Patricius*; and of a Caesar is ordained a Bishop in the Port of the City  
 Rome. But in *Marcellinus* the punctuation is to be altered thus; *Impe-  
 rio expulso Portu prius Romae, ex Cesare Episcopatus ordinatus est.* Be-  
 ing driven from the Empire in the Port of the City Rome, of a Caesar  
 is ordained a Bishop. Our Emendation is confirmed by the *Old Author* of  
 the *Fasti*, whom I have quoted above; (whose words are these.) *Do-  
 mino Leone Juniori August. Cof. decessit de Imperio Glycerius in Portu  
 urbis Romae, Dominus Leo Junior Augustus being Consul, Glycerius is  
 cast from his Empire in the Port of the City of Rome.* 'Tis certain *Ze-  
 no*, in his Book of *Successione Regnorum*, affirms that *Glycerius* was  
 made Bishop at Salona. *Jordanus's* words are these; *Orosioque Rome  
 Anthemio Nepotem filium Nepotiani, &c.* And having killed *Anthe-  
 mius* at Rome, he created *Nepos* Son of *Nepotianus* (to whom he mar-  
 ried his Niece,) a Caesar at Ravenna, by *Domitianus* his Client. Which  
*Nepos* having legally obtained the Empire, expelled *Glycerius*, (who had  
 given the Kingdom to himself in a tyrannick manner,) from the Em-  
 pire and made him Bishop in Salona of Dalmatia. At this place there-  
 fore in the Greek Text, the word [*κασιγῆς*] of the Romans is must be  
 expunged, or rather transposed after this manner; *τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ κασιγῆς*  
*καὶ ὁ δὲ Σουλδαῖος*, &c. holds the Empire of the Romans,  
 and ordains *Glycerius*, Bishop, &c. Valef.

From the Empire by *Orestes*, and after him  
 his Son *Romulus*, surnamed *Augustulus*, is made  
 the last Emperor of Rome, 'one thousand three hundred and three years after the Reign of *him* *Co-  
 Romulus*. After this [*Augustulus*,] *Odoacer*, re-  
 suming the name of Emperor, and styling him-  
 self King administered the affairs of the Ro-  
 mans.

concerning this *Romulus*; *Basilisco & Armato Cof.* &c. In the *Consulatus*  
 of *Basiliscus* and *Armatus*, the Western Empire of the Roman Nation  
 (which *Octavianus Augustus* the first of the Augusti began to hold  
 on the seven hundred and ninth year from the Building of the City, per-  
 fect with this Augustulus, on the year of the Reign of the Emperors  
 his predecessors D X X I I. *Jordanus* has the same words in his book of  
*Successione Regnorum*. Now, this sum makes one thousand two hun-  
 dred thirty and one years. Therefore *Cedrenus* must be corrected, who  
 from *Romulus* the Builder of the City, to this *Romulus Augustulus*,  
 reckons but one thousand and eighty years. Valef.

The Reading in *Robert Stephens* is [*κασιγῆς*], attempt[ing] it with-  
 out doubt it should be [*κασιγῆς*], as *Nepotianus* would  
 it, book 15, chap. 11. In the *Teherian MS.* I found it written [*κασιγῆς*],  
 administered,] which Reading pleases me best. Valef.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the death of Leo, and the Empire of  
 Leo Junior, and also concerning Zeno his  
 Father.

AT the same time the Emperor Leo ended  
 his Reign at Byzantium, after he had go-  
 verned the Empire seventeen years, having de-  
 clared Leo (the Son of his own Daughter *Ari-  
 adne* and Zeno) a very young Child, Emperor.  
 After \* his death, his Father Zeno \* assumes the  
 Purple, Verina the Wife of Leo giving him her as-  
 sistance, as being her Son in Law. The Child [*Leo Elder*,  
 Junior] dying not long after, Zeno continued sole \* To wit,  
 Possessor of the Empire. But, what was trans-  
 acted by him or against him, and whatever else hap-  
 pened [in his times,] the following Book, by Ro-  
 bert Stephens, shall declare.

\* The End of the Second Book.

Before the follow-  
 ing (to wit, the eighteenth) Chapter, in the incomparable *Floruntine*  
 Manuscript these words were written, *καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ*, The end of the  
 Second Book. Then after the [seventeenth] Chapter, these words occur;  
*καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ*, The matters agitated at the Synod convened at Chalcedon,  
 being reduced into an Epitome, are these. Valef.

The matters agitated at the Synod convened  
 at Chalcedon, being reduced into an Epitome, are  
 these.

An Epitome of the *Acts* at the *Synod* of *Chalcedon*, set at the end of the Second Book.

<sup>a</sup> In the fourth chapter of this Book (where we have this fine passage) these words [मृदु-वि-सृज्यते] are the form of the verb *to be* in the imperative mood.

From Eusebius the meanest Bishop of Dory-  
laeum, who speaks in defence of himself, of the  
Orthodox Faith, and of Flavianus of Blessed  
memory, who was Bishop of Constantinople. [ It  
is ] the design of your power, to make provision  
for all your Subjects, and to stretch forth an hand  
to all those who are injured : especially to them who  
are recoucted amongst the Ecclesiasticks. And here-  
by you worship the Deity, by whom a power hath  
been given you to Rule and Govern \* the World. In  
regard therefore the Faith of Christ and we have  
suffered many and grievous things, contrary to all  
reason and Equity, from Diocorus the most re-  
verend Bishop of the great City Alexandria ; We  
address to Your Piety, entreating we may have  
Right done Us. Now, the business is this. After  
the Synod lately held in the Metropolis of the E-  
phetians, ( would to God that Synod had never  
been held, that it might not have filled the World  
with mischiefs and disturbance ) that † Goodness  
of man Diocorus, disregarding the considerations  
of what is just, and not [ respecting ] the fear of  
God, ( for he was of the same Opinion, and enter-  
tained the same Sentiments with the vain-minded  
and heretical Eutyches ; but concealed it from  
many Persons, as Titus afterwards plainly evi-

*Diocorōs* *ἐκείνῳ*, *To the end that it may hear both us, &c.* The Reading in the Acts of the Chalcodon Council is the same. *Chriſtophoros* and Sir *Henry Savil*, at the margin of his Copy, have mended it thus: *‘Eg’ ὁ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὁ γὰρ, &c.* *To the end that it may hear our Cause and that of the ſo-mentioned Diocorōs*, But I had rather write it *‘Eg’ ὁ δὲ ἡμεῖς ὁ γὰρ, &c. Vale!* In *Robert Stephen* the Reading is *‘Eg’ ὁ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ὁ γὰρ, &c.* where also the word *[ἀναγνῶν]* is wanting.

\* Or, the things under the Sun

† Spoken  
by way of  
irony.

that [ Letter ] should be received; but, that [ Infead  
 of [ *Exe.* ] ]  
 vry, to him] doubtles the Reading must be [ *Exe.* ] ]  
 stand [ *Id.* ] ]  
 is confirmed by the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 52, and 53  
 Edit. Bin. where these words occur. *Gloriosissimi Iudices & Am-*  
*plissimus Senatus dixerunt, &c.* The most Glorious Judges and the  
 most Noble Senate said, Let the most Blessed Bishop Iuvencius declare  
 why when the most Reverend Bishop Dioscorus made an Interlocution  
 in the reading of the Letter of the most Holy Roman Archbishop  
 that Letter was not read: Iuvencius the most Reverend Bishop of Je-  
 rusalem said: Johannes the Presbyter and Primicerius [ *Id.* ] ]  
 Notaries said: that he had in his hands the Sacred Letters of the most  
 Religious and most Pious Emperours; and I answered that the Imper-  
 p d z  
 Exeter

Letters must be read. Further, the very words which *Juvenalis* had made use of in that second *Epheſine* Synod, occurs in the aboveſaid 52. pag. where the Acts of the ſecond *Epheſine* Synod are recorded: Moreover *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation in the laſt Chapter of his fifteenth Book, where he gives us a Summary of the Acts of the *Chalcedon* Council, moſtly tranſcribed from *Eusebius*. I have been largely on my Remarks upon theſe things, becauſe *Chriſtophorus* in the ſame Rendering on this place, hath wandered far from the truth. By the way, you may obſerve the fraud committed in that ſecond *Epheſine* Synod. For, when *Hilarius* the Deacon, the Legate of the Apoſtolick See, had openly declared to the Biſhops who were preſent, that he had Pope *Leo's* Letter, and had required that it might be read in the Council: *Tobianus* the Preſbyter and *Primitivius* of the *Norvices*, aroſe and ſaid, that he had in his hands other Letters written from the Emperour to *Diſcorus*. Then *Juvenalis* commanded, that thoſe Letters of the Emperour ſhould be read, no mention being made of *Leo's* Letter. You ſee therefore, that the reading of *Leo's* Letter was deſignedly impeded, by the fraud of *Diſcorus*; who, inſtead of *Leo's* Epistle, cauſed the Emperour *Theodoſius's* Letter to be read in the Synod. Further, the *Teſterian* Manuſcript does confirm our Emendation; in which Copy I found it written as I had conjectured. *Valſe*.

\* That is, afterwards no mention was made of that \* Epistle. But Thalaffius said, that he bindred not the reading of that Letter; and that he bad not so much † Authority, as that he alone could decree, † Liberty, that it should † be read. When therefore a further progress was made in the reading of the Acts, and some of the Bishops found fault with some words as being false and forged; Stephanus Bishop of the Ephesians was asked, what Notaries

\* That is, would not permit Stebani's Notaries to take the Acts in writing. † Or, attended.

compelled to it ] by force and necessity, having been surrounded with innumerable mischiefs, in regard Soldiers [ Armed ] with murdering  
 || weapons had encompassed them. Further, when  
<sup>the</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>in</sup> <sup>struments.</sup> <sup>another</sup> <sup>Sentence</sup> <sup>may</sup> <sup>read</sup> <sup>Theodore</sup> <sup>Bishop</sup>

of Claudiopolis said, that no body uttered those Words. Moreover, upon a procedure in reading [the A. B. in this manner] when [the same]

This place, which E. pagans at here, is extant in the first Acti-  
on of the Caledonian Synod, pa-  
58. V. a. f. i. e. In these  
said, from  
[the Acts, in this manner] when [they came]  
to a certain place wherein Eutyches had said,  
[that he Anathematized] those who should af-  
firm that the Flesh of God and our Lord and  
Saviour Jesus Christ had descended from Hea-  
ven: the Acts declared, That against these Words  
Eusebius had said, that those were indeed con-  
demned by Eutyches, who should say that Christ's  
Flesh had descended from Heaven, but that it was  
not added by him, whence the Flesh was. The  
same Acts added also, that Diogenes Bishop  
of Cyzicum subjoined [these Words:] "de-  
clare therefore, from whence? and, that notwith-  
standing they were not permitted to make any fur-  
ther inquiry into these things. Further the same

Acts so manifest, that Basilus Bishop of Seleucia  
 in Auria, spake [ these words : ] *I adore our one*  
*reading in Lord Jesus Christ, \* the Son of God, the only*  
*God the Word; Who after the Incarnation and*  
*Union, is known in two Natures. And, that against*  
*Council is these Words the Egyptians cryed out : Let no man*  
*better, [ke divide Him Who is not to be parted, he ought not to*  
*say us ; ] call one Son two. But that the Easterns exclaimed,*  
*in their native Mood ; to wit, thus,  $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$   $\epsilon\upsilon$   $\alpha\iota\omega\iota$ , declare therefore, from*  
*religion's Welf*

\* In *Brian*, pag. 58, the reading is, ὁ ὡς τὸ θεὸς ὁ μονογενὴς, τὸν  
 ὡς τὸν λόγον, the only begotten Son of God. God the Word.

Anathema to him who parts; Anathema to him who divides. 'Tis contained in the same A.C.s, that Eutyches was asked, whether he would affirm two Natures in Christ. And, that he answered, that he asserted Christ [to consist] of two Natures before the Union: but after the Union, [he acknowledged but] one [Nature in him.] And, that Basilius said [these Words;] unless you affirm two undivided and unconfused Natures after the Union, you assert a confusion and a commixture. But if you add Incarnate and Inhumanate, and do understand Incarnation and Inhumanation in such manner as Cyrillus doth, you affirm the same that We do. For, the Divinity which [is] from [his] Father, is one thing; the Humanity which is from [his] Mother, is

another. When they were interrogated, upon what account they had subscribed to Flavianus's Deposition; the Acts declare that the Easterns cried out, We have all sinned, We do all crave pardon. Again further, the same Acts being read on, do manifest, that the Bishops were questioned, for what reason they would not permit Eusebius

In the Acts of the Council, only Basilian have been questioned. Judges and Senators; answer he returned to them, is added there also, standing, Nicephorus confounding reading, which is added, when they were interrogated: which if it be true, it must be said, that he and those who were with him, were interrogated. Judges. Valef.

to come in, when he desired it. To which Dioscorus made answer, that Elpidius brought the Communitory; and, that he affirmed, that the Emperour Theodosius had given order, that Encubius should not be suffered to come in. The Acts do manifest, that Juvenalis also said the same

not Authority. Which answers were disallowed of by the Judges. For [they said,] that this Apology was invalid [where a matter] of Faith is the subject of the Conference. After these things, the same Acts do declare, that Dioscorus <sup>b</sup> made a Complaint in these Words, *What Cause have we*

observed, whereas Theodorēt is [suffered to] come in; And, that the Senatours made answer, That Theodorēt was come in as an Accuser. And when Dioscorus subjoynd, that Theodorēt sate amongst the Bishops; the Senatours said again, That Eusebius and Theodorēt should take the place of the Accusers, in like manner as Dioscorus had

the place of the Accus'd allotted to him. When therefore all [the Aëts] of the Second Epheline Synod had been read, and the Sentence [of Deposition pronounc'd] against Flavianus and Eusebius, had been likewise recited, as far as that \* place, where \* Hilarius the Deacon had said, 'This contradicted: the Bi- \* Or, ex-  
[shops of the East and those with them] \* pression.

[illegible]

<sup>b</sup> I agree with Christopherſon and Sir Henry Savil; who [*ſuppl. ſayd, was ſent for,*] mended it thus, [*ſuppl. ſayd, made plain.*] Which fault I found to have been frequently committed. Manuscript Copies. *Valeſ.*

<sup>1</sup> This place must be corrected from the first Action of the Synod, pag. 142. Where, after the Sentence of Cōdemn nōunc'd by *Diofcorus* against *Flavianus* and *Eusebius*, when had said, *παράσταται ο, Ιερύσε* you: *Hilarius* Deacon of *rome*, said, *καὶ ἐξεδίκριτο*, 'is contradicted. Which words out from the Acts of the second *Epheſine* Synod. Valeſ.

exclaimed, Anathema to Dioscorus: in this very hour \* Christ hath deposed Dioscorus: Flavianus hath been deposed by Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, do you revenge Him! Many years to Leo: many years to the Patriarch. Then, when the following words were read, which manifested, that all the then convened Bishops had agreed to the deposition of Flavianus and Eusebius, the most Glorious Judges made an Interlocution in these express words.

to wit, after this manner: ταυτην τη δεη ενδεκα. ταυτην τη δεη ενδεκα. That is, in this very hour [Dioscorus] hath deposed: in this very hour let him be deposed. Which reading I approved of as being the better. But, as this place of Evagrius is to be corrected from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, so on the other hand, the Acts of the Chalcedon Council are to be amended from our Evagrius. For, instead of these words which follow, δεη αυτες ον εναντι βασιλεως, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him; it must [in the Chalcedon Acts] be written thus: φρασεως μετὰ διακρισης εναντι βασιλεως. &c. Flavianus hath been deposed by Dioscorus: Holy Lord, do thou revenge him, Orthodox Emperour, &c. as it is in Evagrius and Nicephorus: and so the old Translator of the Chalcedon Council seems to have read: for he renders it thus: San-De domine, tu illum vindica: Catholic Imperator, tu illum vindica, Holy Lord, do Thou revenge him: Catholic Emperour, do you revenge him. From which Version we conclude, that these words [Flavianus hath been deposed by Dioscorus] ought necessarily to precede. Otherwise, whither should these words [do Thou revenge him] be referred? Valef.

\* Some body may make a query here, what Patriarch is to be understood at this place. My affirmation is that Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople is meant. Further, two things are remarkable here. The first is, that the oriental Bishops with many years not to the Patriarch, but to another. Secondly, that they term the Bishop of Constantinople simply and absolutely, The Patriarch, to wit, giving him this honour on account of the prerogative of his See. For, in the Constantinopolitan Synod, the second place was assigned to the See of Constantinople. Valef.

We perceive, that a more exact scrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholic Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more complete and full. But, in regard Flavianus of Pious Memory, and Eusebius the most Religious Bishop of Dorylæum (from a search made into the Acts and Decrees, and also from this testimony by word of mouth who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deposed them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in relation to the Faith: ) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deposed: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord;) that Dioscorus the most Religious Bishop of Alexandria, Jovenalis the most Religious Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most Religious Bishop of Cæsarea, Eusebius the most Religious Bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius the most Religious Bishop of Berytus, and Basilius the most Religious Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, which [Prelates] had power to sit, and presided over the then Synod, should lie interloper under the very same punishment, being by [the issue of the sentence of] this sacred Synod according to the Judges in Canons estranged from the Episcopal dignity: all things which have been consequently done being made known to his most sacred Imperial Majesty.

From the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 15. (where this interloper under the very same punishment, being by [the issue of the sentence of] this sacred Synod according to the Judges in Canons estranged from the Episcopal dignity: all things which have been consequently done being made known to his most sacred Imperial Majesty.)

\* Instead of [ενομεως, fall from,] in the First Action of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 152. it is true written thus [ενομεως, lie under]. For 'tis referred to what went before, to wit, τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνομεως, the very same punishment; and the same herewith is the reading in the fourth chapter of this book, where this Interlocution of the Judges occurs entire. In the fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 217. the reading indeed is ενομεως: but there is a word added in the foregoing Clause. In this manner, τῶν αὐτῶν ἐνομεως ἐντομεως, subjected to the same punishment. If we should retain the word ενομεως, then these words [ενομεως ἐντομεως, being, estranged from] which follow, would be superfluous. Indeed, these two last mentioned words are wanting in the Tellerian and Florentine MSS. and in Nicephorus. Valef.

After these words, the Easterns cried out This [is] a just judgment: but the Bishops of Illyricum exclaimed, We have all sinned, let us all be vouchsafed pardon. And again, when the Easterns acclaimed, This is a just sentence: Christ hath deposed a Murderer, Christ hath revenged the Martyrs: the Senators made an Interlocution, That every one of the Bishops convened, should by himself \* declare his own Faith; \* Or, so knowing for certain, that the most Divine Emperour did believe, according to that Exposition of the Faith of the three hundred and eighteen [Fathers, assembled] at Nice, and the hundred and fifty Fathers [convened] at Constantinople; also according to the Epistles of excellent the Holy Fathers, Gregorius, Basilus, Hilarius, M. S. the Athanasius, Ambrosius, and according to Cy- words [Caril's two Letters, which were recited at the Constantinopolitan First Synod at Ephesus: for, that the most Pious Leo Bishop of the Elder Rome, had deposed Eutyches according to the same Faith.

of the Chalcedon Council, as may be seen at pag. 152; Edit. Bini. Valef.

The First Session therefore having after this manner been ended, when the most Holy Bishops had come together alone in order to another [Action,] Eusebius Bishop of Dorylæum presented Libels in defence of himself and Flavianus; wherein he accused Dioscorus as entertaining the same Sentiments with Eutyches, and because he had deposed them of the Sacerdotal Function. He added also, that Dioscorus had inserted some words, which had not been spoken at the then convened Synod, into the Acts thereof; and moreover, that Dioscorus had procured that they should subscribe in blank papers. He requested further, that all the Acts of the second Ephesine Synod might be made null by the vote of [the Prelates who] were convened, that themselves might be restored to the Sacerdotal dignity, and that that nefarious opinion might be Anathematized. He requested also after the reading [of his Libel,] that his Adversary might be present. When this was by an Interlocution ordered to be done, Aëtius Arch-Deacon and Primicerius of the Notaries said, that he had gone to Dioscorus, as also to the others; and that Dioscorus had answered, that he was not permitted by his keepers to come to the Council. By making another Interlocution it was ordered, that Dioscorus should be sought for before [the doors of] the Council. And when he was not found, Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople made an Interlocution, that he ought to be sent for, and to be present in the Synod. Which having been done, the messengers sent to Dioscorus returned and said that he told them, I am under custody: let [my keepers] say, whether or no they will permit me to go. [to the Council.] And upon the messengers saying to him, that they had been sent for him, not to the Magistrati, they brought word.

In the third Action of the Chalcedon Synod, only the Bishops met, nor were there any of the Secular Judges, or Senators present in the Council. For, in that Session the Faith was to be treated of: which that they should declare and set forth, the Bishops had before been informed by the most glorious Judges. But the Bishops for a long while refused to do that, saying that the Draught of the Nice Creed was sufficient, which had been confirmed by the Constantinopolitan, and first Ephesine Synods. Nevertheless, at length they had yielded to the Judges request, and promised they would do it. Further, where the Faith is treated of the Secular Judges have nothing to do. In the Third Action therefore, wherein the Faith was to be treated of, no Secular Judges were present. It is further to be remarked, that at this place Evagrius hath omitted the transactions of the Second Action. Evagrius therefore seems to have taken the Third Action for the Second. This is confirmed by the Acts of this very Synod, pag. 172; where it seems to be the Second Meeting, or Action, which now is the Third. Valef.

When this was by an Interlocution ordered to be done, Aëtius Arch-Deacon and Primicerius of the Notaries said, that he had gone to Dioscorus, as also to the others; and that Dioscorus had answered, that he was not permitted by his keepers to come to the Council. By making another Interlocution it was ordered, that Dioscorus should be sought for before [the doors of] the Council. And when he was not found, Anatolius Bishop of Constantinople made an Interlocution, that he ought to be sent for, and to be present in the Synod. Which having been done, the messengers sent to Dioscorus returned and said that he told them, I am under custody: let [my keepers] say, whether or no they will permit me to go. [to the Council.] And upon the messengers saying to him, that they had been sent for him, not to the Magistrati, they brought word.

that Dioscorus had said, I am ready to come to the Holy and Oecumenical Synod; but I am hindered. Whereto Himerius added, that in their return from Dioscorus, the Assistant to the Master of the sacred Offices met them, and that in company with him the Bishops had gone again to Dioscorus, and that he had some things concerning these matters which he had taken in Notes. Which having been read, 'twas manifested that Dioscorus had spoken these expressions words. Having recollected my self, and considered what is expedient [for me,] I answer thus.

⁹ BonJō's  
Ἰουλιανὸς  
*Langus*  
and *Chri-*  
*stophorson*  
have ren-  
dered it  
*Boethus*,  
as if that  
were a  
proper  
name. But

name. But  
Boude is the name of an *Officer*. For the *Principes officii magistris officiorum* was so termed, who was of the *Schola* [*or, Body*] of *The A-genies in Regnis*, as we are informed from the *Nostris Imperii Romani*. Farther, this *Officiarius* is the Master of the *Offices*, was by his proper name called *Episcopus*, as 'tis recorded in the *Third Actum* of the Chalcedonian *Synod*. Valef.

¶ *Ex auctoritate*. In the *Acts* of the Chalcedonian Council, in stead of these words, 'tis written, *Ex auctoritate*; which the old *Translator* hath rendered thus: *Et certa locuti sunt, que in excerptis habeo*. And they have taken those words, which I have in my *Excerpta* [that is, in my account taken thereof in writing:—] 'Tis certain, *Himerius* was a *Notary* and a *Reader*, sent by the Council (together with the *Bishops*) to *Dyscolus*, that he might take those things in writing, which should be laid on both sides; for that was the Office of *Notaries*. The *Bishops*, as often as they went to a *Synod*, were wont to carry each his *Notary* along with them, who were to take the matters transacted in the *Synod* in writing: to the end that, after the ending of the *Synod*, each *Bishop* might carry a copy of the *Acts* into his own Country. Further, I approve highly of the old *Translator's* rendering *auctoritate excerpta*. Whence I am of opinion, that *Origens auctoritates* ought in *Latin* to be termed *Excerpta*. I know indeed, that *Origens auctoritates* are by *Refinus* and *Jerome* commonly termed *Excerpta*, *Excerptis*; but my Sentiment is, that 'tis corruptly written, in regard they ought rather to be termed *Excerpta*. Valef.

In regard the most magnificent Judges who sate in the Session before this, have Decreed several things after many Interlocutions made by every one; and I am now cited to a Second Session, to the end that the foresaid [Decrees] may be voided and made null; 'tis my request, that the most magnificent Judges and Sacred Senate who were at the Former Session, may be present now also, in order to a re-examination of the same matters. To whom Acacius, as 'tis manifestly related in the said Acts, gave answer in these very words. The Holy and Great Synod have not commanded Your Sanctity therefore to be present, that those things which have been transacted before the most Magnificent Judges and the Sacred Senate might be voided and made null: but [the Synod] hath sent us, [with a command] that You should come to the Session, and that Your Sanctity should not be absent therefrom. To whom Dioscorus returned this answer, (as the Acts declare;) You have told me even now, that Eusebius hath presented Libels: I make a request again, that my Cause may be examined before the Judges and Senate. Then, after other things of this nature, which are put into the Acts; those were again sent, who might persuade Dioscorus to be present at what was transacted. Which having been done, those who had been sent returned, and said, that they had taken Dioscorus's answer in Notes, which [Notes] do manifest, that he said these words. I have already signified to Your piety, that I am afflicted with a distemper, and that 'tis my request, that the most Magnificent Judges, also and the Sacred Senate may now likewise be present at the Judgment of those things which shall be inquired into: but in regard my distemper hath increased, upon that account I have made a delay. And the Acts do manifest that Cecropius said unto Dioscorus; that a little before

be had not made the least mention concerning his sickness; and that therefore he ought to satisfy the Canons. To whom Dioscorus made this return, I have said once, that the Judges ought to be present. Then, that Rufinus Bishop of Samosata said unto Dioscorus,

lata said unto Dioscorus, that the \* Agitations and Debates [in the Council] were Canonical, and that Dioscorus, if he were present, might freely speak what he should have a mind to. Dioscorus enquired, whether Iulianus and Epistathius were

mod, ]<sup>c</sup> he answered, that  
that was nothing pertinent to  
the business. To which words  
the Acts do set forth, that  
Diofcorus disjoynted these,  
that he had requested the  
Christ-loving Emperour, [that  
he would give order] that the  
Judges also might  
be present [in the Council,] as  
likewise those  
[ Prelates ] who together with  
him \* had been \* Or, had  
Judges. And, that hereto the  
[ Synod's ] Mes- judged.  
sengers said, that Eusebius had  
accused him only,  
and that all the rest ought  
not to be present.

And, that to these words Dioſcorus replied, that thoſe other perſons ought alſo to be preſent who had been judged together with him: for, that Eufebius had no private <sup>†</sup>Caufe againſt him, but <sup>†</sup>Or, buli  
[A common one, to wit,] concerning thoſe things <sup>†</sup>Or, reſe.  
account of which all of them had been judged. And again, when the [Synod's] Meſſengers perſiſted  
[in the ſame things], Dioſcorus made anſwer, what <sup>†</sup>Or, con-  
I have ſaid, I have ſaid once; nor have I any thing further to ſay. To which words [when declared to the Synod,] Eufebius [Biſhop] of Dorylaeum ſaid, that he had [matter of ac-  
cuſation] againſt Dioſcorus only, and againſt no perſon elſe: and be deſired that Dioſcorus might be cited in by a third Summons. [After this] Actius gave information, that ſome perſons who ſtilled themſelves Eccleſiaſticks, together with ſome others who were Laicks, coming from the City Alexandria, had lately preſented Libels againſt Dioſcorus, and that theſe men were now ſtanding before [the doors of] the Council, and \* crying out. When therefore Theodorus, a Deacon of the Holy Church of Alexandria, had in the firſt place preſented [Libels,] and then Iſchirio, who was a Deacon likewiſe; and after him Athanaſius a Preſbyter and Cyrillus's ſiſters ſon; and laſtly Sophronius; in which [Libels] they ac- cuſed Dioſcorus partly for Blaſphemies, and partly on account of bodily [dama-  
ges] and violent exaction of moneys: a third Citation is iſſued out, wherein Dioſcorus is admoniſhed to come [to the Synod.] The Meſ- ſengers therefore appointed for this buſineſs, being re- turned, made report that Dioſcorus had ſaid [theſe words:] I have ſufficiently informed You Pious; nor can I add any thing elſe thereto.

\* I am of the ſame opinion with Learned men, who inſtead of [Bis apud] have, had intended it thus, *ſtatim apud* bis, ſuſtained exaction; by conjecture, at I think. For our Copies have no alteration here. Yet the Vatican Manuſcript (which I procured opportunitly, whileſt the Edition was in the preſs,) but it plainly written, *ſtatim apud* bis. Valeſ.

Again, when the re-

\* *Kavovim* το κριτήριο κα-  
τανα. *Valesius* renders it thus;  
*Canonicum constitutum esse judi-*  
*cium, that a Canonical Indica-*  
*tory was constituted.*

And when Di-  
venalis and Tha-  
come [to the Sy-

<sup>f</sup> *Ἀπεκρίνατο*, He answered: in Robert Stephens's Edition, the reading is, *Eustathius* answered: In Valesius's Version 'tis, *respondit Pergamius*, Pergamius answered.

as likewise those  
him \* had been \* Or, had  
[Synod's] Mes- judged.

and accused him only,  
not to be present.

<sup>t</sup> I am of the same opinion with Learned men, who instead of [*βίαι ἀναγκάσεις*] had intended it thus, *βίαιαι ἀναγκάσεις*, violent exaction; by conjecture, at I think. For our Copies have no alteration here. Yet the *Tellurian Manuscript* (which I procured opportunely, whilst our *Edition* was in the press,) has it plainly written, *βίαιαι ἀναγκάσεις*. *Vale!*

in conscience: and he asked what [punishment] he deserved. Whereon when the Bishops had returned answer, that he had \* offended against the Canons, and when Proterius Bishop of Smyrna had said, at such time as the Holy Flavianus was murdered, nothing had been agreeably and orderly done against him: they who supplied the place of Leo Bishop of the Elder Rome, made this Declaration in these express words.

\* Or, made himself obnoxious to. † Or, pronounced Sentence.

What Diofcorus who hath been Bishop of the Great City Alexandria has audaciously attempted against the Order of the Canons, and the Ecclesiastick Constitution, hath been made manifest, both by those things which have already been enquired into at the First Session, and also from what hath been done this day. For this person, (to omit many other things,) making use of his own authority, uncanonically admitted to communion Eutyches, (a man that embraces the same Sentiments with himself, who had been deposed canonically by his own Bishop of Holy Memory, we mean our Father and Arch-Bishop Flavianus;) before \* his sitting [in the Synod] at Ephesus together with the Bishops beloved by God. But the Apostolick See has granted a pardon to those [Prelates,] for what hath been involuntarily done there by them. Who also to this present continue of the same opinion with the most Holy Arch-Bishop Leo, and with all the Holy and Oecumenical Synod. On which account, he hath received them to his own communion, as being asserters of the same faith with himself. But † this man till this very time hath not desisted from boasting of these things, on account whereof he ought rather to mourn, and lay himself prostrate on the earth. Besides, he permitted not the Letter of the most Blessed Pope Leo, to be read, (which had been written by him to Flavianus of Holy Memory;) and this [he did,] notwithstanding he was several times entreated by those persons who brought the Letter, to suffer it to be read; and notwithstanding he had promised with an Oath that it should be read. The not reading of which Letter has filled the most Holy Churches over the whole world with scandals and detriment. Nevertheless, although such things as these have been audaciously attempted by him, \* yet we had some thoughts concerning the vouchsafing to him something of compassion in relation to his former impious Fact, as also to the rest of the Bishops beloved by God, although they had not the same authority of judging that he was invested with.

† Diofcorus.

But, in the Chalcedon Aſſy, and in the fourth chapter of this book, (where this sentence of condemnation occurs,) it is more truly written, it was our design. But, by transposing the preposition, I had rather write it thus, *ἀνεχόμενοι ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ*, &c. we had considered in relation to, &c. which writing is far more elegant.

\* Or, suffered.

But in regard he has out-done his former iniquity by his \* latter facts, (for he has audaciously pronounced an excommunication against the most Holy and most Pious Leo Arch-Bishop of Rome the Great; and moreover, (when Libels suff with Crimes were preferred to the Holy and Great Synod against him,) having been canonically called once, twice, and thrice, by the Bishops beloved of God, he obeyed not, to wit, being prick'd by his own conscience; [Lastly,] he has illegally received [to Communion] those, who have been justly deposed by several Synods: [on these various accounts we say]) he himself

hath pronounced sentence against himself, having many ways trampled under foot the Ecclesiastick Rules. Wherefore, the most Holy and most Blessed Leo, Arch-Bishop of the Greatest and the Elder Rome, by Us and the present Synod, together with the thrice Blessed and most eminent Apostle Peter, who is the Rock and basis of the Catholick Church, and the foundation of the Orthodox Faith, hath divested him of the Episcopal dignity, and hath \* removed him from [the performance of] every Sacramental Office. Therefore, the Holy and Great Synod it self will Decree those things concerning the forementioned Diofcorus, which shall seem agreeable to the Canons.

Matth. 16. 18. As a Comment on which Text take these words of Saint Cyprian, in his book de Unitate Ecclesie, termed also Tractatus de Simplicitate Prelaturum, pag. 139. Edit. Bessl. 1558. *Logitur dominus ad Petrum, Ego tibi dico, inquit, quia tu es Petrus, & Super istam Petram edificabo Ecclesiam meam, &c.* And the Lord speaks to Peter, I say unto thee, say he, that Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church, &c. And after his Resurrection he says to the same person, Feed my sheep. And although he gives an equal power to all the Apostles after his Resurrection, and says, As the Father hath sent me, so also I send you, &c. Yet that he might manifest the Unity, by his own authority he hath disposed the original of the same Unity as beginning from One. For the rest of the Apostles were the same also, that Peter was, endowed with an equal fellowship, both of honour and power; but the original proceeds from Unity, that the Church may be shown to be one.

When therefore these things had been confirmed by Anatolius, Maximus, and the rest of the Bishops, excepting those [Prelates] who together with Diofcorus had been deposed by the Council; a Relation concerning these [Transactions] was by the Synod written to [the Emperor] Marcianus, and by the same Synod a deposition was sent to Diofcorus, the Contents whereof were these.

Know, that by reason of Your contemning the Divine Canons, and on account of Your contumacy [Shown] towards this Holy and Oecumenical Synod, because (besides other Crimes whereof You have been convicted,) having been the third time called by this Holy and great Synod, according to the Divine Canons to answer to those Accusations brought against You, You have not appeared; on the thirteenth day of this instant month October, You are deposed from your Bishoprick by this Holy and Oecumenical Synod, and are \* estranged from every Ecclesiastick duty.

This word [ἀσκήσει] is variously rendered by Translators. For Langus renders it *Consecutudinem, Custom*. Mosheim and Christophorus have translated it thus; *ab omni Ecclesiastica Jure esse abalienatum, and are alienated from all Ecclesiastick Right*. The Old Translation of the Chalcedon Council, pag. 214. renders it *Functionem, Function*; which, in my judgment is the truer Version. In the Libel of Deposition of the same Diofcorus, which the Chalcedon Synod sent, almost in the very same words, to the Clergy-men of the Alexandrian Church who were then at Chalcedon, instead of ἀσκήσει, it is βαρύνε, Degree. In the sentence of condemnation pronounced against the same Diofcorus by the Legates of the Roman See, instead of this word, ἐπίσκοπος, Office, is made use of. Now, these words are therefore added by the Synod, that they might shew, that Diofcorus was reduced to a Laick communion. For he is not only said to be divested of the Episcopal dignity, but is also removed from every Ecclesiastick Office: least any one should think him to be removed from the Episcopal Aſſy: [Or, acting as a Bishop] and thrust down into the degree of the Presbyterate. For to do that, is sacrilege, as is said in the fourth Aſſion of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 247: Vales.



Then, having written concerning these things  
 to the pious <sup>2</sup> Bishops of the most Holy Church at  
 Alexandria, and when the <sup>2</sup> Edict against Dio-  
 scoros had been proposed, this Sessions was  
 ended.

τις τῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίας. It should (as it seems) be written *κλήρος*, *Clergy* of the *Great Holy Synod* [or *Diocese*], *Life of Deposition* was sent to the *Clergy* of the *Alexandrian Church*, who were then at *Chalcedon*. It may be seen in the *Acts of the Chalcedon Council*, pag. 214. Due order did require indeed that *Diogenis*'s Deposition should be declared by the Synod to the *Bishops of Egypt* also. But the *Bishops of the Chalcedon Council* were to perform that afterwards, in their *Synodick Letter*. At that time they had done sufficient, in declaring *Diogenis*'s Deposition to the *Alexandrian Ecclesiastics* who were then at *Chalcedon*, to wit, to *Eusebius* the Prefbyter and *Oecumenus* [or, *Steward*], [and to *Euthalius* the *Canon*, and the rest of the *Clergy*. To wit, to *Euthalius*'s words that clearly signify that there is no mention here concerning the *Bishops of Egypt*. For he calls them *Bishop of the Alexandrian Church*: which appellation agree not with the *Bishops of Egypt*. Vale.

<sup>2</sup> In Nicophorus 'tis *ἡγεμονία*. But in the Acts of the Chalcedon Council, the reading is *ἡγεσία*. In the Tellerian MS. I found it written *ἡγεσία*. Vale]. And so 'tis in Robert Stephens's Edition.

\* Or, conven-  
 † The true  
 Spirituall  
 the true  
 Religion.

The foregoing \* Session having been thus ended, after this [the Bishops] being again convened, returned answer to the Interrogation of the Judges (who had requested that the † true Faith might be expounded,) [in this manner,] \* that nothing further ought to be esta-

Epheſus had confirmed by their own Subſcriptions; and that he had likewiſe another Letter of the ſame Cyrillus, which had been written to Johannes [Biſhop] of Antioch, and which had likewiſe been confirmed: and his requeſt was, that both theſe Letters might be read. And, after an Interlocution had been made concerning theſe [Letters,] they were both recited. Part of the Contents of the former Epistle run word for word thus.

*Cyrillus*, to the most Pious *Nestorius*,  
[my] Fellow-Minister.

Some persons, as I understand, \* reproach my <sup>Or, grate</sup> Reputation in the presence of Your Pity, and <sup>and angu</sup> say that frequently, taking an occasion [to do thus] <sup>most</sup> especially, at such time as those of the Magistracy, are met together; and peradventure they suppose, that Your ears are even delighted [with such discourses as these.] And after some words. The Holy and Great Synod therefore hath said, † that He the only begotten Son hath been begotten <sup>† Or, that</sup> of God and the Father according to Nature, very <sup>of</sup> God and very God, the Light of the Light; that He, by whom the Father hath made all things, <sup>de, & born the</sup> descended, as Incarnate, made man, suffered, rose <sup>only begotten Son of</sup> again the third day, ascended into the Heavens, <sup>God, &c.</sup> These Expressions and Forms we also ought to follow, considering with our selves, what is meant by this [proposition,] God the Word was incarnate and was made man. For we do not affirm, that the Nature of The Word having been changed, was made Flesh: nor that it was converted into whole man, who [consists] of Soul and Body. But [We say] that rather, that when The Word had personally united to himself the Flesh enlivened with a rational soul, he was ineffably and incomprehensibly made man, and he hath been styled the Son of man, not according to will only, or good pleasure; nor yet as it were in the Assumption of the person only. And, that the Na-

the particle *et* must be expunged; in regard 'tis altogether superfluous at this place. Further, the place here meant by *Eugenius*, is extant in the *Second Edition of the Chalcedon Council*, p. 159. Edit. Bin. But 'tis to be remarked, of which I have given notice in my preface, before the Copies of the *Chalcedon Synod* which *Eugenius* made use of, were different from those we now have. For that which is now to the *Third Act*, to *Eugenius* is the *Second*, as we have seen already. But, that which is in our Copies is intitled the *Scythian Act*, and will be made manifest by the next and following. Valer.

\* The place which *Boagrus* means here, occurs in the *Second Action* of the *Chalcedon Council*, pag. 15. Also, the words of *Cecropius Bishop of Sebastopolis*, occur in the *same page*. Valef.

\* Ἐνδύσιμον, a Prelude, or, Cessation.

dred and eighteen Holy Fathers, and hath been confirmed by the Holy Fathers, Athanasius, Cyrillus, Celestinus, Hilarius, Basilus, Gregorius, and now again by the most Holy Leo. And our request is, that the [words] of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, as also those of the most Holy Leo, may be recited. Which having been read, the whole Synod cried out, in these words; This is the Faith of the Orthodox: Thus we all believe, Pope Leo believes thus, Cyrillus believed thus, the Pope hath expounded it thus. And when there had been another Interlocution, that the Exposition of the Faith [set forth] by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers might be recited also, that was likewise read. To which the Synod again cried out, and said: This is the Faith of [us] all: This is the Faith of the Orthodox: Thus we all believe. \* After whom Aetius the Arch-Deacon said, that he had at hand the Epistle of the Divine Cyrillus to Nestorius, which all [the Fathers] convened at

tures [are] ardeſe, - wote  
 have come together into a true  
 Unity: but, that of both [Na-  
 tures there is] one *Chriſt*  
 and [one] Son; not as if  
 the diverſity of the Natures  
 were deſtroyed by the Union:  
 but rather, \* that the Di-  
 vinity and Humanity have  
 perfected to us one Lord, and  
 Chriſt, and Son, by an inef-  
 ſable myſtical and ſecret com-  
 poſite to an Unity. And af-  
 ter ſome few words. But,  
 in regard having perſonally  
 united the humanity to him-  
 ſelf on our account and for  
 our ſalvation, be proceeded  
 from a woman, for this rea-  
 ſon be is ſaid to have been  
 born according to the Fleſh.  
 For he was not at firſt born  
 a common [and ordinary]  
 man of the Holy Virgin,

and after that The Word  
 \*descended upon him: but having been † united <sup>Or, came</sup>  
 from the very womb, he is said to have unde- <sup>Or, unit</sup>  
 gone a Carnal Nativity, that he might procure  
 [to himself] the Nativity of his own Flesh.  
 After the same manner we say he suffered, and  
 rose again; not as if God The Word, as to  
 his own Nature, suffered either the Stripes, or the

<sup>d</sup> This place is also extant in the *Second Edition* of the *Chalcedon Synod*, pag. 160. *Valef.*

terlocation,

terlocution [had given order,] that an Interval of five days might be allowed them, wherein they might have a meeting [and confer] with the Anatolius Prelate of Constantinople: All the Bishops cried out, and said, We do believe thus: We all believe thus: as Leo, so we believe: no one of us doubts: We have all subscribed. To which [Exclamations the Judges] made an Interlocution in these express words. There is no necessity that you should all meet. But, in regard 'tis agreeable, that those who doubt should be confirmed, let the most Pious Bishop Anatolius choose out of their number who have subscribed, such persons as he shall think fit to teach and inform those that doubt. Whereto those of the Synod subscribed these Acclamations: We entreat \* for the Fathers: [Let] the Fathers, who are of the same Sentiment with Leo, [be restored] to the Synod; The Fathers to the Synod: These Words to the Emperor: These Supplications to the Orthodox: These Supplications to Augusta: We have all sinned: Let us all be pardoned. But the Clergy of the Constantinopolitan Church exclaim'd [in these words,] They are but few who cry out: The Synod says not this. After whom, the Eastern Bishops cried out, The Egyptian to Banishment. But the Illyricians excepted, claimed: We entreat [you,] have mercy upon And the all. After whom the Eastern Bishops cried out, fame with

that first mentioned, is the reading in the Second Action of the Chalcedon Council. Further, who these Fathers should be, for whom the Bishops entreat, that they may be restored to the Synod, 'tis not difficult to guess. For they are, Juvenalis, Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius, Eustathius, and Basilus; who had been deplored in the First Action together with Dioscorus, by an Interlocution of the Judges and Senators. On account therefore of this Deposition which the Bishops had approved of by their Suffrages, these five Bishops, were present neither at the Second nor Third Action, as 'tis apparent from the Catalogue of the Bishops which is prefixed before those Actions. Besides, in the Third Action, when the Legate of the Apostolick See had pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against Dioscorus, the rest of the Bishops confirmed it by their own Subscriptions: excepting these five, as Eusebius has truly observed above. In the Common Edition of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 212. the names even of these five Bishops occur written also: but, out of order, and after all the other Bishops. Whence it appears, that they had not subscribed at such time as the Sentence was pronounced, but a long while after, when they had been restored, and had recovered their former Dignity. Moreover, it may be manifestly concluded from what is said above, that that is most true which I have already remark'd, viz. That the Second Action of the Chalcedon Synod is by Eusebius taken for The Third, and The Fourth for The Second. But, which Copies are worthy to be believed, whether those which Eusebius made use of, or them which we have now extant, 'tis not easy to pronounce. To me, the Copies made use of by Eusebius seem more certain. First, on account of their Antiquity; for doubtless they were older than those we now use. Secondly, by reason of their legitimate and true Order of Matters considered. For, after an accurate Examination of Dioscorus's Cause, and after the Interlocution of the Judges, who had pronounced him to have offended against the Canons, and that he was to be deplored; all which was done in the First Action: it remained, that Dioscorus by a synodick Judgment of the Bishops should be condemned. Wherefore, that Action, wherein Dioscorus was deplored by the Bishops by a synodick Sentence, ought immediately to follow The First Action. Therefore Eusebius and Nicephorus have rightly placed it in the second place. A third Reason is drawn from the Fourth Action itself, pag. 177. where Dioscorus is said to have answered the Legates sent to him from the Holy Synod, in this manner: *Βασίλειον αὐτὸς ἐκ ἐκείνης ἐκκλησίας.* In regard before this, the most magnificent Judges sitting in the Conventions, have determined true things, after a large Interlocution of every one of them, but now a second meeting calls me out in order to the annulling of what has been said before. Nevertheless, that is in the way, which occurs at the close of the Second Action, viz. that the Bishops of Illyricum cried out thus, Dioscorus to the Synod, Dioscorus to the Churches. Which doubtless they would not have dared to say after Dioscorus's Deposition, to which themselves had subscribed. Therefore, the Second Action, where this Acclamation occurs, ought necessarily to precede The Third Action, in which Dioscorus was Canonically deplored. And this I think to be true. Vale.

The Egyptian to Banishment. And when the Illyricians had made the same request which they had made before, the Clergy of Constantinople cried out, Dioscorus to Banishment; The Egyptian to Exile; The Heretick to Banishment. Christ hath deplored Dioscorus. After whom, the Illyricians, and those Bishops of their Party [exclaimed,] We have all sinned; pardon all: Dioscorus to the Synod, Dioscorus to the Churches. And when such like Words as these had preceded, this Session was ended. At the Session after this, when the Senate had made an Interlocution, that the Decrees which had already been given forth should be recited, Constantinus the Secretary read these express Words out of a \* Schedule. \* Or, Father. Instead of the Decrees.

It must undoubtedly be read *ἀποδοκιμασθέντες*, the Decrees which had been given forth; which is the reading in Nicephorus, and this reading is confirmed by the Fourth Action of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 213, &c. Vale.

We perceive, that a more exact Scrutiny concerning the Orthodox and Catholic Faith ought to be made to morrow, when the Synod will be more complete and full. But, in regard Flavianus of Pious Memory, and the most Religious Bishop Eusebius (from a search made into the Acts and Decrees, and also from their Testimony by Word of Mouth, who presided in the Synod then convened; who have confessed that they have erred, and have deplored them without cause, when they had in no wise erred in the Faith: ) have, as 'tis evidently known, been unjustly deplored: it appears to us (agreeable to that which is acceptable unto God,) to be just, (provided it shall please our most Divine and most Pious Lord,) that Dioscorus the most Religious Bishop of Alexandria, Juvenalis the most Religious Bishop of Jerusalem, Thalassius the most Religious Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Eusebius the most Religious Bishop of Ancyra, Eustathius the most Religious Bishop of Berytus, and Basilus the most Religious Bishop of Seleucia in Isauria, which [Prelates] had power, and presided over the then Synod, should lie under the very same punishment, [and] according to the Canons \* be removed from the Episcopal Dignity: all things which have been consequently done, being made known † to his most sacred Imperial Majesty. \* Or, made. † Or, to the Divine height.

Then, after the Reading of some other things, the Bishops assembled were asked, whether Leo's Letter agreed with the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at Nice, and with that of the Hundred and fifty [Holy Fathers assembled] in the Imperial City [Constantinople] whereat Anatolius, Prelate of Constantinople, and all the Bishops present returned answer, that Leo's Letter agreed with the foresaid Holy Fathers:

and \* be subscribed to the forementioned Letter of Leo. These things having proceeded thus, those of the Synod cried out, We all consent, We do all approve, We all believe alike, We all think the same things, We all believe thus. [Let] the Fathers [be restored] to the Synod; [Let] those who have subscribed [be restored] to the Synod: Many years \* to the Emperor: Many years † to Augusta. Emperor. The Fathers to the Synod, those of the same Faith, or, to the Synod: Many years to the Emperor: those Augustus of the same Sentiments to the Synod: many years † to the Emperor. We have all subscribed to the Faith: \* Or, made. † Or, to the Divine height.

\* Christophorus read it in the plural number *ἀποδοκιμασθέντες*, they subscribed; and so the reading is in Nicephorus: which is confirmed by the Acts of the Chalcedon Synod, pag. 213, &c. Vale.

Faith: as Leo, so we think. After this an Interlocution was made [by the Judges,] in these express Words: We have given a Relation concerning these things to our most Divine and most Pious Lord, and we expect the answer of his Piety. But your Reverence shall render an account to God, as well concerning Dioscorus, who hath been deposed by You, (his Imperial Majesty and we

\* Instead of [καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αἰτίᾳ, concerning all these other things,] the reading in the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. is true; thus, καὶ αὐτῶν ἐπὶ αἰτίᾳ, concerning these [other] five persons; in the Fourth Edition of the Chalcodon Synod, pag. 232, the reading is the same with this last mentioned; as likewise that in Nicphorus. Valef.

nus, which gave the Bishops permission to determine according to their own discretion, concerning the persons who had been deposed, in such manner as the Judges have declared by an Interlocution; [the Bishops] made their Request, saying these express Words: We entreat that they may come in. [Let] those of the same Opinion [be restored] to the Synod: those of the same Sentiments, to the Synod: those who have subscribed to Leo's Letter, to the Synod. Which persons, after an Interlocution, were admitted into the number of the Synod. And after this, the Supplicatory Libels, which had been presented by the Bishops of the Egyptick Diocesis to the Emperor Marcianus, were read; wherein, besides other matters, these things were contained: Our Sentiments are the same with those Expositions which the Three hundred and eighteen [Holy Fathers] set forth at Nicæa, and [with those embraced by] the Blessed Athanasius, and Cyrillus of Holy Memory: We Anathematize every Heresy, that of Arius, that of Eunomius, of Manes, of Nestorius, and that of those who assert, that the Flesh of our Lord is from Heaven, and not from the Holy Theotocos, and Ever-Virgin Mary; \* whom [we affirm] to be like to us all, [but] without sin. Then, all [the Bishops] present in the Synod cried out, saying, Why do they not Anathematize Eutyches's Opinion? Let them subscribe to Leo's Letter, and Anathematize Eutyches and his Opinions: Let them give their Assent to Leo's Letter: they are deposed to impose upon us and be gone. Here to the Bishops of Egypt returned answer, That there were many Bishops in Egypt, and that 'twas impossible [for them] to represent the † persons of those who were absent: and they requested, that the Synod would expect their Arch-Bishop, to the end that (according as Custom required,) they might follow his Opinion. For [they said,] that if they should do any thing before the † Election of their Arch-Bishop, all persons of the whole Egyptick Diocesis would fall upon them. And when they had made many entreaties concerning these things, and those of the Synod had vigorously resisted them; by an Interlocution 'twas ordered, that an \* Interval should be granted to the Bishops of Egypt, till such time as an Arch-Bishop could be ordained over them. And after this, were presented Supplicatory Libels of some Monks; the sum of which was this, That they might in no wise be forced to

subscribe † to certain Papers, \* till such time as † Or, in the Synod (which the Emperor had ordained to be certain Papers,) should meet, and take cognizance of those things which had been decreed. After the recital of these [Libels,] Diogenes Bishop of Cyzicus declared that Barfumas, one of those Persons, who were come into the Council,

had murdered Flavianus: for that he had cried out kill him. And that, although he was not named in the Libels, yet (contrary to what was right and fitting,) he had gotten entrance [into the Council.] Whereat all the Bishops exclaimed, Barfumas hath ruined all Syria: he hath brought a thousand Monks against us. And when an Interlocution had been made, that the [Monks] who were come together should expect the Synod's determination; the Monks requested, that the Libels composed by them might be read: part

whereof was this, That Dioscorus, and those Bishops with him, might be present at the Synod. At the hearing whereof, all the Bishops exclaimed, Anathema to Dioscorus: Christ hath deposed Dioscorus: thrust these persons out of doors: take away the Injury of the Synod: remove the Force of the Synod: [Relate] these words to the Emperor: remove the Injury of the Synod: take away the Disgrace of the Synod. In opposition to whom the Monks cried out, Remove the Injury of the Monasteries. And when the same Exclamations had been made again by the Synod, 'twas ordered by an Interlocution, that the rest of the Libels should be recited. In which 'twas affirmed, that Dioscorus's Deposition had not been duly and orderly made; and that, the Faith being proposed, \* be ought to \* Or, he be admitted to the Session of the Synod. And in-ought to lest this were done, they would shake their Garments, [and recede] from the Communion of those Bishops who were convened. After the Recital of these words, Actius the Arch-Deacon read the Canon concerning those who separated themselves [from Communion.] And again, when the Monks were divided at the Questions [put to them] by the most Holy Bishops, and afterwards, at the Interrogatory of Actius the Arch-Deacon made as from the Synod; and when some of them Anathematized Nestorius and Eutyches, and others refused to do that: an Interlocution was made by the Judges, [who declared,] that the Supplicatory Libels of Faustus and the other Monks should be read; wherein they requested of the Emperor, that those Monks should not have any further Countenance shown them, who had lately appeared in opposition to Orthodox Sentiments: amongst whom, one Dorotheus a Monk, had termed Eutyches Orhodox. Against him divers Questions concerning Eutyches's Doctrine were, proposed by the Judges. After this, when the Fifth Session was begun, the Judges by an Interlocution declared, that what had been determined concerning the Faith, should be promulged. Then Asclepiades, a Deacon of Constantinople, read the Determination, which they were pleased not to have inserted into the Acts. Against which [Determination] some made opposition; but more consented to it. And when Exclamations had been made on the one side

to the Emperor Marcianus by the Monks, in the Fourth Edition of the Chalcodon Synod, pag. 237. In this Libel the Monks request of the Emperor, that the Oecumenical Synod might be convened, (which the Emperor had before given order to be assembled;) which might consult the safety of all persons, and that the Monks might not be compelled by Violence to subscribe. Those Monks, belike, did not believe that Synod to be Oecumenical, at which Dioscorus and the other Bishops of Egypt were not present. They requested therefore, that Dioscorus might be wholly returned, as may be seen in another Libel which it recited afterwards. Valef.

\* That is, Cery.

† Or, persons.

|| Or, nomination.

\* Or, de ly.

side and on the other, the Judges said, that Dioscorus affirmed he had therefore deposed Flavianus, because he asserted there were two Natures: but, that the Determination ran thus, of two Natures. To which Anatolius made answer, that Dioscorus had not been deposed on account of the Faith; but because he had

\* Or, brought an Excommunication upon Leo.

As to my self it seemeth, I have restored this place very happily. For, of these three words [Leo's words, from this instant] I have made one, in this manner, *ἀποφύλαξεν, &c. the Judge desired, &c. But Nicophorus, perceiving this place to be corrupted, by adding a word made it good in this manner; and so it is of ἀποφύλαξεν, &c. From this instant the Judges ordered, &c. Which Emendation is contradicted by the Authority of the Acts, and contrary to Eusebius's mind. For the Secular Judges, who by the Emperor's Order were present at the Synod, never Commanded that Leo's Letter should be inserted into the Definition of the Faith; but only desired that of the Bishops: which nevertheless was denied them by the Bishops, as is apparent from the Fifth Action, pag. 250. Valef.*

mine Matters in relation to the Faith; or at least, that every one of them should set forth his own Faith; which if they did not, they were to know, that a Synod should be convened in the West. And being asked to declare, whether they would follow Dioscorus who asserted [Christ to consist] OF TWO [Natures,] or Leo [who affirmed] TWO [Natures] IN Christ, they

cried out that they believed [agreeable to] Leo: but, that those who made Opposition were Eutychianists. And when the Judges had said, that according to Leo's Opinion [there ought] to be added [in the Definition of the Faith, these words] Two Natures united, "inconvertible, and unstoned For divided, and inconfused in Christ; [the Bishops] intreated them to go into the Oratory of make up the Holy Euphemia's Church. And when the fewer that Judges had entered into the foresaid Oratory, they believed Leo, according as Christophorus renders it; but, that they believed with Leo [or, as Leo did believe,] as Langus and Muculus have rightly rendered it. For thus they had acclaimed, as Leo does, so we believe; as it occurs in the Fifth Action. Valef.

Nicophorus xi' ἀποφύλαξεν. Nicophorus has mended it, and xi' ἀποφύλαξεν, according to Leo. But, I doubt not but Eusebius wrote xi' ἀποφύλαξεν, according to Leo's Opinion. For to the Judges speak in the Fifth Action of this Council, pag. 250. Further, before the word ἀποφύλαξεν, the Verb [δέν, there ought] seems necessary to be added. Valef.

In the Fifth Action of the Chalcedon Council, 'tis written adverbially, thus, ἀποφύλαξεν, xi' ἀποφύλαξεν, xi' ἀποφύλαξεν, inconvertibly, and indivisibly, and inconfusedly. Valef.

Before these, some words seem to be wanting in the Greek Text, which from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council may be supplied after this manner: *παρεβύθησαν αὐτῶν ἐν ἐπισκοπῇ ἐνταῦθεν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον, οἱ ἡγούμενοι ἐνταῦθεν εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον* [the Bishops intreated them to go into the Oratory of the Holy Euphemia's Church.] Further, the mistake of Langus and Christophorus is to be taken notice of here; who have rendered *μαρτύριον, the Church of the Holy Mary Euphemia.* The Synod of Chalcedon was indeed assembled in the Temple, or Church of Saint Euphemia. But, the Treaty, or Conference, concerning the Faith was held in the Oratory of the said Church, according as the Emperor had given Order in the Allocation which is recited in the Council, pag. 250. *συνελθόντες τὸ ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἀγίαν μαρίνην, τοῦ μαρτύριον* [the Oratory of the most Holy Church.] For *μαρτύριον* [Martyrium] is taken for the Church, as it appears from the Third Action of the Chalcedon Synod, where the Bishops are said to have met in the Martyrium of the most Holy and Victorious Mary Euphemia. And in the other

Actions of that Council, the same Bishops are said to have come together into the most Holy Church of the same Martyr. In regard therefore 'tis manifest, that the Oratory (wherein some few of the Bishops met only, to treat concerning the Faith, together with Anatolius and the Deputies of the Romish See,) was part of St. Euphemia's Church, it remains to be inquired, what part of the Church that was. St. Euphemia's Church consisted of three spacious Edifices; the first whereof was an Atrium, or Court; the second, the Basilica, [or, the Church itself]; the third, the Altar built in form of a Chapel, as Eusebius tells us in the third Chapter of this Book. The Oratory therefore is the same with the Altar, which now-a-days we term the Choir, or Quire. Nor has our Eusebius done right, in making use of *μαρτύριον* to signify the Oratory; for the Emperor had not ordered the Bishops to meet in the Martyrium, but in the Oratory of the Martyr, as we have now said. Valef.

together with Anatolius and the Deputies of Leo, with Maximus also of Antioch, and Juvenalis of Jerusalem, and Thalassius of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, and with the other [Bishops,] and when [some little time after] they had gone out from thence, the Definition [of the Faith] was read, the Contents whereof were these: Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and so forth, which we have inserted \* above into our History. And when \* See chap. they had all cried out, This is the Faith of the Fathers; Let the Metropolitanans now subscribe, This is the Faith of the Apostles; We all follow this Faith; We all think thus: the Judges made an Interlocution in these words: Those matters which have been defined by the Fathers, and which please all persons, shall be Related † to his Imperial Majesty. But, at † Or, to the sixth Session, the Emperor [Marcianus] the Divine came [to the Council,] and made a Speech to the bright Bishops concerning Concord. And † after an Interlocution, by location of the Emperor's, the Definition [of the Faith] was read by Actius, Arch-Deacon of Constantinople, and all subscribed to the Definition. Then the Emperor asked, Whether the Definition were composed by the unanimous Consent of them all? and they all confirmed it with joyful Acclamations. Again, the Emperor made two Speeches [to the Bishops,] which were followed with the joyful Acclamations of them all. After this, by the Emperor's permission, the Canons were \* written, or Confirmed, and \* to [the City of] the Chalcedonians were read, given Metropolitan Rights and Privileges. \* Not a

Metropolitan Right or Privilege, but the Name of a Metropolis only, was given to the City of Chalcedon: for these are the words of the Emperor Marcianus's Law: *Τὴν καλεσθεῖσαν πόλιν ἐν ᾗ ἡ πόλις πάλαι ἔκειτο, διὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μαρτυρίου τῆς ἁγίας εὐφροσύνης ἱδρυμένης, ὁποῦναι αὐτῇ ταῦτα πνευματικά, συνελθόντων τῶν ἐπισκοπῶν καὶ ἡγουμένων τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν;* that is, We have Decreed, that the City of the Chalcedonians, wherein the Synod of the most Holy Faith was convened, should have the privileges of a Metropolis, honouring it with the Name only; so wit, its proper Dignity being preferred to the Metropolis of the Nicomedians. But although the Emperor in these words seems to adorn only the City itself of the Chalcedonians, with the Title of a Metropolis, yet that Privilege belongs even to the Church of the Chalcedonians also. From that time therefore the Bishop of Chalcedon had the Honour of a Metropolis; but, had no Metropolis Right or Privilege, because the Emperor by this Law would have nothing diminished from the Dignity of the Bishop of Nicomedia. The Bishops of this very Council have determined [or judged] the same thing in the Cause of the Bishops of Nicomedia and Nicea; whereas Nicea by the Emperor's Rescript had obtained the honour of a Metropolis, the Judges and Bishops who were in the Council made answer, That this Honour had been given only to the City by the Emperours; nor could the Bishop of Nicea by this Law arrogate to himself a Metropolis Right or Privilege; but was only preferred before the other Bishops of the Province Bithynia: so that, he was accounted in the second place after the Metropolitan, as may be seen in the Thirteenth Action. Further, what the Metropolitan Rights and Privileges were, we are informed from the Canons of the Nicene Council; to wit, that the Ordinations of Provincial Bishops should not be made without the Metropolitan's consent: and that the Metropolitan Bishop should have a Power of calling out the Provincial Bishops to a Council of his own. Moreover, in the Florentine Decree I found it written καλεσθεῖσαν, although in the Chalcedon Council it is always written καλεσθῆναι. Regularly it should be written καλεσθῆναι. But the Ancients seem to have said καλεσθῆναι, 'tis apparent from many places in the Chalcedon Council. Valef.

And

And the Emperor commanded the Bishops to stay three or four days, and that every one should propose [questions] concerning what he had a mind to, in the presence of the Judges; and \* that all things should

\* Or, what was fitting should be done.

† In Nicephorus, instead of [stronger other things,] it is righter thus, *ἵνα*, with the accent in the last syllable save one; understand, *Considers, Session, or Convention.* I wonder, that neither *Maximus* nor *Christophorus* perceived this. *Valef.*

have the two Phœnicia's, and Arabia; and the [Bishop] of Jerusalem the three Palestines [subject to his See.] And after an Interlocution of the Judges and Bishops, they confirmed [this agreement.] And at the \* ninth Session Theodoret's Cause was discussed. Who had Anathematized Nestorius, in these words; Anathema to Nestorius, and to him who denies the Holy Virgin Mary to be

† Yes, in the Ninth Action, the Cause of Theodoret the Bishop was judged, as our Copies show us. But the Copies of the Chalcedon Synod, which Evagrius made use of, seem to have been different from ours. For, as we have seen a little before, Evagrius reckons a Seventh *Ἀξιωμα* wherein other Canons were promulgated. Which Action it is at this day wanting in our Copies. *Valef.*

Theotocos, and to him who divides the One Only-begotten Son into two Sons: moreover, I have subscribed to the Definition of the Faith, and to Leo's Epistle. After an Interlocution therefore made by

them all, he recovered his own See. In another Session, Ibas's Cause was examined, and those things were read which had been transacted and pronounced against him; the Judges whereof were Photius Bishop of Tyre, and Eustathius Bishop of Berytus. And Sentence was deferred to the following [Session.] At the Eleventh Convention, when many of the Bishops had voted Ibas to \* be restored to his Bishoprick, some

\* *Ἐκτετακτα* 39. In the Tenth Action of the Chalcedon Council, and in Nicephorus, the Proposition is wanting. But in the Florentine Manuscript, I found it written *ἡ ἑσθία*; which is the same as if he should have said *in*

*session, among, or, of the number of the Bishops.* *Valef.* The Reading in Robert Stephens is *ἡ ἑσθία* 39.

Bishops opposed it, and said, That his Accusers were without, and they requested that they might be ordered to come in. Those things therefore were read which had been transacted against Ibas. And when the Judge by an Interlocution had given order, that the Acts at Ephesus against Ibas should be read; the Bishops said, that all things which had been done, at the Second Ephesine Synod, were void and null; except only the Ordination of Maximus [Bishop] of Antioch. And they made a request to the Emperor concerning this matter, that by a Law he would decree, that nothing of those things [which had been done] at Ephesus after the First Synod (over which Cyrus of blessed Memory, Prelate of Alexandria, had presided,) should be valid. And Ibas had his Bishoprick adjudged to him. At another Action, the Cause of Bassianus Bishop of Ephesus was discussed; and \* was decreed,

\* that as well he, as Stephanus, should be deposed, and another substituted in their room. And at another Session, the same thing was put to the Vote and confirmed. In the Thirteenth Action, the Cause Bassianus, between Eudomius [Bishop] of Nicomedia, and as Stephanus Anastasius Bishop of Nicæa was inquired into, who were at strife amongst themselves concerning their own Cities. Moreover, there was a from the Fourteenth Action, wherein the Cause \* of Sabianus [the Bishop] was examined. And in fine, it of Ephesus? was determined, that the Constantinopolitan See and that in should have \* precedence immediately \* Or should another be placed. Bishop should be

made; as may be seen in the Eleventh and Twelfth *Ἀξιωμα*. This place of Evagrius therefore is to be made good thus; *ἡ ἑσθία ἡ ἐκτετακτα*, that as well he as Stephanus should be ejected, or deposed, and another substituted in their room. *Valef.*

Instead of Bassianus, it must be made Sabinianus from the Acts of the Chalcedon Council. Of this Sabinianus Bishop of the Perrenses (which is a City in the Euphratesian Province) Liberatus makes mention, in the twelfth chapter of his *Breviarium*. Also, there is an Epistle of Theodoret's extant, written to this Sabinianus, which is reckoned the 126<sup>th</sup> amongst his Epistles. *Valef.*

THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History

OF

*EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,*

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

## CHAP. I.

*Concerning Zeno's Empire, and concerning  
his Life.*

\* Viz. *Lco*  
the second;  
See book  
2, ch. 17.

**B**UT *Zeno*, after the death of his own \* Son, was invested with the sole Administration of the Empire; supposing as it were that he could not be possessor of the Dominion of the whole World, unless with [an uncountrollable] Liberty he might prosecute all manner of pleasures which occurred; at his first entrance he yielded himself so wholly up to the attempts

<sup>a</sup> In the most excellent Florentine MS. at this place some Learned Scholiast had set these words; *αὐτὸς ὁ Πῦρ ὁμοιωμένης*, *Oh, the likeness to what it is now! Vale!*

\* Or, *was conversant.*

these things in darkness and obscurity: but [to] perpetrate them [to] openly and in the sight of all [was in his judgment] Royal and becoming only an Emperour. But, his Sentiments [in this matter] were ill <sup>a</sup> & absolutely servile. <sup>b</sup> For an Emperour is not taken notice of for this, because he rules over others, but on this account, in regard in the first place he governeth and moderateth himself, permitting nothing that is extravagant or ill <sup>c</sup> to creep into himself: But continues <sup>d</sup> so impregnable against intemperance, that [he may seem to

\* Or, like  
those of  
slaves.

b<sup>o</sup> On the  
the Kings  
Tellerian,  
and Flo-  
rentine

MSS. and in *Stephens's* Edit. the Adverb *ἔν* is wanting, which Learned Men had put in by conjecture, unhappily enough. But, I doubt not but it should be written, *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, &c. and have read it accordingly. *Valef.*  
 \* In stead of [*εἰσέλθου* *εἰς τὴν* entrance,] in my judgment it ought to be *εἰσέλθουσιν*, to creep into: and this Reading is confirmed by *Nicéphorus*, book 16 chap. 1. *Valef.*

2. Οἶπτος ἐνὶ ἀνάλλῃ, &c. I assent to the Learned, who have long  
 since mended it thus, οἶπτος ἐνὶ ἀνάλλῃ, &c. But continues: so impreg-  
 nable &c. although the Manuscript Copies vary not here. But Nec-  
 phorus, when he perceived this place to be corrupted, interpolated it  
 after this manner: κρητύθη ἀνάλλῃ, &c. whence he continues so  
 impregnable. &c. Vales.

be ] a living Image of Virtues, instructing his  
Subjects to an imitation [ of Himself. ] But he  
who has prostituted himself to pleasures, by de-  
grees is imprudently made the vilest of Servants,  
and becomes a Captive not redeemable, \* fre-  
quently changing his Masters, like the unuse-  
fullest sort of Slaves. For innumerable plea-  
sures are made his Mistresses, which can never  
have an end of their Train and Coherence, and  
of their succeeding one another : the pleasure  
which is at hand never stopping, but becomes  
the Incentive and Preface of another ; till such  
time as any Person, \* really and truly made an  
Emperour [ over himself, ] can expel that tur-  
bulent and tumultuous government of pleasures,  
reigning in future, and not oppress with Ty-  
ranny : otherwise, continuing a Slave to his last  
breath, he must possess the infernal Pit.

it should be, ὅτως γνήσιον, *really and truly made*, &c. and to the  
Reading is in Nicephorus. Valef.

## CHAPTER II.

*Concerning the Incursions of the Barbarians  
both in the East, and in the West.*

Such a Person was *Zeno* at the beginning [ of his Government, ] \* a Man of an intemperate, <sup>Excessive</sup> and dissolute life. But those who were his Sub- <sup>jects</sup> <sup>& disc.</sup>

Christopherson understood not this Phrase, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he has rendered it thus; *Ad hunc modum* Zeno in *initio imperii sui vitam instituit*. After this manner Zeno at the beginning of his Empire ordered his life. *Graciani* take *ἐκαστὸν* for *Blas*, for a difficult and intemperate life. These words take frequently our sense in *Dion Cocceianus* and others. Hence *ἐκαστὸν* is taken for *Luxury and Delights*, as *Saïdas* attests. Further, the Greeks took *Diffolute and Luxurious Persons* thus, because they are wont to observe no rule of living. So *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* in his fifth book speaking of a just King, says these words, *καὶ ἐκαστὸν αὐτοῦ* &c. *ἡσυχῶ*. Not at all receding from the Instructions of his Ancestors. *Nicephorus* therefore has rightly expressed this place of *Evagrius* thus; *ἀποβῆκεν τὴν αὐτοῦ* &c. ἡ τὸν *βίον* κατὰ τὸν *ἐκαστὸν* &c. an *incomplete and disorderly Person*, and most extravagantly *dissolute* in his life. Valde.

jects.

\* Or, as well as the Eastern as Western parts, underwent most severe mischiefs and afflictions: on this side the † Saracens ruined all things: on that, a multitude of the Hunni, heretofore termed the *Massagetae*, made incursions into *Thracia*, and passed the *Danube* no body making a resistance against them; Zeno himself also in a Barbarick manner <sup>b</sup> by force took away [ from the Provincials ] what [ the Barbarians ] had left.

† Zeno's demerits ad Barbaricum morem violento atrepto, Zeno being from thenceforth violently hurried away to a Barbarick disposition. But Chrysostom translates it in this manner: Zeno vero reliquit imperii partibus per vim barbaro quadam more ac modo spoliatas. But Zeno in the other parts of the Empire also by force committed spoils in a certain barbarous fashion and manner. But had they consulted Nicephorus, they might have had a right understanding of this place from him. For Nicephorus has explained these words of Evagrius thus: *ὅτι δὲ τέρως ῥησάμενος, ἑλὼν αὐτὸς πλεὶς ἀφῆκεν, ὥς ἂν αἱ βαρβαρὶκοὶ εὐνοίῃ; that is, But whatever had been left by them [ the Barbarians ] was forcibly taken away by Zeno, who in [ the Provincials ] on a less rate than the Barbarians. Further, in the *Floruerunt* and *Telerian* MSS. instead of *αὐτὸς πλεὶς ἀφῆκεν*, in the Plural number, which seems to me more elegant. Valef.*

## CHAP. III.

## Concerning Basiliscus's Tyranny, and Zeno's Flight.

BUT when Basiliscus Verina's Brother made an Insurrection against him, (For even his own Relations were enemies to Zeno, all Persons equally abominating his debauch'd Life;) he had not so much as a thought in him that was manly and courageous: (For wickedness is a cowardly thing, which breed desperation and despondency, and gives a sufficient indication of an unmanliness of mind, from its being vanquished by pleasures;) but flies with all the haste imaginable, and without a Battel yields so great an Empire to Basiliscus. He endured also a tedious <sup>a</sup> Siege <sup>b</sup> in the Country of the *Maurem*, where he himself had been born, having his Wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [ her Husband's flight ] had left her Mother,) and as many of his Friends as had continued faithful to him. Basiliscus therefore having thus encircled himself with the Crown of the Romans, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Caesar*, took a contrary course, both to Zeno, and to those who had been Emperours before [ Zeno. ]

<sup>a</sup> Zeno has a tedious <sup>a</sup> Siege <sup>b</sup> in the Country of the *Maurem*, where he himself had been born, having his Wife *Ariadne* with him, (who after [ her Husband's flight ] had left her Mother,) and as many of his Friends as had continued faithful to him. Basiliscus therefore having thus encircled himself with the Crown of the Romans, and proclaimed his Son *Marcus Caesar*, took a contrary course, both to Zeno, and to those who had been Emperours before [ Zeno. ]

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## CHAP. IV.

That Basiliscus recalled Timotheus Aelurus; and, induced thereto by him, sent his Circular Letters to all places, in order to the <sup>a</sup> abrogating of the Chalcedon Synod. <sup>b</sup> Rejection, or, abolishing.

INDUCED thereto <sup>a</sup> by an Embassy of some Persons [ sent to him ] from Alexandria, he recalls Timotheus from Exile, (who had been banished eighteen years;) Acacius [ at that time ] administering the Bishoprick of Constantinople. When therefore Timotheus arrived at the Imperial City, he persuades Basiliscus to send his Circular Letters to the Prelates in all places, and to Anathematize what had been done at Chalcedon, and Leo's Book. The contents of the Circular Letters run thus, <sup>b</sup> Embassies, therefore, which they sent may seem

a small and trivial Emendation, is yet altogether necessary. In Nicephorus, *his* *dis* *to* *us*, or, therefore, Valef.

† Or, To make use of his Circular Syllables.

† Or, Compose of which Letters say these words.

## BASILISCUS'S CIRCULAR LETTER.

Emperour Caesar Basiliscus, Pius, Victor, Triumphator, Maximus, always Adorable, Augustus: and Marcus the most Noble Caesar, to Timotheus the most Reverend and <sup>a</sup> most Pious Archbishop of the Great City Alexandria. <sup>b</sup> Or, God-loving.

Whatever Laws the most Pious Emperours our Predecessors have made in defence of the true and Orthodox Faith, whosoever [ of them ] have persisted truly to worship the Blessed, Immortal, and vivisick Trinity; Our Will is, That those Laws, in regard they have always been salutary to the whole World, should at no time be abrogated, and made void: but rather, We promise those Laws as our own. But We, who give Pity and a Zeal for God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who hath made Us and advanced us to Glory, a preference before [ all care and sollicitude ] about Humane affairs; and moreover, who believe, that the <sup>a</sup> Concord of Christ's Flocks is the <sup>b</sup> safe-<sup>c</sup> Or, Conty of the Flocks themselves, and of every Subject, Junction, and is the firm and solid Foundation, and immovable Wall of our Empire; being [ on this account ] <sup>d</sup> Or, Sal-  
deservedly moved with a divine zeal of mind, and offering to God and our Saviour Jesus Christ the <sup>e</sup> Or, From uniting together of the holy Church, as the First-  
fruits of our Empire, do Enact, That the <sup>f</sup> Basis <sup>g</sup> Or, and Foundation of Humane Felicity, that is the Ground Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Ho-  
maments by Fathers heretofore convened at Nicea <sup>h</sup> † by † Or, To the Instinct of the Holy Ghost ( unto which gather  
[ Creed ] We and all our Ancestors, after with the  
our Belief thereof, have been baptized, ) shall Holy Spi-  
only be made use of, and obtain in all God's <sup>i</sup> Or, Hold  
most Holy Churches [ and in the Assemblies <sup>j</sup> oblige,  
of ] the Orthodox People; in regard that only <sup>k</sup> † And, <sup>l</sup> † the  
is the Definition of the true and sincere Faith, Orthodox  
and is sufficient both for the destruction of any <sup>m</sup> People in  
Heresie of what sort soever, and also for the <sup>n</sup> all God's  
compleat and perfect uniting of God's Holy Churches. <sup>o</sup> most holy  
† So, that those things also shall retain <sup>p</sup> Churches.



their own Strength and Validity; which have been done in this Imperial City by the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, in confirmation of the same divine Creed, against them who have uttered Blasphemies against the Holy Ghost: and moreover, all those things which have been done in the Metropolis of the Ephelians, against the Impious Nestorius, and those who \* since that have embraced his Sentiments. But We Decree, That those things which have broke the Concord and good Order of God's Holy Churches, and the Peace of the whole World, to wit, that termed *Neo's Tome*, and all things which in the definition of the Faith at Chalcedon, or in the Exposition of the Creeds, have been spoken or done, on account either of Interpretation or Doctrine, or Disputation, in order to the Innovation, of the forementioned Holy Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, shall be Anathematized both here, and every where else, throughout every Church, by the most Holy Bishops in all places, and shall be committed to the flames by whomsoever they shall be found. For thus the Emperours of Pious and Blessed Memory [who lived] before Us, to wit,

\* There is indeed ex-decreed concerning all Heretical Opinions. Be-  
tant a  
Constitution of the Emperour *Constantine's*, wherein the Dogmatical Book of *Arius*, are ordered to be burnt; which Constitution occurs at page 221. of our *Socrates*. Nevertheless, the Emperour *Basiliscus* seems here to mean another Law, which had been promulged by *Constantine* against all Heretics in general. But that Law hath perished by the injury of time. Yet part of it is still remaining in *Eusebius*, in the Third Book of his Life of *Constantine*, chap. 64, and 66. But, there are two Constitutions extant of *Theodosius Junior's*, concerning the Burning of *Nestorius's* Books. The former of which makes mention of the Law of *Constantine* of Blessed Memory, against *Arius's* impious Books. Further, these Constitutions, of *Theodosius* occur in the third part of the *Ephesine* Council. *Basiliscus* had subjoined these Laws of *Theodosius* to his own Circular Edict, as 'tis hereafter attested. Valef.

ing therefore after this manner abrogated, let them be wholly cast out of the one and only Catholick and Apostolick Orthodox Church; in regard they alter the eternal and salutary \* Terms of the 318 Holy Fathers, and those of the [150] Blessed Fathers, who † have published express Declarations [concerning] the Holy Ghost.

\* Or, Limit.

† Or, Have

made San-

ctions [concerning] the, &c.

\* Κατά τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. At this place *Nicephorus* has rightly added two words, in this manner;

ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. But I affirm that a third word is to be added, thus; ὅτι καὶ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν. For the word [ἐπίνοιαν, terms] is understood; which occurs in the foregoing Clauses.

Valef.

tions made at Chalcedon, against the Divine Creed, [We Decree] that their Heresy shall be Anathematized, who deny that the Only-begotten Son of God was really and truly incarnate and made man by the Holy Ghost, and of the Holy and ever-Virgin Mary the Theotocos, but in a false and monstrous manner assert [that he took Flesh]

\* Or, Out

of.

either \* from Heaven, or imaginarily and in shew only and appearance; in fine, every Heresy, and if there hath been any other Innovation made, at what time soever, in whatever manner, or place of the whole World, either in sense and meaning, or in words, [framed] in order to a transgressing the said Divine Creed. But in regard 'tis the property of an Imperial providence, by a foreseeing consideration and inspection liberally to distribute security to his Subjects, not only at the present, but for the future also; We Decree that the most Holy Bishops in all places shall subscribe to

this Our Divine Circular Letter when \* exhibited Or, then to them, and shall plainly declare, that they adhere Or, decidedly to the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers, which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers have since confirmed; in such manner as those most Holy Fathers afterwards convened at the Metropolis of the Ephelians have

definitively Decreed, to wit, a That we ought only to follow the Divine Creed of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers; in regard it is the Boundary and Limit of the Faith: Anathematizing what ever hath at Chalcedon been made the stumbling-block of the Orthodox Laity, and wholly ejection it out of the Churches, as being become the impediment of the universal and our own [private] felicity. But whatsoever after these our Divine Syllables (which, we believe,

are promulged agreeable to [the mind of] God, in regard they procure an Union to God's Holy Churches, whilst-for and desired by all men;) shall at any time attempt to produce, or so much as to name, either by way of dispute, or in their teaching, or writing, at what time, in what manner or place soever, the Innovation which hath been made at Chalcedon against the Faith; our Command is, That such Persons as these (in regard they are the occasioners of Disquietude and Tumult to all God's Holy Churches, and to every one of our Subjects, and are enemies to God and to our safety, according to those Laws promulged long before our time by *Theodosius* of Blessed and Divine Memory, against this manner of \* impro-  
bity, which [Laws] we have subjoined to this *tolerance*.  
Our Divine Circular Letter; ) if they be Bishops or Clergymen, shall be deposed: but if Monks, or Laicks they † shall be liable to Banishment, to a † Or, Shall fall under  
Confiscation of all their Goods, and to the ex-  
traneous punishments. For thus the Holy and  
Consubstantial Trinity (at all times adored by  
our Piety,) the Framers and Envisagers of all  
things, being by Us now also worshipped, by an  
abolition of the forementioned || Darnel, and a † Or, Thus  
confirmation of the true and Apostolick Traditions  
of the Holy Creed, and rendered propitious and  
candid, both to Our Soul, and to every of Our  
Subjects; will ever in future together with Us  
Govern Humane Affairs, and render them com-  
posed and peaceable.

## C H A P. V.

Concerning those Persons who consented to *Basiliscus's* Circular Letters, and rejected the Synod [of Chalcedon.]

AS therefore 'tis related by *Zacharias* the Rhetorician, *Timotheus*, newly returned from Exile (as I have said,) gave his consent to these Circular Letters: as did likewise Peter Bishop of Antioch, surnamed \* *Fullo*, who toge-  
ther with *Timotheus* was present at the Imperial [City Constantinople.] These things having been performed in this manner, † they vote † Seeth d. cote (x.)  
that *Paulus* also should recover the Archiepiscopal Chair of Ephesus. Further, [the same *Zacharias*] affirms, that *Anastasius*, who had suc-  
ceeded

\* Or, διὰ πάσης, &c. In *Nicephorus* 'tis truly written thus, ἐν αὐτῇ πόλει, &c. that we ought only to follow, &c. which Reading *Christopher* and *Sir Henry Savil* have embraced. A little after this, where the Reading before was, ὁ δὲ ἁγὸς πνεῦμα, the Boundary and Limit of the Faith; from the *Florent.* and *Telerian MSS.* I have made it, ὁ δὲ ἁγὸς πνεῦμα, in regard it is &c. art in *Nicephorus*. Valef.

† ἢ, ἀποκαθίστην, & ἡγουμένον. In the *Telerian MSS.* in *Nicephorus*, I found it written, ἢ ἀποκαθίστην, of the minister, &c. Valef.

ceeded *Juvenalis* [in the See] of *Jerusalem*, subscribed the same *Circular Letters*, as likewise very many others: inſomuch that they were in number about Five hundred, who condemned *Leo's* \* *Letter*, and the *Chalcedon Synod*. [The ſame Author] \* does alſo ſome where record the *Supplicatory Libel* preſented by the Biſhops of *Aſia* <sup>b</sup> convened at *Ephesus*, to *Baſiliſcus*; part of the Contents of which [Libel] run thus.

number about five hundred, who conſtitute  
 Leo's \* Letter, and the Chalcedon Synod. [The  
 ſame Author] \* does alſo ſome where record  
 the ſynodical Libel preſented by the Biſhops  
 of Aſia<sup>8</sup> convened at Ephesus<sup>9</sup> to Baſilius;  
 it muſt be part of the Contents of which [Libel] run thus.  
 made by  
 does record; which I admire Tranſlators perceived not. Z<sup>a</sup>  
 clarus is underſtood, who in his *Ecceſiaſtical Hiſtory* had recorded  
 this Libel entire, which the Biſhops of Aſia, convened at Ephesus,  
 ſent to the Emperour Baſilius. Valet.

to the Emperor *Basiliscus*, *Baronius* in his *Annals*, at the year of Christ 1076, writes very slightly and negligently: remarking this, that it was celebrated by the *Eutychians*. But he mentions neither upon what account it was assembled, nor what was transacted therein: it is our office therefore, by our care and diligence to supply what he has omitted. After the *Circular Letters* sent forth by the Emperor *Basiliscus* against the *Chalcedon Council*, *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, the only person of the *Patriarchs* subject to the *Eastern Empire*, refused subscribing to these Letters, nor the *Constantinopolitans* to expunge the *Chalcedon Synod* out of the *Ecumenical Tables*. Moreover, the Monks of *Constantinople* and the clergy opposed *Basiliscus*. Lastly, the *Confabulate* threatening to fire the City and the Palace, if the Emperor should permit to put a force upon *Acacius* and the Catholics. *Basiliscus*, terrified heretofore, flies from the Imperial City; took from the *Constantinopolitan* Church their Rights and Privileges, and forbade the Senators to speak to [or salute] *Acacius*. But afterwards, when he heard that *Zeno* was on his return out of *Isauria*; being terrified with fear, he came into the Church together with his wife and children; and excusing himself to *Acacius* and the Clergy of the Imperial City, restored their Rights to the *Constantinopolitan Church*, and set forth his *Anti-Circular* [that is *Letters sent against the Circular Letters*]. Thus *Theodorus Lector* informs us, Book 1. The *European* therefore, thus *Theodorus Lector* contend with so much force for the confirmation of the *Chalcedon Synod*; and that not only the Monasteries, but the people also of the Imperial City, and other *Pilgrims* were there, were excited by *Acacius* against *Basiliscus* convened a Council of Bishops of their own party in the City *Ephebus* in which Council they condemned and deposed both *Acacius*, and some other Bishops who embraced the same Sentiments with him; and then they treated the Emperor *Basiliscus*, that he would permit in this former opinion, and would not promulge a Constitution Contrary to his own *Circular Letters*. In the same Synod, *Paulus* is ordained Bishop of *Ephebus* by the Bishops of the same Province, and the *Patriarchal privilege* is restored to the *Ephebus Sen*, as our *Basiliensis* relates in the sixth chapter of his *behaviors*. Further, this *Ephebus Synod* was held on the 15th of the month of August, in the year of Christ 477, after the *Confabulate* was assembled a little before *Basiliscus* promulged his *Anti-Circular Letters*. Now *Basiliscus* published those Letters on that year I have mentioned; when he understood that *Zeno* was returning out of *Isauria* with an Army; as I have observed above out of *Theodorus Lector*. Indeed, the *Asian Bishops* seem to intimate this in their Letter to *Basiliscus*, in these words: *ἡμῶν τὸ ἔργον ὡς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὸ ἀποστολικὸν ἐκκαλεσθέντων συνελθόντες*, Be pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your Divine *Circular Letters*. Moreover, *Theodorus Alarus* seems to have predated at this Council. True to *Ephebus* in the Reign of *Basiliscus*, and *Acacius* sent *Paulus* in the Imperial Chapel, as *Evagrius* relates from his *behaviors*. Nor is it likely, that any Patriarch of *Constantinople* should have been deposed by any other person, than the *Alexandrian* Bishop, who held the dignity of a Patriarch equal to *Acacius*. For who can believe that the *Constantinopolitan* Bishop was deposed by the Bishops of *Asia*, who long before this, [from the times of *Felix Chrysostom*], were subject to the Bishops of *Constantinople*? Vain!

To the most Pious in all things, and the Lovers  
of Christ, our Lords Basiliscus and Marcus, per-  
petual Victors, \* Augusti. And after some  
words. *You have always seem'd (Most pious  
and Christ-Loving Emperours!) to be divers  
ways assaulted, together with the Faith which  
is hated and oppos'd. And after other words.*

as Marcellinus relates in his *Chronicon*, Theophanes, and others. 'This certain, in *Basilijus's* Circular Letters he is only termed the most noble Cæsar. But afterwards he was styled *Augustus* by his Father, as this Letter of the Bishops of the *Ephesine* Council doth inform us. Also, in the *Anti Circular Letter* of *Basilijus*, the same *Marcus* is named Emperor with his Father. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken therefore, who relates that *Basilijus*, as soon as he was proclaimed Emperor, crowned his Son *Marcus* Emperor. Candidus is yet truer, in the second book of his History, in Photius. Valer.

A certain terrible expectation of Judgment; and an \* Ardour of Divine Fire, and the Just \* Ζῆλος, & a \* Refinement of Your Serenity, will in a short or, a part of time || Seize the Adversaries; who <sup>a</sup> with a certain arrogant folly, as it were with Darts, at-tempt to make an attack against the powerful Lion, or God and your Empire fortified by the [true] Faith; nor do they in any manner spare our Tenacity: but continually assault us with reproaches and lies as if by a necessity and a force we had subscribed to your Divine and Apostolical Circular Letters: whereas we have

set our hands thereto with all imaginable joy and  
alacrity of mind. And after some other words, Be  
pleased therefore to publish nothing contrary to your  
Divine Circular Letters; knowing for certain  
what we have already said, that the whole world  
will be overturned again, and that the mischiefs  
done by the Synod at Chalcedon will be found  
small and trivial, which [yet] have effected  
these innumerable murders, and have unjustly and  
illegally poured forth the blood of the Orthodox.  
And after other words, We protest before our  
Saviour Jesus Christ, \*We entreat Your piety \*Εὐχόμεθα  
to be free from that just Canonical and Ecclesiastical ἀποτίξις  
afflict \*condemnation and deposition inflicted on unworthy  
them, and especially [from that inflicted] on οὗτον  
him, who by many [evidences] has been de-ἀποτίσθαι  
fined not to have governed the Bishoprick of this read  
Imperial [City] holily. ἡμεῖς  
contrary to the Faith and Authority of all Copies, and without any sen-  
tence. Besides, he has rendered the following words very badly. Whence it  
happened, that Baroniſius, who every where follows Christopherſton's  
Version, could in no wise understand the translators of this Epistolic  
Council. So great a hindrance is an ill Rendition. Nor had Joban-  
nes Langus translated this Clause more happily. For he hath rendered  
it thus: Attestamus coram Salvatore Noſtro Jēſu Chriſto, &c. We  
attest before our Saviour Jēſu Chriſt, that your piety is free and innocent.  
From which we request, that a Just and Canonical and Eccle-  
siastic Sentence of Condemnation and Deposition may be pronounced  
against them, and especially against him who hath been many ways found  
out to have admitted the Bishoprick in the Imperial City impiously.  
But the Bishops of Asia do not say this; but request of the Empe-  
rour, Basiliscus and Marcus, that they would not communicate any  
more with Acacius and the other Bishops, whom they themselves had  
condemned and depozed by an Ecclesiastical Sentence: For this is  
the import of these words, ἐκδοῦναι τὸν διάκονον τοῦ αὐτοῦ  
ἐκ τῆς λειτουργίας, &c.; which are to be written in one entire  
Clause, without any distinction. But Translators, following Nice-  
phorus, and the Edition of Robert Stephens, have placed a distinction  
after the πρὶν, which led them into a mistake. Vale.

\* In this Edition of *Valesius's*, 'tis *ῥηλατῆρας*, *abuse*: it is, I suppose, an error of the Press, put instead of *ῥηλατῆρας*, *condemnation*: which is the reading in *Stephens's Edition*.

[Further] the same *Zacharias* writes word for word thus. *As soon as the Circular and Imperial Letters were published, those persons in the Imperial [City] who were disordered with* Οἱ τῆς Εὐτυχῆς Ὀpinion *and followed a Monastick life,* ἐβύλινξε φαν' ἄσπιν

*weſſes*. Translators underſtood not theſe words of *Zacharias* Rector. Nor does *Nicephorus* ſeem to have underſtood them. For, inſtead of them, he has ſubſtituted theſe; *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ οὐκ ἐστὶν εἰκασία, ἀλλὰ φαντασία* *one who imagine / or fancy*. *Eusebius's* Text: *By ἁποφάνει* [*Phantasia*], or *Imaginatio*]. *Zacharias* meant the opinion of *Eusebius*, who asserted, that the flesh of Christ was not true nor consubstantial with us, but *Phantasia* or *imaginary*; as may be seen in the *Acts* of the *Chalcedon Council*. Hence the *Epistles* of *Avitus Bishop* of *Vienna*, wherein he confutes *Eusebius's* Error, have this Title, *Contra Phantasma, against the Phantasm*; as *Sirmundus* attests. Further, from this place it may be gathered that *Zacharias Rector* was not an *Eusebian*, as *Baronius* thought at the year of *Christ* 476. For he would never have exprest himself thus, had he been a follower of *Eusebius's* Sect. It muſt therefore either be said, that theſe are not the words of *Zacharias Rector*, (which notwithstanding *Evagrius* affirms) or elſe, that he was not an *Eusebian*:ſiſt. See chap. 14. Vales-

supposing they had met with Timotheus as with some unexpected gain, and hoping to reap a great advantage to themselves from the Circular Letters, in great haste betook themselves to Timotheus. And when they had been convinced by him, that the Word of God was of the same substance with us according to the flesh, but Confubstantial to the Father in relation to the Deity, they went back [to their own homes.]

## CHAP. VI.

*That Timotheus Ælurus recovered the [Bishoprick] of Alexandria, and having restored the privilege of a Patriarchate to the [Church] of Ephesus, Anathematized the Chalcedon-Synod.*

THE same [Zacharias] says, that Timotheus leaving the Imperial [City Constantinople,] arrived at Ephesus, and [there] \* placed <sup>a</sup> Paulus in the Archi-Episcopal See of the Ephesians. This [Paulus] had long before this been ordained by the Bishops of that Province, <sup>b</sup> agreeable to the more ancient usage: but had been ejected out of his See. Timotheus also restored to the Ephesine Church the <sup>c</sup> Patriarchal privilege, which the Synod of Chalcedon had deprived it of, as I have said. Removing from thence, he comes to Alexandria, and persisted to request those who came to him, to Anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon. Nevertheless, many others of his own Faction receded from him (as 'tis related by the same Zacharias,) as did likewise Theodotus one of those that had been ordained at Rome.

\* O, Sea placed <sup>2</sup> Paulus in the Archi-Episcopal See of the Ephefians. This [Paulus] had long before this been ordained by the Bifhops of that ebe(Chain) Province, <sup>3</sup> agreeable to the more ancient ufe: but had been ejected out of his See. Timotheus alfo reftored to the Ephefine Church the <sup>4</sup> Patriarchal privilege, which the Synod of Chalcedon had deprived it of, as I have faid. Removing from thence, he comes to Alexandria, and perfifted to requelt thofe who came to him, to Anathematize the Synod of Chalcedon. Nevertheless, many others of his own Faction receded from him (as 'tis related by the fame Zacharias,) as did likewife Theodotus one of thofe that had been ordained at Joppa by \* Theodofius, who was made Bifhop of Jerufalem by fome perfons, at fuch time as Juvenalis went to Conftantinople.

\* See book 4, chap. 5.

*Paulus* should be referred to the See of *Ephesus*, out of which he had been ejected. For these are *Evagrius's* words of the fifth chapter of this book, ἡμεῖς οὐτως ἐπαινοῦντες τὴν ἐκείνου ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ὑποβιβάζομεν, *Sed non* Vult tunc Paulus alibi [should] recover the *Archiepiscopical Chair* of *Ephesus*. Which place *Cyprianos* has not rendered truly, in this manner; *Huius rebus ita confiteor* Paulus ad sedem *Archiepiscopatus* Ephesiani capessendam delinquit, These things having been thus construed, Paulus is chosen to take the *Archiepiscopal See* of *Ephesus*. For *Paninus* was not elected by *Aelurus* and *Ferrus Fullo* at *Constantinople*, that he should take the *Ephesine-See*; but having been expelled out of the See of *Ephesus*, he came to *Constantinople*: where a Council of *Eutychianists* being convened, it was Decreed that he should recover the *Archepiscopate* of the City *Ephesus*. In the fifth chapter of this book, the reading in the vulgar Editions was, ἐπελθὼν Σεβαστο, Come into the Chair. But from the *Florentine* and *Tellurian* M.SS. I have mended it, ἐπιελθὼν εἰς τὸν θρόνον. Yet I had rather add a preposition, and write it thus, ἐπιελθὼν restitu to, recover, &c. re. enter upon. Vale!

*Ἄνδρες τὸ ἀρχαιότατον συνέλευται.* I had rather make it *ἀνδρες*, &c. agreeable to *Ec.* Further, what *Λαβανος* says here is mostly true, to wit, that it was the ancient usage, that the Bishop of *Ephesus* should be ordained by the Bishops of his own Province. For, from *St. Timothy* who was the first Bishop of the *Ephesians*, until *Cassianus*, and *Heraclides*, whom *John Chrysostom* ordained, all the Bishops of the *Ephesians* were ordained in the same City by the Bishops of that Province, as it appears from the *Eleventh Action* of the *Cræcedon Council*, *Valef.*

For *Zacharias* does here call the Patriarchal privilege the Right of Primacy, or the privilege of Ordaining Metropolitans. For in this the Patriarchal privilege did properly consist, as I have observed in my Little Book concerning the interpretation of the Sixth Canon of the Nicene Council, which is published at the close of *Our Sacraes*. Now whereas *Zacharias*, or rather *Eugarius*, adds, that this privilege had been taken away from the See of Ephesus by the Council Synod; he means the Sixteenth *Action* of the Chalcedon Synod; wherein it was Decreed, that the Constantinopolitan Bishops should Ordain Metropolitans in the Asian Diocesis. Vale.

## CHAP. VII.

*That the Monks having raised a Sedition by the persuasion of Acacius, Basiliscus was put into a fear, and wrote and promulged Circular Letters contrary to those he had published before.*

[T]HE same Zacharias relates likewise; that Aecius Bishop of Constantinople was extremely troubled at that he incited the Monks and Populacy of the Imperial [City] against Basiliscus, as being an Heretic. And, that Basiliscus, at length \* renounced his Circular Letters, and wrote a Constitution, that what had been surreptitiously [and rashly] done, should be wholly vacated and made null; and, that he sent abroad Letters contrary to his former Circular Letters, wherein he confirmed the Synod at Chalcedon. And these Anti-Circular-Letters (as he terms them,) Zacharias has omitted, who hath written his whole History with partiality and in favour to his own party. But the Contents of them run word for word thus.

### Bafiliscus's Anti-Circular-Letter.

Emperours, Cæsars, Basiliscus and Marcus. *We* Decree, that the Apostolick and Orthodox Faith (which originally and from the beginning hath flourished in the Catholick Churches, which hath obtained even until our Empire, which doth now obtain under our Empire, and which ought forever to obtain, into which we have been baptized, and which we believe) shall only continue inviolate and unshaken, and shall for ever be prevalent in all the Catholick and Apostolick Churches of the Orthodox; and, that nothing else shall be required. For this reason therefore *We* command, that all things which have been done on account of the faith or Ecclesiastick <sup>a</sup> Discipline under our Empire, whether they be Circular Letters, or other [Letters,] or what ever else, shall be void and null: Nestorius and Eutyches, and every other Hereſie, and all those who embrace the same Sentiments with them, being Anathematized. And [tis our will,] that concerning this Subject, neither any Synod should be convened, nor any other question [started:] but, that these things should continue firm and unshaken. Moreover, [We command,] <sup>b</sup> that those Provinces (the Ordination whereof the Chair of this Imperial and Glorious City hath had) shall be restored to the most pious and most Holy Patriarch and Archbishop Acacius: to wit, the most pious Bishops [that now are, continuing in their own Sees; [yet that] after their deaths on prejudice from this business may arise to the Right of Ordination [belonging to] the Holy Chair of this Imperial and famous City. Now, \* it is dubious to no person, that this our Divine Decree has the force of a Divine Constitution. And these things proceeded in this manner.

<sup>a</sup> Or, Con-  
stitution.

<sup>b</sup> When by the Emperour Basiliscus's Circular Letter, the Cathedral Synod had been wholly suppressed, the privileges of the Constantinian See which had

blished in *that Council*, seemed to have been taken away by that same Sanction. By which thing *Acacius* was chiefly moved, and used his utmost endeavour, that the Emperor *Basiliscus* should revoke the same Constitution. Besides, in the *Ephesine Synod*, the Patriarchal privilege had been restored to the See of *Ephesus* by *Timotheus* *Archbishop* of the

\* Or, It has been dubious.

we have seen before. Which having been done, the *Asian Diocesis*, the ordinations whereof had been given to the Bishop of *Constantinople* by the Decree of the *Chalcedon Synod*, was taken away from that See. There was therefore need of a new Constitution, whereby its Rights and Privileges might be restored to the *Constantinopolitan See*. This therefore the Emperor *Basiliscus* now performs, by the publication of these *his Anti-Circular Letters*. *Theodorus Lecter* does likewise attack the same, in his first Book *Collegian*, about the close thereof. *Valef.*

## CHAP. VIII.

## Concerning Zeno's Return.

**B**UT Zeno having (as 'tis reported) [seen in his sleep] the Holy *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, famous for her many Conflicts, who incited him, and made him a promise that his Empire should be restored to him; marched his Army towards *Byzantium*. And having with gifts, corrupted those who besieged him, he drives out *Basiliscus* who had held the Empire two years; and delivers him to the enemy after he had made his escape to the Holy Rails [of the Altar.] On this account Zeno dedicated a spacious Church, eminent for its *\*splendideus* beauty, to the *Proto-Martyr Thecla*, at *Seleucia* situate in the Country of *Isauria*, and beautified it with many and Imperial Sacred gifts; which are preserved till these our times. Further, *Basiliscus* is sent into the Region of the *Cappadocians*, † in order to his being put to death: but he is slain in that Station named *\*Acusis*, together with his wife and children. And Zeno makes a Law, which abrogates what had been constituted by the Tyrant *Basiliscus* in his *Circular Letters*. Then also *Petrus* surnamed *Fullo* is driven from the Church of the *Antiochians*; and *Paulus* from that of the *Ephestians*.

*Hilary*, and *Candidus Isaurus* in the second book of his *Histories*, both which Authors relate, that *Basiliscus* was killed by the sword. But the other *Historians* tell us, that he dyed by hunger and cold, together with his wife and children. This disagreement of Writers in reference to *Basiliscus's* death, is taken notice of by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, page 107. *Valef.*

So also the name of this Station is written in *Nicetianus*. But *Cedrenus* and *Theophanes* term it *Cuesis*. *Marcellinus* and the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* call it *Leminis* and *Linnis*, a *Castrum* [or, *Castle*] of *Cappadocia*, into which *Basiliscus* was thrust together with his wife and children; and the gate of one of the Towers, wherein he was inclosed, being stop'd up, he perished there by hunger and cold. *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

That after *Basiliscus's* death, the Bishops of Asia, that they might appease *Acacius*, sent him a Penitentiary-Libel, [craving pardon] for their offence in rejecting the Synod of Chalcedon.

**I**N the Interim, the Bishops of Asia, in order to their appealing *Acacius*, excused themselves, and craved pardon, sending a Penitentiary-Libel [to him,] wherein they affirmed, that they had subscribed to the Circular-Letters by force and constraint, not voluntarily; and they swore, that the thing was so,

and that they had not believed, nor did believe otherwise than agreeable to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The *\*purport* of their Letters is this. *On, forec.* The Epistle, or Petition, sent to *Acacius Bishop of Constantinople*, from the Bishops of Asia. To *Acacius the most Holy and most Pious Patriarch of the most Holy Church at the Imperial [City] Constantinople, New Rome*. And after other words. *\*He hath arrived amongst us and does not know what is right and sitting; who also shall fill your [seat] in his place.* And after a few words. By these *Libell* [or, *Letters*] we signify to you, that we have subscribed, and are not according to the intent of our minds, but by *Henry's* force and constraint, giving our consent thereto in our words and Letters, but not in heart. For by minding it [the assistance of] your acceptable intercessions, thus [together with the assent of the Deity, we believe in] such manner as we have received from those Three hundred and eighteen Luminaries of the world, nothing of and from the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, *scilicet Nicetians*, [we believe] those matters also, which, *scilicet* certain, have been piously and rightly determined at *Chalcedon* by the Holy Fathers convened there. Further, whether *Zacharias* the Rhetorician has calumniated these [Bishops of Asia,] or whether they themselves have lied, in averring that they subscribed involuntarily, I cannot affirm. But in the next words, which follow, it

ought to be made *quintus* *temus*, your place, instead of *quintus* *temus*, our place. *Johannes Langus* perceived this before us, who has rendered this passage transcribed out of *Evagrius* thus, *Reste sine ad nos vocat, qui locum etiam vestrum obinebit*. He hath indeed gone rightly into us, who shall also possess your place. By which words the Bishops of Asia mean the Legate, which *Acacius* Bishop of *Constantinople* had sent to them, to wit a *Presbyter* or a *Deacon* of the *Constantinopolitan Church*. But if any one had rather, with *Christophorus*, read *ep' vras*, amongst you; we must understand it of the Legate which the Bishops of Asia had sent to *Acacius*, that he might present the Libel of satisfaction to him. And this I think is true. *Valef.*

Instead of [ *quintus*, our ] doubtless it must be [ *quintus*, your ] as the reading is in *Nicetianus*. From whom an amendment must be made a little after this, thus, *eorum demerito*, by dividing the words, which were erroneously made one word. Each emendation is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. X.

## Concerning those who governed the Bishoprick of Antioch.

**A**fter therefore *Peter* [was ejected,] *Stephanus* assumes the Chair of *Antioch*: *Petrus* whom the children of the *Antiochians* slew with Darts, *scilicet* *harmes* *As* as *Johannes* the Rhetorician has related. But *Stephanus* after *Stephanus*, the Government of that same of *Antioch*. See was committed to *Calendion*, who exci- He being ted those that came to him to *Anathematize* ejected *Antiochians*, together with *Basiliscus's Circular Letters*. *ter three months,*

*Stephanus* was put into his place, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, page 107: to which Writer agrees *Gelasius* in *Gestis de nomine Acacii*, and *Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. *Pope Felix* has mentioned the same *Stephanus*, in the Sentence of *Condemnation* which he declared against *Acacius*, and in the Epistle which in the name of the Roman Synod he wrote to all the Presbyters and Archimandrites in *Constantinople* and *Bithynia*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XI.

*That the Emperour Zeno took a resolution of persecuting Ælurus: but by reason of his age he had compassion on him and let him alone. And how after Ælurus's death, Perus Mongus was ordained by the Alexandrians. But Timotheus, Proterius's successor, by the order of the Emperour, obtained the Chair of the Alexandrians.*

Moreover, Zeno was resolved to have expelled *Timotheus* out of *Alexandria*: but understanding from some persons that he was now very aged, and would soon go the way of all men, he altered his resolution. And not long after [*Timotheus*] paid the common debt [of Nature:] whereupon those of *Alexandria* by their own authority elect *Petrus*, furnished *Mongus*, Bishop. Which, when it came to Zeno's hearing, disturbed him extremely. Wherefore Zeno punished *Petrus* with death: but he recalled *Timotheus* [*Salophaciolus*,] *Proterius*'s successor, who then lived at *Canopus* on account of a Sedition raised by the people. *Timotheus* therefore by the Emperour's order recovered his own See.

a Or, enter the Inn, or, house of all men.  
† Or, forbade.  
a Oī tīc ō. λεξανδρί-  
ου ἐπισκο-  
ποι, &c.  
the Bishops  
of Alexan-  
dria elect,  
&c. I had  
rather  
write ἐπι-  
σκοποι, &c.

writing, and to read the whole clause thus, *ὁ πρεσβυτερος αὐθις*  
*αὐτοπροβουλησιν ἐποίησεν τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ἐκείνην* whereupon *εἰς*  
*τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν αὐτὴν* own authority *ἐλέη* Petrus furnished *Μονγὺς*  
*Ἰβήνας*, and I am of opinion that *Εὐαγγρις* wrote thus. 'Tis certain,  
 these words *τὴν ἀρχιεπισκοπὴν ἐκείνην* cannot be spoken of the *Suffragan*  
*Ἰβήνας*. Besides, *Petrus Μονγὺς* was ordained but by one Bishop,  
 as it related in *Gelasius de nomine Acacii*, and in *Acacius's Epistle to*  
*Pope Simplicius*. *Υαλέε*.

Pope Simplicianus. I doubt not but it should be written *αεσιβί-  
 στος, punished*. *αεσιβίος* signifies *militare, to punish*. Whence  
 the Emperor's motto *Punitor* is, as *Suidas* attests. But *αεσιβίος*  
 (which is the reading in Robert Stephens's Edition) signifies quite  
 another thing. *Nicephorus* having found this fault in his Copy, ex-  
 pounded the *Prepositio*, and worded this place of *Evagrius* thus, *καὶ  
 οὗτοι ὑπομνήσαντες Σαδρατὴν ὕμνησαν ὡς τὰς* that is *He punished those who  
 had elected [Petrum Monachum Bishop] with a capital punishment*. And  
 yet *Evagrius* does not say so. For he relates, that *Monachus* himself was  
 condemned by *Zeno*, not the Bishops who had chosen *Monachus*. 'Tis  
 apparent therefore that *Nicephorus* had read thus in our *Evagrius*;  
 καὶ τοὺς οὗτοι ὡς Σαδρατὴν ὕμνησαν αεσιβίως, *wherefore Zeno  
 punished those with death*; and that he understood it as [spoken of the  
 Heretical Bishops who had elected *Monachus*. Doubtless, the Bishops  
 who had chosen *Monachus* deserved a furer punishment than *Monachus*  
 himself, who was elected by them. For they had done that on their  
 own authority, without the Emperours advice and direction: whereas  
 it had been caitumary, by reason of the largeness of the City *Alexandria*,  
 that the Bishop thereof should not be elected, unless the Emperour's  
 mind were first known. Besides, they had presumed to elect another  
 Bishop when the See was not void, but whilst *Macarius Sabaolachos* was  
 yet survived. Whereupon the Seditions and Divisions, which seemed  
 to have been extinguished by the death of *Trophimus Elurus*, were  
 kindled afresh. For the zealous, those Bishops were to be punished with  
 a capital punishment, rather than *Monachus*. Nevertheless, in my judgment  
 neither is true. For *Monachus* was punished only with banishment. But  
 the Bishops who had ordained him, are ordered to be punished by  
*Antimeris the Augustinus*; as *Liberatus* affirms in his *Breviary*, chap.  
 16. Velef.

## CHAP. XII.

*Concerning Johannes who obtained the Presidency over the Alexandrian Church after Timotheus, and how Zeno outed him in regard he had forsworn himself, and restored the Chair of Alexandria to Petrus Mongus.*

\*I am of\* **B**UT by the advice of some persons, *Joban-Christopher* and *Sir Henry Savil*, who instead of [*ἐκ παλῆς ἀεὶ ἔστιν*] have mended it thus, *ἐκ παλῆς ἀεὶ ἔστιν*, *but* by the advice of some persons: which amendment is confirmed by *Nicephorus* and the *Tel-*

*Brian Menzies* writes: Moreover, *Libertus* in his *Breviary* chap. 16, affirms that *Johannes* the *Oeconomus* [or, *Steward*] was sent to *Constantinople* on a far different account. For he says, that *Timotheus Salophaciolus*, after he had recovered his Episcopal Chair by the Decree of *Zeno Augustus*, sent some Ecclesiastics to *Constantinople*, amongst whom was *Johannes* the *Oeconomus*, who might give the Emperor thanks for his own restitution. They also made a request to the Emperor at the same time, that if any thing should happen to *Timotheus* otherwise than well, no other person but a Catholic might be put into his See by the Clergy and people of *Alexandria*; as we are informed in *Glossis de nomine Aetacii*. Which thing *Zeno* in his answer to *Salophaciolus*'s advices, ordered to be done by a Letter written to the *Alexandrian* Clergy; as *Felix* attested in his first *Epistle* to *Aetacius*, and *Gelasius* in *Glossis de nomine Aetacii*. Further, in the *Floristine Manuscripts*, at the Margin here, these words occur, *scilicet* *78* *de Aetacius*, concerning *Johannes Tabernaculus*, who retain the name of *Tabernaculus* in the *Floristine Manuscripts*. I retain this, because he had been a Monk in the *Monastery* of the *Tabernaculus* at *Campus*, where *Timotheus Salophaciolus* had likewise formerly followed a Monastick life and discipline; as *Theophanes* relates. Vale!

mes a Presbyter, <sup>b</sup> appointed to be the Steward of the venerable Church of the *Holy Forerunner and Baptist John*, makes a journey to the Imperial City [*Constantinople*,] being sent on an Embassy [to make an address to the Emperor,] that if it should happen that their Bishop should die, the Inhabitants of *Alexandria* might have a <sup>c</sup> liberty of Electing one to preside over their Church whom they should have a mind to. This person, as *Zacharias* affirms, was by the Emperor discovered to have a design of procuring the Bishoprick for himself. and when he had obliged himself by oaths, that he would never seek to get the *Alexandrian* Chair, he returned into his own Country. But the Emperor promulgated a Law, that after *Timotheus's* death, that person should be Bishop whom the Clergy and <sup>d</sup> people [of *Alexandria*] should Elect. *Timotheus* having ended his life not long after, this *Johannes* (as

*tholicius.* Why therefore does *Evergrius* (or rather *Zacharias*, of whom *Evergrius* took it,) say here, that *Johannes* was *Oeconomus* of *Saint John's Church*? For he was not *Steward* of this Church only; but he look'd after the revenues and money of all the Churches which were under the Bishop of *Alexandria*, as *Libertinus* informs us in his sixteenth chapter, in these words: *Porro Johannes ex Oeconomis sanctus fuit Hillo Magistro; qui cum reliquis defendit Alexandria.* *Falsusque est iterum Oeconomus, habens causas omnium Ecclesiarum.* Further *Johannes* of an *Oeconomus* is made a friend to *Hillus* the Magister; who together with the rest were down to *Alexandria*. And he was made *Steward* again [or, the second time,] having all the Causes of the Churches. Instead of *Urbens* causas omnium Ecclesiarum, [I think it should be habens gazas omnium Ecclesiarum, being the treasure or riches of all the Churches.] This emendation, *Libertinus* following words do confirm, which run thus: *Qui multa & prestigiosa dixit Hillo Magistro, &c. Who directed [or sent] many of those precious presents to Hillos the Magister, &c.* Or mult it be said that the Church of *Saint John Baptist* was then the Greatest Church of *Alexandria*? Indeed, heretofore the Greater Church of *Alexandria* was termed the *Cathedral*, as I have observed at *Socrates*. But it is possible, that the Church of *Saint John*, which had been built there by *Theodosius* after the demolition of the *Serapim*, might become the Greater Church, the Episcopal Chair being removed thither. Concerning this Church of *Saint John Baptist*, *Rufinus* speaks in chap. 27. of his second book *Eccles. Hist.* And in the following chapter he adds concerning the Reliques of *Saint John Baptist*, *that in the time of Athanasius they were brought to Alexandria.* To which afterwards, the *Serapim* [or, *Serapis's Temple*] being demolished, *Golden houses* (that I may use *Rufinus's* words, which are *Aurea Testa*), were erected in the reign of *Theodosius*. 'Tis certain in this Church of *Saint John*, the Patriarch of *Alexandria* performed his Religious assemblies, as *Theophanes* informs us concerning *Diogenes* pag. 129. *Vale.*

page 139. *Valer.*  
The power therefore of Electing their Bishops had been taken from the Clergy and people of the City *Alexandria*, and the Emperors had removed the privilege of nominating the Bishops of *Alexandria* to himself, as 'tis apparent from this place. Which we deny not to have been done by force and against the Ecclesiastical Laws. Nevertheless, the *Roman* Emperours not without reason challenged that power to themselves after the murder of *Prætorius* the *Alexandrian* Bishop. In regard the City of *Alexandria*, by its own inclination prone to Seditions, had several times raised vehement disturbances in the Election of Bishops. *Valer.*

the same *Zacharias* has related, gave money<sup>a</sup> disregarding the Oaths wherein [ he had bound himself ] to the Emperor, is constituted Bishop of *Alexandria*. Which when the Emperor understood, he ordered him to be executed. And by the perswasion of some Persons, the Emperor wrote an *Exhortatory Edict* to the *Alexandrians*, which he termed his \* *Henoticon*; and ordered, that the Chair of *Alexandria* should be restored to *Petrus*, provided he would subscribe to His *Henoticon*, and receive those of *Proterius*'s Party to Communion.

It accordingly. Further, concerning this Oath wherein *Johannes* *Takouphos* had formerly bound himself in the Emperor's presence, that he would never climb up into the *Alexandrian* See, *Pope* *Simpli-* cius speaks in his seventeenth Epistle to *Acacius*. *Liberatus* also attests the same, in his *Breviary*, chap. 17. *Valef*.

### C H A P. XIII.

That *Petrus* Mongus embraced *Zeno*'s *Henoticon* and joined himself to the \* *Proterians*.

**T**His *Disposition*, which had been made by the advice of *Acacius* Bishop of the Imperial City, *Pergamius*, who was confiscated to *Præfect* of *Egypt* carries along with him. He being arrived at *Alexandria*, and finding *Johannes* fled, held a Conference with *Petrus*, and persuaded him to admit of *Zeno*'s *Exhortatory Edict*, and moreover [ to receive ] those who had dissented from him. He admits therefore of the forementioned *Exhortatory Edict*, and subscribes to it. He promises also that he would receive those who were of the contrary party. Wherefore not long after this, when a publick Festivity was celebrated at *Alexandria*, and all *Petrus* by a general consent agreed to that termed *Zeno*'s *Henoticon*, *Petrus* likewise admitted [ to Communion ] those of *Proterius*'s party. And having made an *Exhortatory Oration* to the People in the Church, he recited *Zeno*'s *Exhortatory Edict* also, the Contents speaks to whercof were these.

*Clergy* and *Liturg*, and by Preaching as it were, exhorts them, like a Priest, to embrace unity. But, this termed an *isopsephos* for this reason, because by a wholefome Dispensation (as at the first birth it appears,) it invites all Catholics to one and the same Communion, the mention of the *Chalcedon* Synod being suppressed. Further, this *Edict* of *Zeno* bore date on the year of Christ 482; *Trocodas* and *Severinus* being Consuls, as *Bronius* writes. Which is evidently confirmed by *Victor Tironensis* in his *Chronicon*. *Valef*.

*Liberatus* in his *Breviary*, chap. 18. relates that *Pergamius* was not *Præfect* of *Egypt*, but *Dux* [ or Commander of the Mæces ] ; his words are these; *Acacius* *persecutus* *Zenoni*, &c. *Acacius* *persecutus* *Zeno*, that he should write to *Apollonius* the *Augustinian*, and to *Pergamius* the *Dux*, that they should drive *Johannes* out of the *Alexandrian* See, as having seized it contrary to his own Oath, which he had given in the Imperial City; and that they should give their assistance to *Petrus* Mongus, that he might continue in that See. *Valef*.

### C H A P. XIV.

*Zeno*'s *Henoticon*.

**E**MPEROUR *Cæsar* *Zeno*, *Pius*, *Victor*, *Triumphator*, *Maximus*, always Adorable, *Augustus*; To the \* most Reverend *Bishops*, *Clergy*, *Monks*, and *Laicks*, in *Alexandria*, and throughout *Egypt*, *Libya*, and *Pentapolis*:

*For* the words are these: *Flavius* *Zeno* *Pius*, *Victor*, *Triumphator*, *Maximus*, always *Augustus*, to the *Orthodox* *Bishops*, &c. Then *Flavius* finds fault with that term *Orthodox*, and expresses his anger

against it in many words; that the Emperor should not be afraid of giving the title of *Orthodox* to a company of Heretics who had no head. Further, this *Edict* of *Zeno* was promulgated in the year of Christ 482, as *Barenus* has recorded. *Valef*.

Knowing the only right and true Faith ( which the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers convened at *Nicea* by a Divine Influence have set forth, and which the Hundred and fifty Holy Fathers in the like manner assembled at *Constantinople* have confirmed; ) to be the Beginning and \* *Consistency*, and the power and infirmation: expugnable † *Defence* of our Empire: We have † *Or*, *Ar-* made it Our business night and day, by all imaginable Attention and Diligence, and by Our Laws, that God's Holy Catholic and Apostolick Church, which is the incorruptible and immortal Mother of Our Scepters, should every where be multiplied and enlarged by that [ Faith: ] and that the pious People continuing in Peace and that Concord [ which bears a relation ] to God, together with the Bishops most dear to God, and with the most Religious Clergy, Archimandrites, and Monks, might offer up their acceptable Prayers for Our Empire. For whilst the Great God and our Saviour Jesus

Christ, who was incarnate and born of the Holy Virgin and Theotocos *Mary*, approves of and readily accepts our concordant Glorification and Worship, all sorts of Enemies shall be consumed and extinguished: and all Nations will submit their Necks to Our Power which is \* according to God: \* *Or*, *Nest* [ In fine, ] Peace, and those Goods that are the to God. Product thereof, temperateness of the air, plenty of fruits, and all other things which are useful and advantageous, shall be conferred upon men. Whereas therefore the irreprehensible Faith doth in this manner † preferre Us and the Roman Aff- † *Or*, *Be-* sairs, *Addresses* have been presented to Us by the gift. most Religious Archimandrites, Hermits, and other Reverend Persons, who with tears made supplication, that an Unity might be made in the most Holy Churches, and that the Members might be joined to the Members, which that Enemy of Good hath long since been very solicitous to disjoin: assuredly knowing, that \* should he make war against the entire Body of the Church, he might with ease be vanquished. For from hence it happens, that there are innumerable \* multitudes of men, which Time hath taken out of this life in the space of so many years, a part whereof have departed hence deprived of the Laver of Regeneration, and part have gone the inevitable way of mankind without a participation of the Divine Communion: and, that innumerable murders have been audaciously committed, and that not only the Earth, but the Air it self also hath been defiled by an abundant effusion of blood. What man is he, who will not pray, that these things might be changed into a better State

and

*†* *Or*, Generations. *†* To this place of *Zeno*'s *Edict* *Pope* *Felix* alludes, in his Epistle to *Zeno* *Augustus*, where his words are these: *Dolet corpe pietas tua, quod per diuturnos partis alterne gravesque constitutus, multi ex hoc seculo videantur ablati, aut baptismi aut communionis experiri*; Your piety doubtless is grieved, that by reason of the long and fore consist of each party, many may seem to have been taken out of this world, without being partakers of Baptism or the Communion: *Val-*











the Divine praises night and day, succeeding one another by turns; in so much that they seemed not to sleep. So heretofore in the *Gallia's*, a continual praising of God is said to have been kept up in some Monasteries. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XX.

Concerning what Felix wrote to Zeno, and Zeno to Felix.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν αὐτὸν σὺν Νεφωρίῳ ὑποφύκει· ὅτι αὗται Κοινωνία (for so the Latines term them, which the Greeks call *Communion*;) were written to the Emperour Zeno. But *Eusebius* says they were written to *Vitalis* and *Misenus* the Legates of the Apostolick See. <sup>b</sup> Tis certain, *Communionaries* were wont to be sent to Ambassadors and such like Persons, but not to the Roman Emperour. For they were as it were Orders and Instructions which publick Ministers ought to shew to observe. *Valef.*  
\* That is, *Johannes*.

he had disregarded his Oath, and committed all manner of Sacrilege: and, that *Petrus* had not been ordained rashly and without an exquisite Tryal and Examination, but had with his own hand subscribed, that he embraced the Faith of the Three hundred and eighteen Holy Fathers heretofore convened at *Nicaea*; which Faith the Holy Synod at *Chalcedon* also had [approved of, and] followed. The express words [Of Zeno's Letter] are these: *You ought to be most undoubtedly assured, that both Our Piety, and the forementioned most Holy Petrus, and all the most holy Churches, do Embrace and Revere the most Holy Synod of the Chalcedonians, which hath fully agreed with the Faith in the Synod of the Nicæans.*

<sup>c</sup> Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν. In the excellent *Vatican* Manuscript. I found it written *Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν*: and so also the same Manuscript Copy has it written in other places, as I have remarked before. Indeed, the ancient Copies do confirm this writing of this word, as does likewise the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν*. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> Ἐπιτομή. There are also extant in the same *Acts* the Letters, both from the forementioned *Cyrillus*, and from other *Archimandrites* of the Imperial City; and also [those] from the Bishops and Clergy of the *Egyptick Diocesis*, [written] to Felix, against *Petrus* as being an Heretick, and against those who communicated with him. Further, when the [Monks] belonging to the Monastery of the *Acemati*, were come to Felix, they accused *Misenus* and those that accompanied him, because till their arrival at *Byzantium*, [the name of] *Petrus* had in secret been recited in the Sacred *Diptychs*; but, that from that time till now it was recited publicly; and therefore, that *Misenus* and those who accompanied him had held Communion [with *Petrus*.]

approve of *Christophorus's* Version, who has rendered this place thus: *Extant pariter in Actis ejusdem Concilii, &c.* There are moreover, extant in the *Acts* of the same Council, &c. For *Eusebius* makes no mention here of any Council, only takes a view of the Collection of Letters, which belonged to *Acacius's* Cause. *Christophorus* thought (because he few mention was made of the *Acts* by *Eusebius*;) that it followed immediately, that these things were transacted in a Council. But the matter is not always so. For whatever things were done in any affair, may simply be called *Acts*, although no Council or Judiciary Proceedings intervened. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> Ὁ ὁμοῦς ἀδελφὸς. The Article *ὁ* is to be expunged; which is not acknowledged by *Nicephorus*. *Valef.*

The Letter likewise of the *Egyptians* affirmed the same things [with what I have related] concerning *Petrus*; and further also, that *Johannes* being a Person Orthodox, had been legally Ordained; but, that *Petrus* was Ordained only by two Bishops, who maintained the same ill opinion with himself: and, that immediately after *Johannes's* flight, all manner of punishments had been inflicted on the Orthodox. And that *Acacius* had had information of all these things by some Persons who had made a journey to him [from *Alexandria*] to the Imperial City; and he [lastly,] that *Acacius* was found to be *Petrus's* retick. So favourer and assistant in all things.

Letter to Pope *Simplicius*, and Felix in his Synodick Epistle to all the Monks and *Archimandrites* at *Constantinople* and in *Bithynia*. The same is likewise attested by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107; and by *Gelasius* in the *Gesta* de nomine *Acacii*. Yet *Libertius* affirms *Petrus* was ordained by more Bishops than one, although he expresses not their number. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XXI.

That *Symeones* a Monk belonging to the Monastery of the *Acemati* went to Rome, and accused those Bishops sent from the Romans to *Constantinople* as having held Communion with Hereticks; and, that these Legates, and those Persons who held Communion with *Petrus*, were deposed by the Romans.

These [accusations] were much increased by *Symeones*, one of those Monks termed the *Acemati*, who was sent [to Rome] from *Cyrillus*. For this Person accused *Misenus* and *Vitalis* for having communicated with Hereticks; [he avowed] that the name of *Petrus* was publicly recited in the Sacred *Diptychs*, and that by this means many of the simpler sort were imposed upon by Hereticks, who affirmed that *Petrus* was received [to Communion] even by the See of Rome. *Symeones* added likewise, that when several questions [were proposed,] *Misenus* and his Companions would not allow of a Conference with any Person that was Orthodox, or make a delivery of Letters to them, or take an exact scrutiny of any thing that was audaciously attempted against the true Faith. *Symeones* a Presbyter (one that had conversed with *Misenus* and *Vitalis* at *Constantinople*,) was likewise brought in, who confirmed what had been said by the Monks. Moreover,

*Acacius's* Letter to *Simplicius* was read, [wherein *Acacius*] affirmed, that *Petrus* had been long since Deposed; and that he was a Son of Night. And on these accounts *Misenus* and *Vitalis* were removed from the Sacerdotal Function, and separated from the undesired Communion; the whole Synod having given their vote in these express words: *The Church of the Romans doth not receive [to Communion] the Heretick Petrus, who hath long since been both condemned by the Vote of the Sacred Chair, and also Excommunicated and Anathematized. Against whom (though nothing else were objected, yet) even this would be sufficient, that having been ordained by Hereticks, he could not preside over the Orthodox.* This also was contained [in the said Sentence:] <sup>a</sup> But, that *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Constantinople* deserves a severe reproof, the thing it self has demonstrated; because in his Letter to *Simplicius* he has termed *Petrus* an Heretick, but at this present hath not detected

<sup>a</sup> All other Authors relate, that *Misenus* was ordained by one Bishop, and he is an Heretick. So says *Acacius* in his Epistle to all the Monks and *Archimandrites* at *Constantinople* and in *Bithynia*. The same is likewise attested by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107; and by *Gelasius* in the *Gesta* de nomine *Acacii*. Yet *Libertius* affirms *Petrus* was ordained by more Bishops than one, although he expresses not their number. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> This Letter of *Acacius's* is extant, set forth in Latin amongst the Epistles of Pope *Simplicius*. The same Letter is mentioned in Pope Felix's Epistle, which contains *Acacius's* Sentence of Deposition. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> Against whom (though nothing else were objected, yet) even this would be sufficient, that having been ordained by Hereticks, he could not preside over the Orthodox. This also was contained [in the said Sentence:] But, that *Acacius* [Bishop] of *Constantinople* deserves a severe reproof, the thing it self has demonstrated; because in his Letter to *Simplicius* he has termed *Petrus* an Heretick, but at this present hath not detected

detected it to the Emperour: for he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this; but he loves the Emperour with a greater ardency of affection, than he has for the Faith. But let us reduce our Relation to the following Series of affairs. There is extant an Epistle of Acacius's, [written] to the Bishops in Egypt, and to the Eccl-

Flor-  
ent MS.  
which par-  
ticle call  
a great  
light up-  
on this  
place.  
the same  
Florentine  
Manuscript  
at the side of these words, this Scholion was written; Οὐ ληστὴ ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα τὴν ὁμοίαν τῶν Ἀρμενίων καὶ τῶν ἰσχυρῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν. Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀγάπῃ αὐτῶν παρὶ. That is, This Author does not say here expressly, that Acacius was deposed by the [Bishop] of Rome: but Theodorus and Basilus Ciliæ do manifestly affirm this. Nicephorus (book 16 chap. 17.) attests the same concerning Basilus Ciliæ. Further, our Evagrius is undoubtedly reproved by that Scholion, because at this place he speaks nothing of Acacius's Deposition. Evagrius does here relate all things that were transacted in the Roman Synod, which was convened in the year of Circiter 484. against Vitalis and Misenus Legates of the Apostolick See. In that Synod Vitalis and Misenus were indeed deprived of the honour of the Priesthood. But Acacius was only reprehended and rebuked, as 'tis apparent from the Decree of the Synod, here recorded by Evagrius. After this, Felix sent his Synodick Letters to Acacius; wherein these words occurred; *Peccasti, ne adicias, & de prioribus supplicia, Tuā esse offensa, make no addition, and supplicate for [your] former failings.* After receipt of which Letters, when Acacius till that time, and committed Facts worse than the former; Pope Felix (the Bishop) being a second time convened,) pronounced a Sentence of Deposition against Acacius, and directed it to Acacius, by Taurus Defensor of the Roman Church; which [Sentence] beginn thus: *Multum transgressionum reperitis obnoxius, Tu es found guilty of many transgressions.* That these things were transacted in this manner, Pope Felix informs us in his Synodick Letter, to the Presbyters and Archimandrites at Constantinople and throughout Byslania. For, after he had written concerning Vitalis and Misenus, and concerning Acacius, who were condemned in the Roman Synod, he adds these words: *Possit illi sententiam quæ in Acacium petribatorem totius Orientis Ecclesiæ dicta est, &c.* After that Sentence which hath been pronounced against Acacius, the disturber of the whole Eastern Church, being now also conveyed, we have added to these Letters, &c. And a little after; *Unde nunc causâ Antiochenæ Ecclesiæ, &c.* Wherefore being at this present convened in the presence of the Blessed Apostle Peter avocations of the Antiochian Church, we do again hasten to declare to you how the Custom which hath always obtained amongst us. From which words it appears, that this Letter was written by Felix, in the name of the third Roman Synod, which had been assembled on account of the Antiochian Church; which after Calcedon was ejected, Petrus Fullo had invaded. In this Synod therefore Felix had dictated the Sentence against Acacius, (which begins thus; *Multum transgressionum reperitis obnoxius, Tu es found guilty of many transgressions;*) and had transmitted it to Acacius, by Taurus the Defensor. Nor can any one say, that that Sentence was pronounced before in the second Roman Synod, at such time as Vitalis and Misenus were condemned; but was sent a little afterwards by Felix, by the order of the Third Roman Synod. For Evagrius refutes this, who does not say, that the Sentence of Deposition was pronounced against Acacius in that Roman Synod wherein Vitalis and Misenus were condemned. Besides, Liberatus in his Breviarium (chap. 18.) does manifestly declare, that that Sentence of Deposition against Acacius was pronounced long after the Condemnation of Vitalis and Misenus. For hear what Liberatus says; *Revenit aliquando Legati. Sed præcesserunt Monachi, &c.* At which time the Legates return. But the Monks had gone before, who in a previous manner accused them of Treachery. Having been forthwith heard and convicted from those Letters which they had brought, they are removed from their own places. And after some few words; *Thæro ad plenum detectus est Acacius Hæreticus, &c.* When therefore the first of Acacius was fully detected, Pope Felix put these words in his Synodick Letters: *Tu have offended, make no addition, and supplicate for [your] former failings.* Acacius having received these Letters, persists in the same mind, neither receding from Petrus's Communion, nor yet perswading him openly to embrace the Chalcedon Synod and the Tome of Pope Leo. Pope Felix understanding this, sent a Writing of Condemnation to Acacius by Taurus the Defensor; the beginning whereof is this, *Tu es found guilty of many Transgressions.* Valef. \* Had this missi ἀποστῆναι. In the Florentine and Tellerian MSS. and in Nicephorus, the Reading is οὐ τὸν σὺν ἡμῶν ἀποστῆναι. Thus Cyrillus Ierosolym seems to have read, and so we have rendered it. At the Clause immediately foregoing, instead of *Non ἀποστῆναι σὺν ἡμῶν ἀποστῆναι*, For, he ought, if he had loved Zeno, to have done this; I would rather read thus; ἀποστῆναι τὸν σὺν ἡμῶν ἀποστῆναι ἢ ἡμῶν ἀποστῆναι. Wherein, if he had loved the Faith rather than Zeno, he ought to have done this.

After the Roman Synod which was convened on the account of Vitalis and Misenus, and wherein Vitalis and Misenus had been condemned; but Petrus and Acacius were only reproved and rebuked; it was consequent that Evagrius should have spoken concerning the

Sentence of Deposition pronounce'd against Acacius, and sent to Constantinople by Taurus the Defensor. And yet Evagrius has not done this here. Whereof two Reasons may be assigned. For, either this was done by Evagrius in Reverence to the Constantinopolitan See; or else, because Evagrius had related that before from Zacharias Rhetor; as may be seen in the eighteenth Chapter. What therefore he had declared there, he look'd upon as superfluous to repeat at this place. Valef.

fasticks and Monks, and to the whole Body of the Laity; wherein he has attempted to repair and make up the Schism which had hapned. Concerning which affair he wrote also to Petrus Bishop of Alexandria.

### C H A P. XXII.

Concerning the Disturbances at Alexandria, and in several other places, on account of the Synod at Chalcedon.

THE Schism therefore increasing at Alexandria, Petrus (after he had again a I have  
nathematized Leo's Epistle, and the Acts of the made good  
Chalcedon Synod, and those  
Persons who would not embrace the Writings of Dioscorus and Timotheus;) per-  
swaded some of the Bishops  
and Archimandrites to communicate with himself, And  
because he could not induce others [to do the  
same,] he drove most of them from their own  
Monasteries. For which Reasons Nephalius b Libera-  
made a journey to the imperial City and gave Ze-  
no an account of these matters. Whereat Zeno  
was sorely troubled, and sends Cosmas, one of  
his own Protectors [to Alexandria;] who gave  
forth many and great Menaces against Petrus on his Brevi-  
account of [procuring an] Unity, in regard by  
his own roughness he had raised a great Disfension.  
But Cosmas, when nothing succeeded according to his wish and design, returned to the  
Imperial City, having only restored the ejected  
Monks to their own Monasteries. Again there-  
fore the Emperour sends Asinius, whom he had  
preferred to be Prefect of Egypt and Dux of the  
Companies of the Militia. He being arrived at  
Alexandria in company with Nephalius, made a  
Speech concerning Unity. But when he could  
not persuade [them to it,] he sent some of  
them to the Imperial City. Moreover, many Dis-  
putes were held before Zeno concerning the Synod  
at Chalcedon: but nothing was brought to  
effect, because Zeno did not \* wholly assent to the  
Synod at Chalcedon.

### C H A P. XXIII.

Concerning Fravita and Euphemius [Bishops] of Constantinople; and concerning Athanasius and Johannes [Bishops] of Alexandria: also concerning Palladius and Flavianus [Prelates] of Antioch; and concerning some other Persons.

BUT Acacius [Bishop] of Constantinople having \* ἐρπύ-  
ving in this interim gone the common way τῶν. I had  
[of Mankind,] Fravita succeeded him in his Bi-  
rather  
τῶν, in this interim. Further, 'tis to be observed, that Evagrius  
does in the first place relate Acacius's death. For, of those three Schi-  
smatics who rent in sunder the Oriental Church, (to wit, Acacius  
Bishop of Constantinople, Petrus of Alexandria, and Petrus of Antioch,)  
the first that departed out of this Life (says Evagrius) was Acacius;  
then Petrus [Bishop] of Alexandria, who was termed Menus; and  
last  
R r 2

last of all died *Petrus Fullo*. But *Victor Timonenſis* in his *Chronicon* relates, that the first that died of those three I have mentioned, was *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Antioch*. For his words are these: *Post Consulatum secundum Longini, &c. after Longinus's second Consulship, Petrus* [Bishop] of *Antioch* dies under condemnation, and in his place *Calcedon* is ordained. But the Eastern Bishops, as *Person* ignorant, consecrate *Johnannes* surnamed *Codonatus*, Bishop over the said *Antiochian Church*, to whom succeeded *Petrus* the Heretic. This was the year of Christ 438. *Dynamius* and *Sidifius* being Consul. But on the year following, wherein *Probinus* and *Eusebius* were Consul, the same *Victor Timonenſis* records *Acacius's* death in these words: *Eusebio V. C. Col. Acacius Constantinopolitanus Episcopus sub damnatione moritur, &c.* The most famous Personage *Eusebius* being Consul, *Acacius*, Bishop of *Constantinople* dies under condemnation, and in his room *Flavita* is ordained Bishop; to whom (he dying in the third month of his Promotion,) *Euphemius* Keeper of the Decrees of the *Chalcedon Synod* was successor in the Bishoprick. And on the next year, *Longinus* and *Fauftus* being the second time Consul, the same *Victor* relates, that *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria* died under Condemnation. But *Baronius*, in his *Ecclesiastical Annals*, relates indeed the death of these three Schismatics in the same order with *Victor Timonenſis*, but not on the same year. For he says, that *Petrus Fullo* died on the year of our Lord's Nativity 436. And that *Acacius* died two years after that, that is, on the year of Christ 438; but in *Mongus's* death he agrees exactly with *Victor*. But I had rather follow *Victor's* Opinion, who places *Fullo's* death on the year of Christ 438. For *Calcedon* was created Bishop of *Antioch* on the year of our Lord's Nativity 452, at 'tis manifest from Pope *Simplicius's* Epistle; and in regard he held that Bishoprick four years, as *Theophanes* does attest; it must necessarily be said that *Petrus Fullo*, who on *Calcedon* is being ejected was put into his place, had possession of the See of *Antioch* on the year of Christ 436. But who can believe that *Petrus Fullo*, who committed so many and such notorious Facts during the time of his Episcopate, should have died a few months after his promotion? *Petrus Fullo* therefore died not on the year of Christ 436, as *Baronius* thought. But this Argument is with ease refuted; for 'tis grounded barely on *Theophanes's* Authority, who attributes four years to *Calcedon's* sitting Bishop. But *Calcedon* sat Bishop during the space of one year only. For he was ejected by the treachery of his Ordainer *Acacius*, a little after the *Roman Synod*, on the year of Christ 433; as we are informed from Pope *Felix's* Letter to all the *Prelates* and *Archbishops* of the *Constantinople* and throughout *Bythynia*, and from the Author of the *Gesta de Nomine Acacii*. But *Theophanes* and *Cedrenus* are not obviously mistaken, who relate that *Petrus Fullo* departed this life after *Petrus Mongus*. Whom Pope *Gelasius* has related in his Epistle to the *Orientalis*, who does attest that of those two *Petrus Fullo* died first. *Valf.*

a *Theophanes* Bishoprick. And when this *Flavita* had sent *relates* *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* [Bishop] of *Alexandria*, *Petrus* on his part returned him answer in the like Letters wherein he affirmed the same *Synodick Letters* to things [with what I have mentioned] concerning the *Affs* at *Chalcedon*. Moreover, after *Flavita's* departure out of this Life, (for he sat Bishop four months only;) *Euphemius* was ordained Bishop in his room. He receives the *Synodick Letters*, which *Petrus* had written to *Flavita*; and having found therein an *Anathema* against the *Affs* at *Chalcedon*, was mightily disturbed, and severed himself from *Petrus's* Communion. Both these [Prelates] Letters are extant, as well that from *Flavita* to *Petrus*, as that from *Petrus* to *Flavita*; which, by reason of their prolixity, I have omitted. When therefore *Euphemius* and *Petrus* were about to contend one with another, and to convene Synods one against the other; *Petrus* is prevented by death, and *Athanasius* succeeds him in his Chair. He attempted to unite the dissenting Persons; but could not effect it, the disagreeing Parties being divided into various Opinions.

c There were at *Alexandria* in two sorts of Heretics; to wit, the *Discorsite*, and the *Esfaitani*: concerning whom *Liberatus* speaks in his *Breviary*. The *Discorsite* wholly condemned and anathematized the *Chalcedon Synod*. But the *Esfaitani*, following *Zeno's* lead [that is, his Hereticism], did not indeed in any wise admit that Synod; yet they pronounced not an *Anathema* against it. *Valf.*

This *Athanasius* having after this sent *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Successor to *Petrus* in the Bishoprick of *Antioch*, did the same [that *Petrus* had done] in relation to the Synod at *Chalcedon*. The very same was likewise performed by *Johnannes*, who after *Athanasius* succeeded in the *Alexandrian* Chair. And after the death of *Palladius* Prelate of the Church at *Antioch*, when *Flavianus* had succeeded him in his Chair, *Solomon* a Presbyter of *Antioch* is sent by him to *Alexandria*, who carried *\* his Synodick Letters*, and requested *Johnannes's* Letter in answer to *Flavianus*. But after this *Johnannes*, another *Petrus* succeeds in the Chair of *Alexandria*. And these things proceeded in the same manner. [as I have mentioned] † till the beginning of [the Emperor] *Anastasius's* Reign. For he ejected *Euphemius* [out of his Bishoprick.] Which [translations] I was necessitated to joyn together in one continued series, both for periphrasis's sake, and also that they might with more celerity be understood.

had survived *Petrus Alexandrinus*, doubtless *Athanasius*, who succeeded *Petrus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, would have sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Petrus* Bishop of *Antioch*. For these *Synodick Letters* were wont to be sent by the Patriarchs at the very beginning of their Patriarchate. In regard therefore *Athanasius* sent his *Synodick Letters* to *Palladius* Bishop of *Antioch*, it appears from thence, that *Petrus Antiochenus* died long before *Petrus Alexandrinus*. Further, concerning *Athanasius's* *Synodick Letters*, *Liberatus* in his *Breviary* says these words, *Non post multum tempus, &c.* No long time after dies also *Petrus Mongus* at *Alexandria*, and after him *Athanasius* is ordained in that See: who himself also communicated with the *Constantinopolitan*, *Antiochian*, and *Hierosolymitan Church* in the *Edict*. *Valf.*

## CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning the slaughter of *Armatius*, who was kinsman to the Emperors *Verina*.

BUT *Zeno*, by the persuasion of *Illus*, slew *Armatius* also, who was the Emperors *Verina's* kinsman, whom, when he sent [against him] *\* Zeno* brought by *Basiliscus*, *Zeno* had *\* enſlaved* with gifts, and, instead of being an Enemy, had made him a Friend and an Auxiliary. He also creates his Son *Basiliscus*, *Cesar*, at the City *Nicea*. But sids, not when he was come to *Byzantium*, he slays *Armatius* by treachery. But he makes his Son *Basiliscus*, instead of being a *Cesar*, a Presbyter. Who was afterwards promoted to the Episcopical dignity.

promised, that as soon as he had recovered the Empire, he would make *Armatius* Perpetual Magister [or Master] of the present Militia; and his Son *Basiliscus*, *Cesar*, and his own *Affessor*; as *Theophanes* tells us in his *Chronicon*, pag. 107. Whole words, because they are corrupted, nor could be understood by the Translator, I will annex here. *Ἄνε ἀδελφὲς τῆς πολεμικῆς, ἡ ἐστὶν ὡς ἐπὶ πολλοῦ παραδίδωμι, ἡ ἐστὶν ἡ δαδὶν ἐξουσία, ἡ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσαντα ναύαρχον μισίαν ἐς τὸς βασιλεὺς αὐτοῦ, οὐκ αὐτὸν ἐς τὸν βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως. That is, But is also (as it frequently happens) being blinded with gifts [sent] from *Zeno*, and with a promise of the perpetual Mastership of the Militia, and that *Zeno* would make his Son *Basiliscus*, *Cesar*, and his *Affessor*; returned with *Zeno* against *Basiliscus*. I write therefore, *ἡ ἐστὶν ἡ δαδὶν ἐξουσία, αὐτοῦ, and with a promise of the perpetual Mastership of the Militia*. *Theophanes* terms the perpetual Master of the Militia *δαδὶν ἐξουσία*. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* does fully confirm our Emendation. For he writes, that *Zeno* had made a promise to *Armatius*, that he would grant to him the Magisterial power of the present Militia as long as he should live. *Suidas* relates much concerning this *Armatius*, in the word *ἀρματός*; which seems to have been taken out of *Damascius* in the Life of *Hippolytus* the Philosopher. *Valf.**

CHAP. XXV.

Concerning the Rebellion of \* Theodoricus the Scythian; and concerning the same person's death.

**T**heodoricus, by Nation a Scythian, made an insurrection also against Zeno: and having gathered together his own Forces in the [Country] of the *Thracians*, undertakes an Expedition against + him. And when he had ruined all the Countries before him, as far as the mouth of Pontus, he wanted but little of taking the Imperial City it self; [and had seized it,] had not some of his Greatest Confidants, induced thereto [by gifts,] entred into a Consult || about taking him off. Being informed therefore of this ill design of his own friends against him, he marched back; and not long after this is numbred amongst those departed this life. Moreover, I will declare the manner of his death, which hapned thus. \* A Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with, was hung up before his Tent, agreeable to the mode of the *Barbarians*. Having therefore a mind to exercise his body, he ordered his horse to be brought to him. And it being not customary with him to make use of a \* *Srator*, he mounted his horse without any help. But the horse, being a beast unmanaged and fiery, before Theodoricus had bestriden him and settled himself, rises with his fore-feet, and began to go forwards upright on his hinder feet only. So that Theodoricus striving with his horse, and not daring to \* curb him with the Bridle, least he should fall backwards upon him, nor yet being firmly seated in his Saddle, was tossed this way and that way, and throwa upon the point [of his Javelin,] which ran obliquely into him, and wounded his side. Being conveyed from thence therefore to his bed, and having continued alive some few days, he died of that

retained the Greek one. But Christopherson has rendred it worst of all, thus, *Haglam assidue bifida*, a Javelin with a double point. I have translated it *Haglam amantatum*, a Javelin fitted with a loop of leather to cast it with. For *δυσκλιν* is the same with *Amentum*; to wit, the thing wherewith Darts or Javelins were bound about, that they might be cast as swift as the Enemy. The Old Glosses out of the Library of Petrus Daniel quoted by Turnebus, explain it thus: *Amentum, corrigia lancee, quæ erant ansula est ad jactum*, that is, *Amentum*, the Latchet of a Lance, which is also a little handle to cast it. Where *ansula* is the same with *δυσκλιν*, to wit, that whereby a Dart is held that it may be thrown. *Εψελχιος* expounds *δυσκλιν* thus, *ὅτι εὐρίσκει καὶ δυνάμει τὴν ἀσπίδα*. *Τὸ δὲ δὲ δὲ τὴν τριφυλίαν* id, to fit [or clasp together] the fingers about the leather-latchet of a missile weapon. This *δυσκλιν* used to signifie, to be ready. So *Εψελχιος* made use of this phrase, *ἀποκρινόμενος τοῖς δόκτοις*, founds made by the lashings of leather-thongs. [See *Εψελχιος*, in the word *καταβόη*:] a Metaphor taken from *τὸν ἀσπίδα*, *ἀπὸ τοῦ δυνάμει* *καταβόη* *ἐκάλει*, from these Javelins, which they termed *amentata* [that is, fitted with loops of leather to fling them with;] as *Ευστάθιος* tells us, at the Second Book of the *Iliad*. Now, there was a double use of the *Amentum*. For, it conducted both to the holding of the Dart, and also that it might be thrown against the Enemy with a greater force. *Πάλιν*.

\* *Αναστροφὴ* *δὲ* *ἐκ* *ἐκείνης* *ῥησίδος*. In the incomparable Florentine MS. I found it plainly written *ἀναστροφὴ*, as Learned men had conjectured the reading should be. Now, *ἀναστροφὴ* is the same with him whom the Latines term a *Strator*, who is wont to lift his Master on horseback; as *Suidas* attests: in which Author there is a passage extant of an ancient Writer, who says these words concerning King *Μελισσανία*, *ὅτι* *μετακινῶντας* *μετὰ* *τὸν* *πῶτον* *ἀναστροφὴς* *ἐκείνου*. But this *Μελισσανία* when he was old mounted his horse without a *Strator*. Where *Suidas* seems to have taken the word *ἀναστροφὴς* for a *Scale* which we vulgarly term a *Stirrup*. *Πάλιν*.

\* *Αναστροφὴν*. I think it must be made *ἀναστροφὴν*, as 'tis in the Tellerian MS. For so the *Analogy* requires it should; as from *πείσθω* is derived *πείσθω*. *Suidas* expounds *ἀναστροφὴν* thus, *ἀναστροφὴν*.

*ἀναστροφὴν*, to pull back, to curb. But *Nicephorus*, instead of this word, made use of *ἀναστροφὴν*, to repress, or, to draw back. Further, the death of Theodoricus hapned on the year of Christ 481, as *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon* attests, in these words: *Placidius solo Cassi Theodoricus Triarii filius Rex Gothorum*, &c. *Placidius* being Consul alone Theodoricus Triarius's Son King of the Goths, taking his Forces [along with him] at far as Anaplum, arrives at the distance of four miles from the City; but having done no harm to any of the Romans returned forthwith. Further, hastning into Illyricum, whilst he was going between the moving Carriages of his own Army, he is wounded and stricken thorow with the point of a dart; being upon one of the Wagons, [occasionally] by the motion of his own horse who started; and dies. *Valer*.

CHAP. XXVI.

Concerning Marcianus's Insurrection; and what hapned in Relation to him.

**A**fter these things, Marcianus (the Son of \* *Anthemius* who had been Emperor of Rome, a kinsman by marriage to Leo Zeno's predecessor in the Empire; for he had married *Leontia* Leo's younger daughter;) having disagreed with Zeno, made an attempt to set up for a Tyrant. [And a sharp engagement hapning about the Palace; wherein many fell on either side; Marcianus routs his opposers. And [by that attack] had posselt himself of the Palace, had he not let that opportunity slip, by deferring that action till the morrow.] For, Opportunity is a swift-wing'd Bird, and whilst she flies at your feet, may peradventure be taken. But after she has avoided your hands, on a sudden she mounts on high, and derides those who pursue her, not suffering her self to be caught by them in future. On which account therefore \* *Statuaries* \* Or, I and Painters make her hair long before, but make her shave the hinder part of her head to the very kerns. skin: with great prudence intimating thereby, that as long as Opportunity is behind, she may be perhaps laid hold on by her long hair: but being got before, she makes a perfect escape, not having any thing whereby she may be taken hold of by the Pursuer. Which very thing at that time befell Marcianus, who lost that opportunity which was seasonably offered him, and was not in future able to recover it. For, on the morrow he was betrayed by his own party; and having been wholly deserted, fled to the Church of the *Divine Apostles*. Whence he was drawn out by force, and banish'd to *Cæsarea* a City of the *Cappadocians*. Where keeping company with some Monks, he was afterwards found out to design a private escape. On which account he was by the Emperor sent to *Tarjiss* of *Cilicia*, and having had his hair shorn, is ordained a Presbyter. These Transactions are with great elegancy written by *Eustathius* the Syrian.

Marcianus's (in like manner as our *Evagrius* does,) soon after the death of Theodoricus the Son of Triarius. But *Malchus* dissent, in his *Byzantine History*. For he tells us, that Theodoricus Triarius having heard of Marcianus's Sedition, forthwith drew together vast Forces, and marched towards *Constantinople*; pretending to give the Emperor assistance; but in reality, that he might make himself master of the Imperial City. *Malchus*'s words, if any one be desirous of reading them, occur at page 86 of the *Kings*'s Edition. Further, *Procopius* Marcianus's brother, after Marcianus was taken, and his Tyranny suppress'd, fled into *Græcia* to *Theodoricus*. And when Zeno sent an Embassy requiring him to be delivered up to himself, he could never prevail to get that done by Theodoricus; as *Candidus* says, in his *Second Book*; and *Malchus*, in the book now cited. *Valer*.



Anastasius had his original extract at the City Epidaurus, which is now termed Dyrrachium: and [succeeded] Zeno in his Empire, and married \* his Wife Ariadne, and in the first place he sends away Longinus (Zeno's brother, who bore the dignity of a Magister, which Officer the Ancients termed The Prefect of the Offices in the Palace, into his own Country. Then, [he gave] many other Jews [a like liberty of returning into their own Country,] who requested the same thing of him.

## CHAP. XXX.

Concerning the Emperor Anastasius; and how, because he would not innovate anything in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution, the Churches over the whole world were filled with infinite disturbances: and many of the Bishops for that reason were ejected.

[Further,] This Anastasius, being a person very \* studious to promote Peace, would permit no innovation whatever to be made, especially in relation to the Ecclesiastick Constitution: and took all imaginable Courses, both that the most Holy Churches might continue undisturbed, and also that every person subject to his Government might enjoy a profound Peace; all Animosity and Contention being far removed both from the Ecclesiastick, and from the Civil State of affairs. The Synod therefore at Chalcedon was in these times, neither publicly asserted in the most Holy Churches, nor yet wholly rejected: but every one of the Prelates acted according to that Sentiment they had embraced. And some of them courageously defended what had been expounded in that Synod, nor would they recede even from one syllable of it's determinations, or admit of the alteration of one Letter: but with much confidence \* separated from, and would in no wise endure to communicate with those, who admitted not of that Synod's Decrees. But others, not only embraced not the Synod at Chalcedon and the determinations made by it; but also \* Anathematized it, together with Leo's Epistle. Othersome still adhered to Zeno's Hænoticon; [which they did] notwithstanding their disagreement amongst themselves concerning the one or the two Natures: these being imposed upon by the \* composition of the Letters; and those having a greater inclination to Peace and Unity. In so much that the Churches of the whole world were divided into private Factions, nor would the Prelates hold Communion one with another. Hence hapned many \* Diffentions both in the East, and in the Western parts

and throughout Africa; neither the Eastern Bishops keeping up a Society and Amity with the Western or those of Africa, nor yet on the other hand these with the Eastern Prelates. Moreover, the matter proceeded to an higher Degree of absurdity. For, neither did the Eastern Prelates hold a Communion amongst their own selves; nor [would] those who governed the [Episcopal] Chairs of Europe or Africa \* cherish a communion one with another, much less with Strangers and Foreigners. Which when the Emperor Anastasius perceived, he ejected those Bishops who made any Innovation out of the Church; where-ever he found any such person, either crying up the Synod of Chalcedon contrary to the usage in those places, or else Anathematizing it. He ejected therefore out of the Imperial City, in the first place Euphemius, as we have related \* before, and then Macedonius; after whom Timotheus was made [Bishop.] Flavianus also [was by him ejected] out of Antioch.

this place of Evagrius can't be otherwise explained. For he brings two reasons, why some persons would not acquiesce in Zeno's Edit. He says therefore, that some were deceived by that flattering Oration of the Emperor, which was composed to persuade. But that others, allured with a desire of the peace and repose of the Churches, had acquiesced in this Edit. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXI.

The Letter of the Monks of Palestine to Al-cison concerning Xenaia and some other persons.

NOW concerning Macedonius and Flavianus, the Monks in Palestine, in their Letter to \* Al-cison, say word for word thus: But, \* This Al-cison was amongst themselves; and Alexandria and Egypt and Libya continued within their own Communion. The rest of the East likewise held a Communion separate from others, \* in regard the Westerns refused communicating with them on any terms, unless to their Anathematizing of Nestorius, Eutyches, and Dioscorus, they would add Petrus Mongus also, and Acacius. The Churches therefore over the whole world being in this posture, the genuine [followers] of Dioscorus and Eutyches were reduced to the smallest number imaginable. And when they were now just a-

alone. Marcellinus mentions him in his Chronicle, who terms him Aleisus. See Baronius at the year of Christ 516. Valef.

\* In regard there were two Petrus; at one and the same time, the one Bishop of Alexandria, the other of Antioch; 'tis uncertain which of these two is here meant. But it seems more probable, that Petrus of Alexandria should be meant here; because the Monks of Palestine do immediately speak of Alexandria, of Egypt, and of Libya. Yet, this meaning is hindered by what is objected by the same Monks; to wit, that after Petrus's death Egypt held a separate communion, and that the Orientals were disjoined from their communion. For Petrus Alexandrinus was succeeded by Athanasius, who wrote Synodick Letters to Palladius Bishop of Antioch, and was joyned in a communion with him, as I have observed above from Evagrius and Liberatus. But again, if we should say that Petrus of Antioch were meant at this place, there would be the same difficulty. But, answer may be made, that the Monks do speak here, not of the Patriarchs themselves, but of a whole Diocese, and of the greatest part of the Bishops. 'Tis certain, after Petrus Alexandrinus's death, the Eastern Bishops desired the communion of the Church of Rome; as 'tis apparent from Pope Gelasius's Letter to the Orientals. Valef.

\* Τὸν δὲ δὲ ἀποδοξῶν. A negative particle is doubtless to be added; in this manner, \* οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτὸ ἀποδοξῶν, in regard the Westerns refused; which is the reading in Nicephorus and in the Tellerian MS. Valef.



bout vanishing in such a manner as not to appear any more in the world. One <sup>d</sup> Xenaïas, [a person agreeable to his name] truly a stranger from God, [on what design we know not, nor what the grudge was which he would revenge upon Flavianus, but] under a pretext of the Faith, as most do say, begins to move against Flavianus, and to calumniate him as a Nestorian. But when Flavianus had Anathematized Nestorius together with his opinion, Xenaïas passes from Nestorius to Diodorus, and to Theodorus, and Theodoret, Ibas, and Cyrus, and Eutheries, and Johannes, and we know not to what persons he had gathered them. Some of them whom had in reality been Asserters of Nestorius's Sentiments: but others of them, suspected to have been [Nestorius's followers,] had Anathematized him, and had ended their lives in the Communion of the Church. Unless [says Xenaïas to Flavianus] you will Anathematize all those persons who are dispermed with Nestorius's Tenets, you are an Embracer of Nestorius's Sentiments, although you should Anathematize him a thousand times, together with his Opinion. By Letters also he excites the Favourers of Diodorus and Eutyches, persuading them to assist him against Flavianus, and to require him not to Anathematize the Synod, but the forementioned persons only. When Flavianus the Bishop had made a long and stout resistance against these men, and against others who together with Xenaïas combined against him, to wit, one <sup>e</sup> Eleusinus [Bishop of the Second Cappadocia, Nicias [Bishop of Laodicea in Syria, and others from other places; (to relate the Causes of which per-<sup>h</sup>aps narrow-<sup>ness</sup> of mind longs not to us, but to others.) at the name length [Flavianus] supposing <sup>f</sup> they would not be Diodorus.

For Xenaïas, an Enemy of the Chalcedon Synod, would not have Anathematized Diodorus, but Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, and the rest. So, 'tis certain, Victor Timonensis [tells us] in his Chronicon. <sup>g</sup> Johanne Gibbo (sayne) Coli. Anastasius Imp. Flaviano, &c. When Johannes Gibbus was Consul, the Emperor Anastasius, Flavianus being Prelate of Antioch, and Philoxenus Bishop of Hierapolis, convenes a Synod at Constantinople; and persuades them to pronounce an Anathema against Diodorus of Tarsus, and Theodorus of Mopuestia together with their writings, [also, against] Theodoret of Cyrus, Ibas of Edessa, Andreas, Eucherius, Quirinus and Johannes, Bishops, and against all others who asserted two Natures in Christ, and two Forms, and who confessed not one of the Trinity to have been Crucified, together with Leo Bishop of Rome and his Tome, and together with the Chalcedon Synod. Theophanes confirm the same in his Chronicon, pag. 131. <sup>h</sup> Valf.

<sup>i</sup> Καὶ αὐτοὶ τὸ εὐδελον. Victor Timonensis in his Chronicon terms them Quirinus and Eucherius, as we saw in the foregoing note; where Quinegius is put for Cinegius. Further, Nicephorus has at this place substituted the name Eleutherius, instead of Eucherius. <sup>j</sup> Valf.

<sup>k</sup> This Eleusinus [or, Eleusinus] is mentioned by Liberatus in his Breviary chap. 19, in these words, speaking of Severus: Ita ut ob hoc seberet, &c. So that on this account he would write, even to Flavianus himself, as 'tis signified in his own Epistles, and to Maronius Lector, and to Eleusinus and Eutherius Bishops, and to Occumenicus Scholasticus of Maura. The same person is mentioned by Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 128 of the King's Edition; whose words Anastasius Bibliobecarius has rendered thus: Anastasius quere potius a preliis, Macedonium Patriarcham accitit ab orthodoxis fide largiebatur. Multi autem Episcoporum Anastasio gratiam prestantes, Chalcedonensis resistebant Convilio, quorum primus erat Eleusinus Sagesmensis. Theophanes's words in Greek are these: ὁ δὲ πρῶτος τῶν ἐκείνων δόξαν. But it must be written, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος τῶν ἐκείνων, which is the reading in the Vatican Copy. Indeed, the Monks of Palestine do affirm, that this Eleusinus was Bishop of the Second Cappadocia. Now, Sagesma is a City of Cappadocia Secunda, (whereof Gregorius Nazianzenus was heretofore Bishop;) as the Old Notitia do inform us, and especially Hierocles. <sup>l</sup> Valf.

<sup>m</sup> ἢ δὲ τὸ εὐδελον. It should, as I think, be written εὐδελος; or rather, a Negative particle isto to be added, in this manner; ποῦδελος δὲ τὸ εὐδελον εὐδελος; and we have rendered it accordingly. Nor do I doubt but Eusebius wrote it thus. But Antiquaries [that is, Transcribers of Books,] writing hastily, omitted the Negative particle at this place. Further, by τὸ εὐδελον, these persons, he meant Diodorus Bishop of Tarsus, Theodorus of Mopuestia, Theodoret, and the rest mentioned above. See Theophanes, pag. 131. <sup>n</sup> Valf.

quit in behalf of these persons, yielded to their contentious humour: and having in writing Anathematized the foresaid persons, sent [his Libel] to the Emperor: For they had incensed him against Flavianus, as being an Assertor of Nestorius's Opinion. But Xenaïas not satisfied even herewith, required again of Flavianus, that he should Anathematize the Synod it self, and those who asserted two natures in the Lord [Christ,] one of the Flesh, another of the Deity. Which when Flavianus had refused to do, Xenaïas accused him again, as being a Nestorian. After many debates in reference to this matter, when the Patriarch had drawn up an Exposition of <sup>o</sup> Flavianus's Faith, wherein he profess that he embraced the Synod as to what related to the Deposition of Nestorius and Eutyches, but not as to its definition and doctrine of the Faith; they renewed should not their Accusations against him, as if he were a secret favourer of Nestorius's Sentiments, unless he would add an Anathematism against the Synod it self also, and against those who asserted two faults in Natures in our Lord, one of the Flesh, another Christ, of the Deity. Moreover, by their many fraudulent words and expressions, they induced the <sup>p</sup> Valf. <sup>q</sup> Mauri also to embrace their own Opinion. And <sup>r</sup> they having drawn up a Writing concerning the Faith, wherein they Anathematized the Synod together in Natures with those who affirmed two Natures, or Pro-nature in prieties [in Christ;] they withdrew themselves from a Communion with Flavianus and Macedonius; and enter into society with others, who had subscribed to their Writings. During this inter-<sup>s</sup> Valf. <sup>t</sup> rim, they enviated the Bishop of Jerusalem also, that he would draw up in writing the Form of his own Faith. Which he having set forth, sent it to the Emperor by the followers of Diodorus.

<sup>u</sup> And that [Copy of it] which they produce, <sup>v</sup> Omnes <sup>w</sup> does indeed contain an Anathematism of those who assert two Natures. But, the Bishop of Jerusalem himself affirms, that it has been adulterated by them, and produces another without any such Anathematism. Nor, need this seem odd to a wonder. For they have frequently corrected the Books of the Fathers. And by [false] here, in Titles have ascribed many of Apollinaris's Books, to Athanasius, to Gregorius Thaumaturgus, and to Julius. By which [Books] especially, they have induced many persons to [embrace] their own impiety. Further, they requested of Macedonius a Writing concerning his own Faith. Who set forth an Exposition thereof, affirming that he knew no other Faith save that of the Three hundred and eighteen, and hundred and fifty [Holy ones of Fathers;] and he Anathematizes Nestorius and Eutyches, and those who assert two Sons, or two Christs, or who divide the Natures: but has made no mention of the Ephesine Synod which deposed Nestorius, nor of that at Chalcedon that attributed some Epistles to Julius Bishop of Rome, which in reality were Apollinaris's. <sup>x</sup> Valf.

<sup>y</sup> So indeed Macedonius behaved himself in the beginning of his Episcopate, whilst he was willing to gratify the Emperor Anastasius, by whom he had been promoted to the Patriarchate. Therefore, many of the Antient Writers have related, that Macedonius at the beginning had subscribed to Zeno's Henoticon. So, 'tis certain, Theodorus Lector affirms, whom Baronius has cautiously reported on that account. For Liberatus relates the same in his Breviary chap. 18; where he speaks concerning Johannes Hemiula Bishop of Alexandria; and a little after that, where he mentions Johannes Niceus, Hemiula's successor. Victor Timonensis in his Chronicon writes thus concerning Macedonius: Anastasio Aug. Col. &c. In the Confessio of Anastasio Augustino, Macedonium Bishop of Constantinople, a Synod being convened, condemnis those who embraced the Decrees of the Chalcedon Synod, and such as defend [the Sentiments] of Nestorius and Eutyches. Lastly, Theophanes in his Chronicon, pag. 120, does wholly agree with Theodorus Lector. <sup>z</sup> Valf.

wherein Eutyches had been deposed. Whereat the \* Monasteries about Constantinople were highly offended, and separated from the Communion of Macedonius the Bishop. In the mean while, Xenias and P. Dioscorus having brought over many of the Bishops to their own party, became intolerable; and raised Tumults against those who refused to Anathematize [the Synod.] And against such as would not in the end yield to them, they framed many stratagems, and caused them to be cast into Exile. In this manner therefore, they banish Macedonius, and \* Johannes Bishop of Paltrun, and Flavianus. These are the Contents of the aforesaid Letter.

from the communion of Macedonius, and [the Monasteries] of those who had subscribed Zeno's Henoticon, as Theophanes tells us in his *Chronicon* pag. 122. Valef.

\* This, as I think, is Dioscorus Junior, who succeeded Johannes Nicaota in the Bishoprick of Alexandria. Baronius places his ordination on the year of Christ 516, five years after Macedonius's banishment. To whom agrees Theophanes in his *Chronicon*. But Liberatus contradicts it, who relates Dioscorus's ordination before the deposition of Macedonius. And this Evagrius confirms here. But, after a more accurate examination of the matter, Dioscorus Junior can't be meant here. For Macedonius was ejected out of his Bishoprick on the year of Christ 511, as 'tis manifest from Marcellinus; and in his room was substituted Timotheus, who forthwith wrote Synodick Letters to Johannes Nicaota Bishop of Alexandria; as Liberatus and Theophanes do attest. Whereas therefore Dioscorus Junior succeeded Nicaota, he must necessarily begin his Precedency after Macedonius's deposition. Wherefore, another Dioscorus is meant here. And perhaps, instead of Dioscorus, it must be written Sostrichus.

\* Concerning this Johannes, Victor Tunonensis in his *Chronicon* writes thus: Theodoro Viro C. Caf. Juliano Bgtrinus, &c. The most famous Theodorus being Consul, Julianus of Bosph, and Johannes of Valium voluntarily left their own Churches, and others are put into their places. But Marcellinus in his *Chronicon* relates that in the Consulate of Paulus and Messianus, on the year of Christ 512. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Expulsion of Macedonius [Bishop] of Constantinople, and of Flavianus [Bishop] of Antioch.

BUT, there were other things which secretely wrung Anastasius. For when Ariadne had taken a resolution to cloath Anastasius with the Imperial purple; Euphemius, who presided over the Archi-Episcopal Chair [of Constantinople,] would on no terms give his consent, till such time as Anastasius had delivered to him a Caution [or, Contract,] in writing, written with his own hand, and [confirmed] with great Oaths, that he would preserve the Faith entire, and introduce no Innovation into God's Holy Church, if he should obtain the Imperial Scepter. Which paper Euphemius delivered to Macedonius who was intrusted with the custody of the Sacred Vessels. Euphemius had done these things on this account, because Anastasius was by many persons thought to be addicted to the Manichean Heresy. After Macedonius therefore had ascended the Episcopal Throne, Anastasius was desirous of having his own Caution restored to him, saying it would be a reproach to the Empire, if the forementioned Obligatory-Instrument should be kept [laid up in the Church.] Against which when Macedonius made a resolute opposition, and affirmed that he would not betray the Faith; the Em-

perour [Anastasius] framed all imaginable design against him, resolving to eject him out of his [Episcopal] Chair. Certain Boys therefore who were slanderers, were produced, who falsely accused both themselves, and Macedonius of a filthy and unclean act. But, when it was found that Macedonius was deprived of his Genitals; they betook themselves to other Arts and Designs; till at length, by the advices and persuasions of Celer Master of the Offices at Court, Macedonius withdrew privately from his [Episcopal] Chair. But in the Expulsion of Flavianus, they have added other things. For we have received information from some very aged persons, who perfectly remembered what ever had happened during Flavianus's being Bishop; which persons do affirm, that those Monks [who dwell] in that Country termed

\* Cynegia, and what ever other [Monks] inhabited the first Provinces of the Syrians, perfwaded thereto by Xenias a man [by Extract a Persian;] (which Xenias was Bishop of Hierapolis a City near to Antioch,) and by a Greek name he was termed Philoxenus,) flock'd together, and in a tumultuous and very disorderly manner made an irruption into the City [Antioch,] where they would compel Flavianus to Anathematize the Chalcedon Synod and Leo's Epistle. Whereat Flavianus being extremely

troubled, and the Monks pressing on with great violence; the populace of the City made an Insurrection and slew a great many of the Monks; in so much that a vast number of them had the [River] Orontes for their Tomb, their bodies being buried in its waves. There happened another thing also, not much inferiour to this. For, the Monks of Syria-Coele (which is now termed Syria Secunda,) having a mighty affection for Flavianus, because he had lead a Monastick life in a certain Monastery which was situate in a \* Country named Tilmogus; \* Field, &c. came to Antioch, with a resolution to defend Flavianus: so that at that time also some, and those no small [mischievous accidents] happened. Whether therefore on account of the former [Tumult,] or by reason of [that disorder we have mentioned] in the second place or for both, Flavianus is ejected and banished to Petra, [a Town] situate in the utmost confines of the Palestines.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning Severus Bishop of Antioch.

FLAVIANUS therefore having been ejected, Severus is preferred to the Episcopal Throne of Antioch, on the \* five Hundred fifty first \* This was the year of Christ 513. For the first year of the Antiochians precedes the vulgar Era of our Lords Nativity 48. years. Severus therefore entered upon the Bishoprick of Antioch on the year of Christ 511, in the month November, in the sixth Indiction. So Marcellinus Comes in his *Chronicon* Indict. 6. Clementino & Probo Cof. &c. In the sixth Indiction, Clementinus and Probus being Consuls, Severus a worshipper of Eutyches's perfidy, by the desire of Anastasius Cæsar, possessed the See of the Prelate Flavianus, and of a Monk was made a Bishop. Valef.

year

\* See book year of Antioch's being styled a free City, 2. chap. 12. in the month *Dius*, it being the *Sixth Indiction* note (4.) of the *Cycle* then [current;] but at this present time wherein we write, it is the *Six hundred forty first year*. This *Severus* had *Sophron* *xopolis* for the place of his Nativity, which is one omitted of the Cities of the Province *Pisidia*. He had formerly employed himself in the study of the Law at *Berytus*. But, having afterwards soon left <sup>Or, The</sup> those studies, when he had received holy Baptism in the sacred Temple of the divine Martyr *Leontius* who is honoured at *Tripolis* a City of the *Maritime Phœnicie*, he betook himself to a Monastick life in a certain Monastery situate in the mid way between the small City *Gaza* and that little Town termed *Majuma*.

then was. For, an Indiction is a Circle of fifteen years, after the ending whereof, another Circle begins of as many years. *Eusebius* terms the partition of the Circle of fifteen years, *ἐνδεκάτην τῶν εἰσώνων*, which the *Latines* call *Indictionem*, an Indiction. But, whereas *Eusebius* says, that *Severus* was ordained on the month *Dius* that is, *November*; that must necessarily have been done in the seventh Indiction. For a new Indiction was begun on the month *September*. *Eusebius* has expressed himself in the same manner before, at book 2. chap. 12; where he says these words concerning the Earthquake, which happened at *Antioch* in the times of *Leo Augustus* *ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ὁμοῦσεως τοῦ καλοῦ*, on the eleventh partition of the Cycle, that is, on the eleventh year of the partition of the Circle. So in the thirteenth *ἔτι τῶν ἱουστινιανῶν*, *ἡμεῖς* & *ἡ πόλις ἐκτελέσθη* τὸ παλαιὸν ὄνομα; *ὡς ἔστιν*. Until the second partition of the past Cycle. Valef.

\* There was a twofold Phœnicie; the one termed *Maritime* [because it lay by the Sea-coast;] in Greek called *μεγαλὴ*, or, *Βαβυλὼν*; the *Metropolis* whereof was *Tyre*. The other named *Libanensis*, the head City whereof was *Emesa*; as the Old Notice do inform us. In the *Maritime Phœnicie* was the most famous City *Tripolis*. In that City, as *Eusebius* does here attest the Martyr *Leontius* was honoured. This is the *Leontius*, of whom mention is made in the *Ménologie*, at the eighteenth day of the month *July*. The Monks, in their Libel pretended to the *Patriarch Menas*, (which Libel is recorded in the fifth Edition of the *Constantinopol. Synod sub Menas*.) do attest, that *Severus* was baptized in this Martyr Church. Valef.

\* *Libertanus* in his *Beryriac* chap. 19. writes thus concerning *Severus*: *Ἰς οὖν Severus cum federat prius in Monasterio, &c.* For this *Severus*, when he formerly lived [or sat] in the Monastery, admitted use of *Zeno's* Edict, nor received to communion [?] *Petrus Mongus*. After this, living in the Monastery of the Abbot *Romanus*, and of *Mamas* who presided after him, he was from thence sent to reside as *Apoctisarius* [that is, Legate] at *Constantinople*; and becomes one of their number, who were of *Petrus Mongus's* [party.] This Relation of *Libertanus* is far different from that of *Eusebius*. For, *Eusebius* says, that at first *Severus* was a Monk in a Monastery which was between *Majuma* and *Gaza*. And this is confirmed by *Theophanes* also. But, that afterwards he resided [or, sat] in the Monastery of the Abbot *Nephalius*; which was in *Egypte*, as *Eusebius* tells us in the two and twentieth chapter of this Book. Out of which Monastery *Severus* being driven, came [says he] to *Constantinople*. But *Libertanus* relates, that *Severus* sat indeed in two Monasteries: but, attests, that he was not ejected out of any Monastery, but, was made *Apoctisarius*. But, whose *Apoctisarius* he was, he says not. I am of Opinion, that he was the *Apoctisarius* of the Monks of the East, who were of the same Sect with himself. So *Theodosius* is termed the *Apoctisarius* of the Monasteries in *Palestine*, in the first Edition of the *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*. And that *Eusebius* confirms here. Valef.

\* Concern. In which place *Petrus the Iberian* also, who using this had been Bishop of the same *Gaza*, and was *Petrus the* *rus*, *Eusebius* has spoken already, at chap. 8. book 2. There is mention made of the same *Petrus*, in the Libel of the Monks to the *Patriarch Menas*, which is recorded in the fifth Edition of the *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*. Valef.

\* *Διὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἵνα ἐκκελευσθῇ*, Had passed through the same exercise [to wit] of a Monastick life.

† Or, party.

‡ Or, party.

*Jesus Christ*. By this *Nephalius* therefore, and those who were of his party, [ *Severus* ] is driven out of his own Monastery, together with several others who held the same opinion with himself. From whence he went to the Imperial City, under the notion of an Embassador, in defence both of himself, and those who had been ejected with him. And there he becomes known to the Emperour *Anastasius*, as He hath related at large who wrote *Severus's* Life. Moreover, the same *Severus*, in the *Synodick Letters* which he wrote, has in express words *Anathematized* the *Chalcedon Synod*. Concerning which matter, [ the Monks of *Palestine*, ] in their Letter to *Aciscion*, say these words, *Severus* *The Synodick Letters of Timotheus now [Bishop of] shop* of *Constantinople*, have indeed been approved and admitted of here in *Palestine*: but the *Deposition* of *Macedonius* and *Flavianus*, both *people*, and not been allowed of; nor yet *Severus's* *Synodick* to *Severus* Letters. But, those persons who brought them *Nice* *hither*, were disgracefully and contumaciously used, of *Agreeable* to their deserts and betook themselves *And* to their heels; the popularity of the City and the *For* *Libe* *Monks* having made an *Insurrection* against them. *raus* [in this posture was *Palestine*.] But, of those his *Ber* *who were subject* to [the See of] *Antioch*, some, *19* *induced* thereto by fraud, were prevailed upon; some, of which number is *Marius* Bishop of *Berytus*, that *Severus* had communion with these Prelates. Indeed, *Theophanes* [in his *Chronicon*, pag. 135.] relates, that *Timotheus*, when he would have inserted *Severus's* name into the *Diphyche*, was hindered by the people of *Constantinople*. Valef.

\* *Theophanes* casts a great light upon this place. He writes (pag. 135.) that *Timotheus* sent his *Synodick Letters*, and the deposition of *Macedonius*, to all the Bishops, that they might subscribe to them: and, that the weaker persons amongst them, afraid of the Emperour, subscribed to each Libel. But that those who were of a mind more stout and courageous, would subscribe to neither. Further, that some, taking a middle way, subscribed to *Timotheus's* *Synodick Letters*, but in no wise subscribed to the deposition of *Macedonius*. Amongst these persons therefore who took the middle way, were the Bishops of *Palestine*, as the Monks do attest here in their Letter to *Aciscion*. Valef.

\* *Ἀπὸ δὲ ἀποδοκιμασίας*. Without doubt the reading must be, *οἱ ἀποδοκίμαστοι*, those persons brought them; as it is in *Nicéphorus*. In which Author also the reading is fuller by one word; thus *ἀποδοκίμαστοι* *ἐκείνοι*. Those persons who brought them thither. *Brédin*, in the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found it plainly written, *οἱ ἀποδοκίμαστοι* *&c.* Valef.

\* In *Nicéphorus*, this place is otherwise distinguished, to wit, in this manner: *ἐξουρῶν τὸ μέγαρον ἐπ' αὐτὸν τὸ δῖον τὸ ἐν τῷ μαζῶν νουθεσίῳ*, Fled out of the City: the popularity and Monks having made an *Insurrection* against them. Which distinction I like best. Valef.

\* *Τὸν δὲ ἐν ἀποδοκίμα. Nicéphorus* words it thus, *ἐν ἀποδοκίμα, in Antioch*; which I like not. For the Monks of *Palestine* do not speak of *Antioch* here, but of the Bishops who were subject to the See of *Antioch*. For, having before spoken concerning the affairs of *Palestine*, which were subject to the *Patriarch of Jerusalem*, they now pass to the Bishops of the East, who were under the jurisdiction of the *Patriarch of Antioch*; and in the first place they name *Marius* Bishop of *Berytus*, which was a City of *Phœnicie*. Now *Phœnicie* was under the dispose of the *Antiochian Patriarch*, according as it hath been agreed in the *Chalcedon Synod* between *Maximus* Bishop of *Antioch*, and *Juvencalis* Bishop of *Jerusalem*. Valef.

But others, by force and \* compulsion gave their assent to *Severus's* *Synodick Letters*, wherein was contained an *Anathematism*, both of the *Synod*, and of the rest who had asserted two *Natures* or *properties* in our Lord, one of the *Flesh*, another of the *Deity*. Some, when through necessity they had given their assent, afterwards altered their minds, and revoked [it:] of which number are the Bishops subject to *Apamia*. Others wholly refused to assent; of which number are *Julianus* [Bishop] of *Boisri*, and *Epiphanius* of *Tyre*, and some others, as they say, Bishops. But the *Isaurians*, now come to themselves, condemn themselves for their former mistake: Moreover, they Ana-

Anathematize Severus together with his followers. Tea, some of the Bishops and Ecclesiasticks under Severus, having relinquished their own Churches, are fled away : of which number is Julianus [ Bishop ] of Bostri, and Petrus of Damascus, who reside here with us. <sup>1</sup> Mamas also, which Person seemed to have been one of the two Ring-leaders of the Diofcorians, <sup>2</sup> by whom Severus himself had been instructed; who has condemned their arrogancy. And after the Interposition of other words. But, the Monasteries here, and Jerusalem it self, also most other Cities together with their Bishops, by God's assistance are of one and the same mind in relation to the true Faith. For all which Persons, and for us, pray (most Holy Lord and our most Honour'd Father!) that we enter not into temptation.

<sup>3</sup> Ring-leaders of the Diofcorites [ or, Diofcorians ] by whom Severus had been instructed, are Romanus and Mamas, Abbots of that Monastery which was between Masuma and Gaza. Indeed, Theophaues, in his Chronicle, terms that a Monastery τὸν ἀρεσκόντων τῶν αἰρετικῶν, of Schismatical Monks. Valef.

<sup>4</sup> τὸν δὲ τῶν αἰρετικῶν κληρῶν, By whom Severus himself had been ledged. I had rather write κληρῶν, had been catechized, or, instructed. For the Abbots Mamas and Romanus had instructed Severus; as we have said before, out of Liberatur. Valef.

CH A P. XXXIV.

Concerning the [ Libel of ] Deposition sent to the same Severus by Cosmas and Severianus.

**B**UT, in regard the forecited Letters do attest, that \* those Prelates under [ the Jurisdiction of the Church of ] <sup>1</sup> *Apamia* receded from [ the Communion ] of Severus; come on, let us add a certain passage, \* which have been told by our Fathers, although it be not as yet recorded in any History. <sup>2</sup> *Cosmas* Bishop of our *Epiphania*, † in the Vicinage whereof runs the [ River ] *Orontes*, and *Severianus* [ Bishop ] of *Arctus* a neighbouring City, being disturbed at *Severus*'s Synodick Letters, severed themselves from his Communion, and sent a Libel of Deposition to him whilst he sat Bishop of the City *Antioch*. They deliver the Libel to one *Aurelianus* \* Archdeacon of the Church of *Epiphania*. Who, in regard he feared *Severus*, and [ dreaded ] the Grandeur of so great a Bishoprick, after his arrival at *Antioch*, clothed himself in the habit of a Woman, and comes to *Severus*, † jesting and playing in the wanton; and by all ways imaginable feigning himself to be a Woman. [ In fine ] having let down the Veil werewith his Head was covered, as far as his Breasts he lamented, and by fetching deep sighs besought assistance; and under the pretence of a Supplicatory Libel, delivers a Deposition to *Severus*, then going forth. And without being taken notice of by any Person, withdraws out of the crowd which followed [ *Severus*; ] and by flying purchases his own safety, before *Severus* knew what the Contents of the Libel were. But *Severus*, notwithstanding he had received the Libel, and understood what was contained therein, nevertheless continued posselt of his own See,

until the death of *Anastasius*. Further, when *Anastasius* was informed of what had hapned to *Severus*, (for, we must not omit the mentioning of an Act of *Anastasius*'s, which was wholly made up of Clemency and Humanity;) he orders *Asiaticus* <sup>3</sup> who bore the Command of the Militia in *Phenice Libanensis*, to eject *Cosmas* and *Severianus* out of their own Sees, because they had sent a Libel of Deposition to *Severus*. After *Asiaticus* was arrived in the Eastern parts, and found many Persons defending the Opinions of *Cosmas* and *Severianus*, and that their Cities made a stout resistance in favour of their own Bishops; he gave *Anastasius* an account, that those Bishops were not to be driven out of their own Sees without bloodshed. So much of Clemency and Humanity therefore was there in *Anastasius*, that he wrote expressly to *Asiaticus*, that he would in no wife effect <sup>4</sup> Instead any thing, though never so great and spendid, if of *μαλακίας*, *Asiaticus*, at- *tempe*; it would, if I mistake over the whole world, \* during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons <sup>5</sup> \* Or, *Unde* judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

<sup>1</sup> *Ὁ δὲ δακτύλιος ἐγγύς*. We have restored this place from the excellent *Florentine* and *Tellerian* MSS. wherein 'tis thus written, τὸν ἀρεσκόντων τῶν αἰρετικῶν ἀρεσκόντων, The Command of the Militia in *Phenice Libanensis*. There were two *Phenice's*, as I have marked above; the one termed *Maritima*, the other *Libanensis*. Over this Province was let the *Dux* of *Phenice*, concerning whom see the *Notitia Imp. Rom.* Valef.

<sup>2</sup> *μαλακίας*, *Asiaticus*, at- *tempe*; it would, if I mistake over the whole world, \* during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons <sup>5</sup> \* Or, *Unde* judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

<sup>3</sup> *μαλακίας*, *Asiaticus*, at- *tempe*; it would, if I mistake over the whole world, \* during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons <sup>5</sup> \* Or, *Unde* judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

<sup>4</sup> *μαλακίας*, *Asiaticus*, at- *tempe*; it would, if I mistake over the whole world, \* during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons <sup>5</sup> \* Or, *Unde* judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

<sup>5</sup> *μαλακίας*, *Asiaticus*, at- *tempe*; it would, if I mistake over the whole world, \* during the Empire of *Anastasius*. Whom some Persons <sup>5</sup> \* Or, *Unde* judged to be an Enemy to the *Chalcedon* Synod, and have expunged his Name out of the Sacred Tables. But at *Jerusalem*, even whilst living, he was Anathematized.

CH A P. XXXV.

Concerning the destruction of the Isaurian Tyrants.

**B**UT, it will not be disagreeable to the promise we have made \* before, if to this History \* At book we annex some other [ Transactions ] worthy <sup>1</sup> chap. 11 to be recorded, \* which have hapned during the times of *Anastasius*. *Longinus* *Zeno*'s Kinsman, being arrived in that [ Country ] wherein he had been born, as hath been shewn \* before, † engages <sup>2</sup> \* Chap. 29. † Or, *Purs* en. in an open War against the Emperour. And great Forces having been raised on the one side and on the other, amongst which was *Conon*, heretofore Bishop at *Apamia* [ a City ] of the Province of the *Syrians*, who, in regard he was an *Isaurian*, bore Arms under the *Isaurians*; at length the War was terminated [ in this manner. ] The *Isaurians* who fought under *Longinus* were all cut off to one Man. But the Heads of *Longinus* and <sup>3</sup> *Theodosius* *Cor-* *dorus* were sent to the Imperial City by *Johannes* in his *mes Scythia*. Which Heads the Emperour [ or, *Chronicon* ] dered to be [ fixt upon Poles, [ carried about, ] (at *Ana-* *stasius*'s) and hung up in that [ Suburb ] termed *Syca* being Con- *stantinople* : a grateful *ful alone*; spectacle to the *Byzantines*, because of those evils this mischiefs they had suffered from *Zeno* and the Person *Ar-* *chenodorus*, and the other *Longinus*, sur- *named Selimuntius*, the chief supporter of that *Tyrannick Faction*, and together with him *In-* *phates* in *des*, are [ taken and ] sent alive to *Anastasius*, his *Chro-* *nicon*, pag. *Emperour* <sup>4</sup> *118* Valef.

<sup>1</sup> *Apamia* was the Metropolis of *Syria-Parva*, or *Syria Secunda*, to which *Epiphania* and *Arctus* were subject, as the Old *Notitia* inform us. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> \* Or, *Which* hath passed so us from our Fathers.

<sup>3</sup> \* Or, *which* story.

<sup>4</sup> *Or, which* story.

\* Or, *The* deliver the Libel to one *Aurelianus* \* Archdeacon of the Church of *Epiphania*. Who, in regard he feared *Severus*, and [ dreaded ] the Grandeur of so great a Bishoprick, after his arrival at *Antioch*, clothed himself in the habit of a Woman, and comes to *Severus*, † jesting and playing in the wanton; and by all ways imaginable feigning himself to be a Woman. [ In fine ] having let down the Veil werewith his Head was covered, as far as his Breasts he lamented, and by fetching deep sighs besought assistance; and under the pretence of a Supplicatory Libel, delivers a Deposition to *Severus*, then going forth. And without being taken notice of by any Person, withdraws out of the crowd which followed [ *Severus*; ] and by flying purchases his own safety, before *Severus* knew what the Contents of the Libel were. But *Severus*, notwithstanding he had received the Libel, and understood what was contained therein, nevertheless continued posselt of his own See,

<sup>1</sup> *ἀρεσκόντων τῶν αἰρετικῶν*. *Valef*ius renders these words thus: *jocant ac lascivient*, *rustic* [ or, *drolling*, ] and *playing the mauton*. The primary signification of the term *ἀρεσκόντων* is, *feignedly to refuse*; it imports also to *dissemble*, or, to *play the fool*, so behave ones self as that most petulant Woman *Acco* did; from whose carriage this word had its original.

Emperour and the *Byzantines* were highly pleased, in regard *Longinus* and *Indes* were in the manner of a Triumph lead through the streets of the City, and through the *Cirque*, [carrying.] Chains made of Iron, which were put round their necks and about their hands. From that time those [Donatives] heretofore named '*The Isaurica*' began to be paid into the Imperial Treasury. Now, that was [a sum] of Gold, paid every year to the *Barbarians*, amounting to the weight of fifty thousand pounds.

e He time thoſe [Donatives] heretofore named *‘The  
 e He the *ſaurians* began to be paid into the Imperial Treas-  
 Donative, ſury. Now, that was [a ſum] of Gold, paid  
 which the every year to the *Barbarians*, amounting to the  
 Tyrant weight of fifty thouſand pounds.  
*Philus* had  
 allowed to  
 the *ſaurians*, and which the Emperor *Zeno*, though againſt his will,  
 had beſtowed upon them, to procure a Reconciliation. Which Dona-  
 tive the Emperor *Anaſtaſius* having reſuſed to pay to the *ſaurians*,  
 they made war againſt the *Romans*, as *Jordanes* relates in his book *de  
 Succellione Regnum*. Valeſ.*

## CHAP. XXXVI.

*Concerning the \* Saracens, that they made a Peace with the Romans.*

Concerning the \* Saracens, that they made a  
Peace with the Romans.

\* Or, Barbarians; term dScenitæ; that is, who dwell in tents.  
\* Or, The affairs of the Phenices, and Palestine. But, having received a severe overthrow from the Military Commanders in each Province, at last they were quiet, and by a general consent that whole Nation made a Peace with the Romans.

The Reading is in Nicephorus, book 17. pag. 3\*. Further, we have remarked already, that there were two Phœnice's; the one termed Libanenſis, the other Mariima. Nor muſt this be omitted, that, that Province is by the Latines ſometimes termed Phœnicem, from the Nominative Cite Phœnix. 'Tis certain, in the Itinerary Tables of the Puizingers, it is called Syria Phœnix; as alſo in the Noſtitia Imperii Romani. In the Manuſcript Copies, 'tis written Dux Phœnicius. Nor found I it written otherwiſe in Ægeſippus, book 3. chap. 20. Valof.

C H A P. XXVII.

*Concerning the Siege of Amida, and the Building of [the City] Daras.*

Moreover, the *Persians*, then subject to their King *Cavades*, broke the League [with the *Romans* ;] and having left their native Soil, in the first place invaded *Armenia*, and took the small Town named *Theodosiopolis* :

<sup>a</sup> *Marcellinus Comes*, in his *Chronicon*, says, This City was taken by the *Persians*, on the tenth *Indiction*, in the Consulate of *Probus* and *Avienus*; that is, on the year of Christ 502. and on the eleventh year of *Aurélius*'s Empire. See *Procopius* in book 1. *Persic*. Valef.

\* Or, *Imp-  
pige.*

*Boundary* as it were of the *Romani* and *Persian* Empire;) a City, from its being a Field: which he fortified with a strong wall, and adorned with various and those splendid Buildings, to wit, Churches, and other sacred Houses, and with *Royal Porchis's*, publick Baths, and other [ Works, ] of which the most eminent Cities do [un]usually boast. 'Tis said by some Persons, that this place got the name of *Dawat*, because *Alexander the Macedonian*, Son to *Philip*, had totally vanquished *Darius* there.

C H A P. XXXVIII.

*Concerning the Long Wall.*

**T**He same Emperor perfected a vast Work, worthy to be recorded, \* which is usually termed *The Long Wall*, situate in a very convenient place of *Thracia*. This Wall is distant from *Constantinople*, about two hundred and eighty Furlongs: it embraces both the Seas, [and runs out] like a Streight to the length of four hundred and twenty Furlongs: it makes the [Imperial] City from being a *Peninsula*, almost an Island, and affords a most convenient and safe passage to those who have a mind to sail from that place termed *Pontus* to *Propontis* and the *Thracian Sea*. It repels also those *Barbarians*, who make Excursions out of that termed the *Euxine Sea*, out of *Colchis*, from the Lake *Maecris*, and from the places about *Caucasus*, and likewise them, who are usually poured in, out of *Europe*.

flus's third Consulate, on the year of Christ 507. as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* writes. Concerning this Wall *Suidas* gives this Relation, in the word *τῆρος*; Ἀνακτορὸς ὁ Βασιλικὸς τῆρος, &c. The Emperor *Anastafius* builds the Long Wall, sixty miles from the City Constantinople. It is extended from the Sea at the North, to that at the South. Its length contains forty miles, and its breadth twenty fath. See more in *Petrus Gillius's* first book de *Topographia Urbis Constantinop.* cap. 21. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

*Concerning that [Tax] termed the Chrysfargyrum, and how Anastasius abolished it.*

Moreover, the same Emperour performed an eximious and plainly divine Action, to wit, the perfect and intire \* Abolition of that [ Tax ] termed † *The Chrysargyrum*. Concerning which thing we are now to speak, al-† That it, though it wants the Tongue of a *Thucydides*, or rather one of more Eminency and Eloquence, [ to give a Narrative of it. ] However, I will declare the matter, not induced thereto by my Eloquence, but confiding in [ the greatness of ] that Action. Upon the Dominions of the *Romans*, which were so great and so far diffused, was imposed a miserable Tax, detestable to God, and misbecoming even the *Barbarians* themselves, much less [ agreeable ] to the most *Christian* Empire of the *Romans*. This Tax, on what account neglected and tolerated I know \* *Xixth* not, continued till the times of *Anastasius*, who *Emperours*, by his Imperial Magnificence abolish'd it. It was *Whores* imposed both upon many others, who got their *their match* maintenance from a charitable Contribution, and *no difference* also upon those Women who sold the Beauty *in their ad-* of their Bodies, upon \* common Whores like *mission of* wife who prostituted themselves in Bawdy-houses *customs* [ which

which stood in the hidden and obscure places of the City; moreover, upon \* *Calanities*, who affected not only Nature it self, but the Republick also with Ignominy. In so much that, this Tax, instead of a Law, made loud proclamation, that those who had a mind, might securely and with impunity commit such abominable Leachery. Further, that impious and detestable † profit arising from this Tax, was every fourth year paid in to the \* *First and Chiefest of the Praefectures*, by the Collectours who gathered it in all places; so that, it was not the smallest part of this *Praefectura*, to have \* *Officers*, both its \* *Proper \* Serinia* (as they term them,) and also \* such Officers as managed the Accounts of this Nature; [ and these were ] not Persons mean and obscure, who look'd upon this Employ to be a † *Militia* as well as the rest. Which when *Ana-*

stasius understood, and had \* referred it to the Senate, and had likewise deferredly pronounced this thing to be a detestable impiety, and a wickedness new and unheard of; he made a Law, wherein 'twas declared that it should be wholly abolished, and he burnt those Papers [ which contained a Summary of this Exaction. And, being resolved to make a perfect *Holocaust* ] as it were [ of this Tax to God, to the end that no one of his Successors in the Empire might in future again renew the old Infamy of this [ Exaction; ] he feigns himself grieved and vexed; \* and accused himself of imprudence, and of the highest degree of madness, saying, that by attributing too much to Vain-glory; he had neglected the utility of the Republick, and had rashly and inconsiderately abolished so great a Tax, which had been found out by his Ancestors, and confirmed by so long a duration of Time; before he had duly weighed in his mind the imminent dangers, or the expence of the *Milice*, (which is the living Wall of the Govern-

ment,) or [ Lastly ] those [ charges which are necessary ] to the Service of God. Without declaring therefore any of the thoughts of his mind, he signifies, that it was his intent to restore the forementioned Tax. And having sent for those Officers who had been employed in Collecting that Tax, he confess'd that he repented indeed of what he had done; but knew not what course he could now take; or how he might correct his own mistake, in regard all the Papers were burnt, which could have set forth a \* *Notitia* of this Tax. These Persons having, not feignedly, but in reality lamented [ the Abolition of ] this Tax on account of that unjust gain which accrued to themselves therefrom, and pretending the like difficulty [ that the Emperor did, in getting it, restored: ] *Anastasius* proceeded and entreated them, that they would proceed in all imaginable methods of making a search, whether or no the way of Assisting and Collecting this whole Tax might be found out from those Tables which lay in every place: And having assigned a Salary to each of them, he dispatched them away to make a Collection of those Papers, giving orders, that whatever Paper might be of use in setting forth the *Notitia* of this Tax, wherever it were found, should be brought to himself; to the end that, after much circumspection, and the most exquisite accuracy imaginable, a *Notitia* of this whole Tax might be again composed. When therefore those Persons, who were employed in this affair, had some time after made their return, *Anastasius* seemed very cheerful and full of joy. And he did really rejoice, because he had obtained what he desired. He inquired therefore the manner how, and with dy fees it whom [ these Papers ] had been found, and must be, whether or no any one of this sort [ of Monuments ] were left behind. But, when they had affirmed positively, that great pains had been the same

as if he had really rejoiced, because he had obtained what he desired. Further, this Adverb is referred to the Verb *Rejoice*. Which being most certain, 'tis nevertheless strange, that both Translators should have referred this Adverb to the following word *rejoice*, thus, And he did rejoice, because he had really and truly obtained what he desired. Valf.

the same import with *Referre*, *proponere*, to refer, to propose. The Tellerian MS. confirms our Emendation, wherein I found it plainly written *rejoice*, as I had conjectured. Valf.

[ Or, Which set forth this Exaction. Some few words after this, instead of [ *εἰς τὴν ἀδικήσασιν ἀνέγνω*, And had rashly, inconsiderately suspended ] it must be written thus, *εἰς τὴν ἀδικήσασιν ἀνέγνω*, And had rashly and inconsiderately abolished. Valf.

ter this, instead of [ *εἰς τὴν ἀδικήσασιν ἀνέγνω*, And had rashly, inconsiderately suspended ] it must be written thus, *εἰς τὴν ἀδικήσασιν ἀνέγνω*, And had rashly and inconsiderately abolished. Valf.

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should have said, *ὡς ἀνέγνω* really. Further, this Adverb is referred to the Verb *Rejoice*. Which being most certain, 'tis nevertheless strange, that both Translators should have referred this Adverb to the following word *rejoice*, thus, And he did rejoice, because he had really and truly obtained what he desired. Valf.

\* Such as were once fellow to be desired contrary to Nature.

† Or, gain.

\* Officers.

\* Proper.

\* Serinia.

\* Such Officers.

\* As managed.

\* Not Persons.

\* Militia.

\* An.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

\* Anastasius.

taken by them in the Collecting of these Papers, and had sworn by the Emperor himself, that no other Paper could be found in the whole *Roman Empire*, which might set forth *The Notitia of this Tax*: [ the Emperor ordered ] a great fire to be again made of those Papers which had been brought, the ashes whereof he [ caused to be ] put into water; it being his intent wholly to abolish this Exaction; that so, neither the dust nor the ashes, nor any the least remain of this thing, or of the burnt Papers, might be left appearing. But, least whilst we so much extol the \*abolition of this Tax, we should seem not to know, what, and how great matters have with partiality enough been related by the more ancient Writers concerning this [ Exaction: ] Come on, I will now produce even those passages also, and will demonstrate them to be false, and most especially, from those very things which they themselves have related.

\* Or, *Inhibition*.

CHAP. XL.

*Concerning what Zosimus hath written in relation to The Chryfargyrum, and about the Emperour Constantine.*

**Z**oſimus (one of their number [ who have followed ] the execrable and abominable Superſtition of the † Heathens, ) being highly incenſed againſt *Conſtantine* [ on this account, ] becauſe he was the firſt Emperour that embraced the *Chriſtian* Religion, and relinquish'd the abominable Superſtition of the \* *Græcians*; relates, that he was the firſt [ Emperour, ] who invented that termed *The Chryſargyrum*, and made a Law, that ſuch a Tax as that ſhould be brought in [ to the Treafury ] every fourth year. [ The ſame *Zoſimus* ] has || loaded that Pious and Magnificent Emperour with infinite other [ Calumnies. ] For, he ſays, that he contriv'd ſeveral other altogether intolerable [ miſchiefs ] againſt [ Perſons of ] all Qualities and Conditions; and, that he cruelly murdered his Son *Criſpus*, and likewiſe killed his own Wife *Eufſia*, whom he ſhut up [ and ſtifed ] in a Bath which had been over-much heated. And, that when he had fought amongſt his own Priests for an Expiation of ſuch horrid and nefarious Murders as theſe, and had found none; (for they openly declared, That ſuch black Crimes as theſe could not be purged by Sacrifice;) [ he adds ] that he accidentally met with an *Egyptian* who had come out of *Iberia*: and, that having received information from him, that the Faith of the *Chriſtians* aboliſhed all manner of ſin, he embraced thoſe things which the *Egyptian* had imparted to him. And, that from that time he relinquish'd \* the Religion of his Anceſtours, and made a *beginning of Impiety*, † as he terms it. Now, that theſe things are notoriously falſe, I will demonſtrate immediately: But, in the firſt place I muſt give a Relation concerning *The Chryſargyrum*.

\* Or, *His Paternal Religion.*  
† Or, *As he says.*

† Or, *ad hoc* fact.

## CHAP. XLI.

*An Invektive against Zosimus, on account of  
the Reproaches and Calumnies he has cast  
upon Constantine and the Christians.*

**T**hou sayst therefore, (O destructive and impure \* *Dæmon*!) that *Constantine* resolving to build a City equal to *Rome*, at first attempted the erecting of such a great City in the mid way between *Troas* and *Ilium*; and having laid the Foundations and raised the Wall to an height, afterwards he found *Byzantium* to be a place more commodious, and so incompassed that with Walls; which old City he enlarged to such a degree, and adorned it with such † splendid Buildings, that it seemed not much inferior to *Rome*, which in so many years had by little and little arrived at that Greatness. Thou sayst<sup>ing</sup> further, That he distributed amongst the *Byzantine* People || *The Annona* out of the publick Stock, and gave a vast sum of Gold to those who had removed together with him to *Byzantium*, for the building of their own private Houses. Again, thou writest word for word thus; *After Constantine's death*, [ *the Supreme management of* ] *Affairs devolved only to his Son Constantius*, [ *to wit*, ] *after the death of his two Brothers*. And when *Magentius* and *Vetricano* had set up for Tyrants, he attacked *Vetricano* by perswasives. For, both their Armies being come together, *Constantius* in the first place made a Speech to the Souldiers, and put<sup>ing</sup> them in mind of his Father's Liberality, with whom they had waged many Wars, and [ by means of whom ] they had been honoured with the greatest Gratuities. Which when the Souldiers had read, he redressed *Vetricano* of his Purple, and drew him in out of the Tribunal [ clothed ] in a private habit; the

Notwithstanding, [thou doest affirm,] that he underwent nothing of molestation from *Constantius*, who together with his Father hath by Thee been loaded with so many Calumnies. How therefore Thou canst judge it agreeable [to affirm] the same Person to have been so liberal, and so bountiful, and yet so tenacious and forbid, as to have imposed such an execrable Tax; I am [I must confess] wholly ignorant. Further, that he neither slew *Fausia* nor *Crispus*, nor for that reason, received our Mysteries from any *Egyptian*; hear the words of *Eusebius Pamphilus*, who flourished in the same Times with *Constantine* and *Crispus*, and was frequently conversant with them. (For, thou writest not even what thou hast received by Report, much less the truth: in regard thou livest a long time after, [to wit,] in the Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius* [to whose Times thou hast brought down this History,] or rather, after them.)

lets it must be *μὴκεν* ̃, in two words; and accordingly we have read it, *so mōto* ̃ *times*. And so *Nicephorus* read, who hath exprest these words of *Eusebius* thus, *αὐτὸς δὲ ὧς ἐγγυλλοῖ κενεὸς*; which place of *Nicephorus*, *Lactantius* understood not, nor is it apparent from his Version of it. It must be rendered thus, *ipse hunc errorem non terminavit*, wherein *thou hast closed thine History*. For *Zosimus* brought down his Work to the taking of *Rome* effected by *alaricus*; as is manifested from *Phorici's Bibliotheca*. Further, from his passage in *Nicephorus* and *Eusebius*, *Vossius* (in his book of *Historicis Græcis*) affirms, that *Zosimus* lived in the times of *Theodosius Junius*. Yet, neither of those two Authors hath said that of *Zosimus*. They only say, that he lived under *Honorius* and *Arcadius*; with which [Emperours] he terminateth his History.

noted his History, or rather long after them. Indeed, I am of Opinion, that this *Zosimus* lived about the times of *Anastafius*. For he cites *Olympiodorus Thebaeus*, who wrote his History under *Theodofus Junior*, as *Ptoleus* attests; and he names *Syrianus Philopofphus*, who was the Master of *Proclus Diadochus*. Now, *Proclus* lived in the times of *Anastafius*. Lastly, *Suidas* writes, that *Zosimus* the *Sophist* lived in the Reign of *Anastafius*; whom I think to be the same with *Zosimus* the Historiographer. For many *Rhetoricians* and *Sophists* betook themselves to writing History, as 'tis manifest both from *Dionysius Halicarnafseus*, and also from many others. And the Dignity of Advocate of the *Fiscus* [or, *Treasury*], wherewith *Zosimus* was adorned, disagrees not much from the *Sophistick* Dignity. *Valeſ.*

\* This part in the Eighth Book of his Ecclesiastical History [Eusebius] writes word for word thus: Within some small interval of time, the Emperor Constantine (a Person of extraordinary mildness throughout his whole Life, most favourable to his Subjects, and one that had a singular affection for the Divine Doctrine [of our Religion,]) ended his Life according to the common Sanction of Nature, leaving his own Son Constantine, Emperor and Augustus in his stead. And, after some other words: Constantine, Son to this Man, being immediately from that very time [of his Father's death,] proclaimed Supreme Emperor and Augustus by the Souldiers, (but not long before that, by the Supreme God) exhibited himself an Emulator, of his Father's Piety towards our Religion. And, at the close of his History, he expresses himself in these very words: But Constantine the mighty Conqueror, gloriously adorned with all the Virtues of Religion, (together with his Son Crispus, a Prince highly beloved of God, and in all things like his Father,) recovered his own East. Doubtless Eusebius (who survived Constantine,) would never have so highly extolled Crispus, if he had been murdered by his Father. Moreover, Theodoret relates in his History, that Constantine at the very close of his Life, was made partaker of Salutary Baptism at Nicomedia; and, that he deferred it till that time, because he was desirous of being baptized in the River Jordan. Thou sayst moreover, (most execrable and impurest of Mortals!) that the Roman Empire, from such time as the Christian Religion shewed it self, hath decayed, and been utterly destroyed; [which thou affirmest,] either because thou hast read nothing of what hath happened in ancient times, or else with a designed malice to attack the Truth. For, the contrary is manifestly apparent; to wit, that the Roman Empire hath increased together with our Faith. Consider therefore, how about the very [time of the] Advent of Christ our God amongst Men, a most of [the Cities of] the Macedonians were ruined by the Romans: Albania also and Iberia, the Colchi and Arabians, were made Subjects to the Romans. [Consider likewise,] how *Caius Caesar*, on the Hundred<sup>th</sup> eighty second Olympiad, in great fights subdued the *Galli*, *Germani*, and *Britanni*, (which Nations inhabited Five hundred Cities,) and annexed them to the Roman Empire; as it hath been recorded by *Historians*. This is the *Caesar*, who after the *Consul*, was the first *Augustus* of the Roman Empire; who made a way

\* Tu wir, pa. 108. of our Version.

† See Theodoret's Ecclesiastical History, book 1. chap. 32.

‡ On the Affairs of the Romans.

\* Long before Christ's Advent Macedonia had been subdued by the Romans. Moreover, the Albanians, Iberians, and Colchians were conquered by the same Romans long before Christ's Birth. Therefore what Evagrius says here, is nothing to the purpose. But, concerning this whole Inveective of Evagrius against Zosimus, see *Fabianus Lemnius's* Apology, which he has prefixed before his Edition of Zosimus. *Valeſ.*

\* Suidas relates that Zosimus was a Sophist who lived in the times of the Emperor Augustus. The same is the Reading in the Greek Copies of Nicephorus; but it must be made of Zosimus or Zosimus, &c. On the Hundred eighty second Olympiad, from Eusebius, and the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle, pag. 437. *Valeſ.*

out of \* Polytheism and † Democracy, and introduced a previous Veneration of a Monarchy of Christ. Immediately, all Judaea, and the Neighbouring Countries, were annexed Domitian [to the Roman Empire:] in so much that managed The \* First Involvement was then made, in which Christ also together with others was Enrolled, † See Eusebius to the end that Bethlehem might publicly declare the Completion of that Prophecy [which Hist. book had been uttered] concerning it self. For it is, &c. note hath been predicted by the Prophet Micah con-

cerning it in this manner: || And thou Bethlehem, say Micah, thou shalt come forth to me a Governor, who shall rule my People Israel. And

after the Nativity of Christ our God, Egypt was added to the Roman Empire, Augustus Caesar, under whom Christ was born, having totally subdued Antonius and Cleopatra who killed themselves. After which Persons, Cornelius Gallus is constituted Praefect of Egypt by Augustus Caesar; and he was the first who Governed Egypt after The Ptolemies, as it has been recorded by Historiographers. Further, how many [Countries] have been taken away from the Persians, by Ventidius, and by Corbulo, Nero's \* Duke; by \* Or, Com-mander.

\* Trajan also, Severus, and Carus; by Cassius likewise, Odenatus of Palmyra, Apollonius, and others: how often have [the Cities] Seleucia and Ctesiphon been taken; as likewise Nisibis, (which sometimes passed into the hands of the Romans, at others, into those of the Persians;) [Lastly,] that Armenia, and the adjacent Nations, have been annexed to the Roman Empire, Thou thy self, together with other Writers, dost relate. But I had almost omitted those things which Thou writest were done by Constantine, who together with his professing of our Religion, valiantly and with great Courage governed the Roman Empire: and what Thy Julian suffered, a partaker of the same Mysteries with thy self, who left such deep wounds upon the Roman State. But, whether any thing of what hath been predicted concerning the end of the World, hath either received \* a Prelude, or shall obtain an End, is of a higher Dispensation than: Thou canst conceive. But, if Thou pleaseſt, let us make inquiry, in what manner those Emperours who asserted the Superstition of the Gentiles, and how they who had a value for the Christian Religion, concluded their [Lives and] Reigns. Was not Caius Julius Caesar, the First Monarch of the Roman Empire, murdered by Treachery, and so ended his Life? did not some Souldiers with their Swords kill the other Caius, who was \* Nephe-w to Ti-

berius? was not Nero murdered by one of his Domesticks? Did not Galba undergo the same Fate? Orbo, and Vitellius also; which three Emperours Reigned only sixteen months. Did not Domitian (who was his Brother,) destroy the Emperor Titus by poison? Was not Domitian himself in a miserable man-

\* Or, Proem, or, beginning.

\* Germanicus c. Caesaris pater Drusi & Minoris Antonia filius, a Tiberio parvus adoptatus, &c. So Suetonius in the Life of Caius Caligula.

† See Eusebius c. 3. of the Nativity of Christ. For about twenty years before our Saviour's Nativity, Egypt was reduced into the form of a Province. *Valeſ.*



ner removed out of this World by *Stephanus*? What wilt thou say concerning *Commodus*, did not he end his Life by [the violent hands of] *Narcissus*? *Pertinax* also, and *Julian*, underwent they not the same Fate? did not *Antoninus* Son to *Severus*, murder his Brother *Geta*, and was not he himself afterwards taken off in the same manner by *Martialis*? What [of] *Macrinus* also, was not he carried up and down like a Captive about *Byzantium*, and nefariously murdered by his own Souldiers? *Aurelius Antoninus* likewise, born at the City *Emesa*, was not he slain together with his Mother? and *Alexander* his Successor in the Empire, fell not he together with his Mother \* by the like Fact! What shall we say concerning *Maximinus*, was not he destroyed by his own Souldiers? What concerning *Gordianus*, who by *Philippus*'s Treacheries [was murdered] by his own Souldiers, and ended his days? Now, do Thou tell me, was not *Philippus* and his Successor *Decius* slain by their Enemies? *Gallus* and likewise *Volusianus*, were they not thrust out of their Lives by their own Forces? *Emilianus* also, fell not he in the same manner? *Valerianus*, was not he taken prisoner, and carried up and down by the *Persians*? [In fine,] after *Gallienus* had been treacherously murdered, and *Carinus* slain, the [Supream Management of] affairs came to *Dioctletianus*, and those whom he took in to be Colleagues in the Empire with himself. Of whom, *Maximianus* *Hercules*, and his Son *Maxentius*, as likewise *Licinius*, were utterly destroyed. But, from such time as the most celebrated *Constantine* entred upon the Empire, and dedicated to *Christ* a City built by himself, which bore his own Name; look about earnestly [and see,] whether any of those who reigned in that City, excepting only *Julian* thy Pontiff and Emperour, have been slain either by their own Citizens, or by their Enemies; or whether any Tyrant hath ever vanquished an Emperour, I save only *Basilissus* who drove out *Zeno*: notwithstanding, he was afterwards routed by the same *Zeno*, and ended his Life. I assent also to what thou

\* ἢ μὴν βασιλικῶν. In the *Tullerian* MS. I found it written, ἢ μὴν βασιλικῶν: but I would rather express it thus, αὐτῶν μόνον, save only, &c. *Valef.*

writest concerning *Valens*; [because] he was the Occasioner of such and so vexatious mischiefs against the *Christians*. For, concerning any other Emperour [besides these,] even Thou thyself canst not say it. Let no Person account these things to be foreign to our *Ecclesiastick History*; but rather [look upon them as] most useful and † accommodate; in regard the *Historiographers* amongst the Heathens do designedly attempt to cloud the accurate Knowledge of Transactions. But let us return to the remaining Actions of *Anastasius*.

† Or, *Conducere*.

## C H A P. XLII.

## Concerning \* The Chrysotelia.

\* Or, *Golden Tax*.

THE Actions we have already mentioned, were egregiously performed by *Anastasius* in a manner befitting the Imperial Majesty. But the same Emperour did some things in no wise answerable to those [we have related.]

For he invented that termed \* The Chrysotelia, and rated the Expence of the Militia at a very high value, to the great damage † of the Provincials; it should Beside, † he took away the Exaction of the Trib-  
to grieve, in regard our *Evagrius*, contenting himself in setting down the bare Name, has omitted to explain the Thing it self; nor has any other of the Ancient Writers, that I know of, made mention of this thing. But as much as I am able to attain by Conjecture, I do think The Chrysotelia to have been nothing else, but a Paying of Gold, which *Anastasius* first ordered to be exacted from the Provincials instead of the Tributary Fundion. For the old Romans were wont to bring in the Tributes in the very Species themselves, to wit, in *Wheat*, *Barley*, *Wine* and *Oyl*: out of which, being carried together into the publick Granaries, the Military and Civil *Annona* was distributed. Moreover, by the Sanctions of the Emperours it had been forbidden, that the Collectors should exact Gold of the Provincials instead of the Species. [To wit, *Wheat*, *Barley*, &c.] as may be seen in the Fourth and Fifth Law of the Theodosian Code, Tit. *Tributa in istis speciebus inferri*. But *Anastasius* was the first who gave order, that instead of the Species, Money should be exacted of the Provincials. Now, I gather this, partly from the word *Chrysotelia* it self, whereby is signified a Paying of Gold instead of Tributes; and partly from that which *Evagrius* speaks in this whole Chapter concerning the Tributary Fundion, as we shall see afterwards. *Valef.*

‡ Ἀντιστοιχίαι δὲ χρυσολιτῶν δεικνύται. *Johannes Leunius* has rendered this place very well, in this manner: *Et populus suos Vicegales bellis imperis per vindictationem dividendis supra modum gravatus, And he over-much burdened his People that paid Tribute, the Military Expence, being by a Market made Sale of. Magister translates it thus: Et Militares sumptus onerosissimi eorum contribuciones dividendis, And in a most burdensome manner made sale of the Military Expence, contrary to the usual convention.* But, *Christophorus* renders it worst of all, in this manner: *Et stipendia Militaria, cum exactionibus, non sine gravissimo Reipublice detrimento dividendis, And sold the Military Stipends together with the Exactions, not without the heaviest detriment to the Republic.* But, to the end we may fully understand the thing it self, we will diligently weigh each word. *Evagrius* therefore says, ὁ ἀντιστοιχίαι. That word signifies in *Latine*, *cum qui vendit, tum that hath sold*. *Suidas* also observes, that a fraudulent selling, sale, is understood by this word. Now, the selling of the Military Expence may be meant in a twofold manner. For, either *Anastasius* Farmed out the Military Expence to *Publicans*, in such manner as our Kings are wont to do, who usually let out the Allowance of the Military *Annona*, [that is, the Souldiers Provisions,] of Cloth, and other things of that nature, to *Publicans* and *Farmers*. Or else, that Sale was no other thing than an *Aderation*, [or, setting a Money-value upon these Expences:] in such a manner as if *Anastasius* should have rated at a most burthenome value the Military Expence, to wit, Cloth, Arms, Forage, &c. which were wont to be brought in by the Provincials: which thing redounded to the loss of the Provincials, who instead of the Species themselves, were forced to pay a Price. And this latter Sense I have followed in my Translation. Now, by these words, χρυσολιτῶν δεικνύται, *Evagrius* means not only the Military Stipends, [or, Souldiers Pay,] as *Christophorus* thought; but all manner of charge belonging to the Militia, to wit, Clothes, Arms, and Provisions. *Justinian* makes frequent use of this word in his Thirteenth Edict; where he distinguishes also between δεικνύται and *Criseis*. And he informs us, that the *Criseis* were the *Annona*, and the *Capita*, [or, Forage for the Beasts] which were paid to the Magistrates in Gold: but of what fort the δεικνύται were, he explains not; only he intimates, that the values of them also were exacted from the Provincials; where he speaks concerning The Duc of *Libya*. *Valef.*

§ Κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν. What *Cassiodorus* were, *Musculus* and *Christophorus* understood not. The Provincials who paid Tribute, are so termed. The Old Glosses explain *Cassiodorus*, *tributerius*, a Person obnoxious to the paying of Tribute; *Cassiodorus*, τὸ ὀντισμὸν, *Tributum*, *Tribute*. So *Evagrius* (book 5. chap. 13.) calls the Tributaries τὸν ὀντισμῶν. *Valef.*

¶ Πεισθέντι τῷ τῶν φόρων εἰσπράξει ἐν τῶν βασιλικῶν. Amongst the Burthens of the Decuriones, the Exactions, [or, Collection] of the Tributes was not the least. For they out of their own Body made *Susceptores* [Takers, or Receivers] of The *Annona*, and *Præpositi* [or, Overseers] of The Mansions and Granaries; as is evident from the Theodosian Code. In the Title of *Decurionibus*, and in the Titles of *Susceptoribus*. Which yet is not so to be understood, as if only the Decurions might collect the Fiscal Tributes. For, both the Officials of the *Præfetti Prætorio*, and likewise the Officials of the Presidents, were wont to collect the Tributes from the Provincials; as *Amm. Marcellinus* informs us, book 17. in these words: *Denique iussit exemplo, id petendo Caesar imptoraverat a Prefecto, &c. In fine by an unusual Example, Caesar by entreaty had obtained that of the Prefect, that the dispose of the second Belgica, which was oppressed with manifold mischiefs, might be committed to him; so that, on that condition, that neither the Official of a Prefect, nor of a President should urge any one to pay.* [In *Valesius*'s Edition of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 90. where this passage occurs; it is printed thus: . . . . .

'Tis

'Tis moreover said, that [after this,] *Vitalianus* spent some time at *Anchialus*, and kept himself quiet. Further, another Nation of the *Hunni* <sup>4</sup> having past the *Caspian Strights*, made an Incurſion [into the *Roman Provinces*.]

<sup>4</sup> *Παρά τον τόν κατὰ μέτρον. Or, Suf. The Hunni were a having most wipafſed the lent, &c. Caſpian Strights*

At thoſe very ſame times alſo, *Rbodus* \* was ſhaken by a moſt Violent Earthquake, in the dead of the night; which was the third calamity it had ſuffered of that Nature.

[Or, narrow paſſes,] made an irruption into *Armenia*, *Cappadocia*, and *Pontus*, in the Conſulate of *Anthemus* and *Florentius*, on the Year of Chriſt 115, as *Marcellinus* and *Viſtor* *Timonensis* relate in their *Chronicon*. They were alſo termed *Sabiri*, or *Saber*, as *Cedrenus* attests for ſo 'tis to be read in *Theophaſtus*. From which Authors it muſt be made here *μεγιστὴν τὴν ῥοσάναν ῥοσάναν*, having paſt the *Caspian Strights*. 'Tis certain, *Niephorus* has thus expreſſed this place of *Evagrius*, at book 16. chap. 38. Through theſe *Caspian Narrow Paſſes*, the *Hunni* were wont to break into the *Roman Pale*, as *Procopius* tells us Book 1. *Perſie*. Where he gives an excellent deſcription of theſe *Narrow Paſſes*, and attests that they had been heretofore fortified by *Alexander* the *Macedonian*. Whence, that paſſage of *Saint Jerome*, in his *Epitaph of Fabiola*, receives light; which runs thus: *Eceſ subito diſcurrentibus Niniſis, Oriens totus iniremit, ab ultimâ Maotide inter Gelaſtem Tinnam, & Maſſagetarum immanes populos, ubi Caucaſi rupibus ſeras Genes Alexandri Claſtra cœbent, erupſiſſe Hunnorum examina*. Valeſ.

#### CHAP XLIV.

That *Anaſtaſius* being deſirous to add theſe words, Who haſt been Crucified on our account, to the *Hymn* [termed] \* The *Triſagium*, a *Sedition* and diſturbance happened amongſt the people. Which [*Anaſtaſius*] fearing, † made uſe of diſſimulation, and ſoon altered the minds of the people. And concerning the death of *Anaſtaſius*.

\* See *Maurin's* *Gloſſary*, in the word *terſiſſe*. † Or, *regned* in diſſimulation.

But at *Conſtantinople*, when the Emperor was deſirous of making an addition of theſe words, Who haſt been Crucified on our account, to [The *Hymn* termed] *The Triſagium*; a moſt violent *Sedition* hapned, as if the *Chriſtian Religion* had been totally \* ſubverted. *Macedonius* and the *Conſtantinopolitan Clergy* were the Authors and Abettors of this *Sedition*,

\* Or, *Abrogated*.

<sup>2</sup> This *Severus* affirms in his *Epistle* to \* *Soterichus*, *obierius* [or *Soterichus*,] had been ordained Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia* by *Macedonius* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople*. Who going over afterwards to the *Eutychian* party, joyned himſelf to the impious *Xenaias*, as *Theophaſtus* relates in his *Chronicon*. 'Tis no wonder therefore, that *Severus*, a Ringleader of the *Eutychians*, ſhould have written Letters to *Soterichus*, a perſon like himſelf, and ſhould in them have accuſed *Macedonius* a Catholic Biſhop, as being the Author of the *Sedition*. *Severus* himſelf was rather the Occaſioner of this *Sedition*, who had perſwaded the Emperor *Anaſtaſius*, that to the *Hymn* [termed] *The Triſagium* he ſhould add this Claule, *Who haſt been Crucified for us, having mercy upon us*; as *Cedrenus* relates in his *Chronicon*. Further, *Proclus* Biſhop of *Conſtantinople* had been taught this *Hymn* [termed] *The Triſagium*, by *Angela*. Which, as ſoon as the Prieſt had approacht the altar, the *Channer* out of the Pulpit began to ſing, in this manner, *ὁ θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ὁ υἱὸς ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀθάνατος ὁ ὁσάνα ὁ ὁσάνα ὁ ὁσάνα*. Holy God; Holy Mighty; Holy Immortal; as *Joſeph* *Monachus* writes Book 6.

in *Phorins* *Bibliotheca*. On account of this *Hymn* moſt violent Tumults aroſe afterwards in the Church, when the *Easterns* would add this Claule to it, *ὁ σωζόμενος δι' ἡμῶν*, Who haſt been Crucified for us, referring it to Jeſus Chriſt. But the *Conſtantinopolitans* and *Westerns* rejected that addition, *leaſt* any perſon ſhould be attributed to the *Conſubſtantial Trinity*; and in place thereof ſang theſe words, *ὁσάνα ὁσάνα ἡμῶν*, Holy Trinity have mercy upon us; as *Epiphanius* *Varriar*ch of *Anatholi* informs us in *Phorins* his *Bibliotheca*. *Macedonius* did right therefore, who retaining the uſage delivered by *Proclus*, reſuſed that addition. Valeſ.

Which [*Epistle*] he wrote before he had obtained the *Episcopal Throne*, whilt he reſided <sup>2</sup> at the Imperial City, to wit, at that time \* when he, together with others, had been ejected out of his own Monastery, as I have \* related already. On account of theſe Calumnies, beſides other reaſons † already mentioned, I am of opinion that *Macedonius* was ejected [out of his See.] From this occaſion the populacy was ill, thar, enraged, and in regard they were not any longer to be withheld, many perſonages of the Nobility were reduced to the greateſt of dangers, and ſeveral of the eminenteſt places [of the City] were burnt down. And when the people had life in the found a certain Country-fellow (who lead a *Moniſtick* courſe of life,) in the honſe of *Marinus* *Palace*, the *Syrian*, they cut off his head; affirming that by this mans motives and perſwaſions that *Expreſſion* had been added [to the *Hymn*.] They alſo put his head upon a pole, [carried it about] and in a deriding manner exclaimed, that he was the Enemy of the Trinity. [Further,] the *Sedition* increaſed ſo vaſtly, ruining all things, and being ſuperiour to all \* *Oppoſition*, that the Emperor, † compelled by neceſſity, went to the *Cirque* without his Crown, and ſent the *Criers* to the people, to make *Proclamation*, that with all imaginable readineſs he would reſign his Empire: but that it was a perfect impoſſibility for all of them to obtain the Empire, which cannot endure many *Colleagues*; and, that there was of neceſſity to be one, who might Govern the Empire after him, Which when the people perceived, by a certain Divine impuſe as it were, they altered their minds, and beſought *Anaſtaſius* to put his Crown upon his head, and promiſed to be calm and quiet [in future.] When *Anaſtaſius* had ſurvived theſe diſturbances \* ſome ſmall interval of time, he departed to another life, having Governed the Empire of the *Romans*, ſeven and twenty years, three months, and as many days.

above. Beſides in the foregoing chapter he terms it ſo. Valeſ. \* *Ὁς τὸν τὸν τὸν*. Doubtleſs it muſt be, *ὁς τὸν τὸν τὸν*, and we have rendered it accordingly. So alſo *Niephorus* read: for he has expreſſed *Evagrius*'s words thus: *ὁς τὸν τὸν τὸν*, *ὁσάνα ὁσάνα ὁσάνα*, at that time, when he was driven from his own Monastery. Yet I wonder, that this was not perceived by the Tranſlators, to wit, *Mafſulus* and *Chriſtopherſon*. Valeſ.

<sup>2</sup> Nay; *Anaſtaſius* lived ſeven years compleat after this *Sedition* Valeſ.

# THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFACTS.

## CHAP. I.

\* Or, *In* Concerning the Empire of \* Justinus Senior.

**A** Anastasius therefore being (as I have said,) translated to a better allotment, *Justinus*, by Extract a Thracian, vests himself with the purple Robe, on the ninth day of the month *Panemus*, which amongst the *Romans* is termed *July*, in the Five hundred sixty sixth year of *Antioch's* being styled a free City: he was declared [Emperour] by the Imperial Guards, of whom also he was Commander, having been made \* *Master* of the Officers at Court. He obtained the Imperial Dignity beyond all expectation, in regard to, *Nicephorus*, there were many of *Anastasius's* relations, who were eminent personages, had arrived at the greatest fortunateness imaginable, and who had procured to themselves all that power which might have invested them with the Imperial Dignity.

Nevertheless, *Jordanes* in his *Book de Successione Regnum*, relates that *Justinus* was by the Senate elected Emperour, not from his being *Master of the Office*, but *Comes of the Guards*. To whom agrees the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, and the *Old Chronicle*ographer whom I long since published at the end of *Anastasi's History*. *Procopius* (in his *Anecdota*, pag. 28.) speaking of the Emperour *Justinus* as yet a private person, writes thus; \* *Ἀναστάσιος δὲ αὐτῷ Ἀνακτοῦ βασιλεὺς κτισθέντος ἐπὶ ἐν παλατίῳ πολεμῶν*, For the Emperour *Anastasi* had made him *Comes of the Guards* in the Palace. The same *Procopius* makes *Justinus*, not a Thracian, (as *Evagrius*, *Cedrenus*, and *Zonaras* do,) but an *Asyrian*, born at the Town *Bederiana*. *Theophanes* also says *Justinus* was an *Asyrian*. But I cannot enough admire at the *Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle*, who although he makes him a *Bederianite*, yet terms him a Thracian-Valel.

## CHAP. II.

Concerning the Eunuch *Amantius*, and *Theocritus*; and in what manner *Justinus* put these persons to death.

**M**oreover, there was [at that time] one *Amantius* the chief person of the Imperial Bed-Chamber, a man of great power [and

interest.] Who, in regard 'tis unlawful for a man deprived of his Genitals [as he was,] to be posselt of the *Roman Empire*, was desirous of encircling *Theocritus*, a great Confident of his, with the Imperial Crown. Having therefore caused *Justinus* to be sent for, he gave him vast quantities of money, ordering him to distribute it amongst those who were most fit to effect this thing, and who might be able to invest *Theocritus* with the purple Robe. But *Justinus* having with this money purchased, either [the suffrages of] the people, or else the Benevolence of those termed *The Guards*, (For 'tis reported both ways;) invested himself with the Imperial Dignity. Forthwith therefore he \* *Or, De* \* takes off *Amantius* and *Theocritus*, together with some other persons.

## CHAP. III.

In what manner *Justinus* slew *Vitalianus* by treachery.

**B**ut, he calls *Vitalianus* [then] \* making, \* *ἐν τῷ* [his Residence] in Thracia, (who had attempted to divest *Anastasi* of the Empire, to *Constantinople*: being afraid of his power, within his skill in relation to Military affairs, of the greatness of his Fame then [spread] amongst all men, and of the desire he had to obtain the Empire. But perceiving by a sagacious foresight that he could on no other terms bring *Vitalianus* within his own power, unless he should feign himself his friend; and having [for that reason] mask'd his face with a fraud not to be detected, he constitutes him *Master of* [of those Armies] termed *The Present Militia*.

He wrote, *ἐν τῷ στασιάζει παύσθαι*, making his Residence; and, that the two former words were omitted by Transcribers. The reading may also be *ἐκωνομίσθαι*, pinching his *Tax*, or, *docting*. Valel.

\* *Ἐν τῷ καλῶνται πρεσβυτέρω*. There were two Armies in the Court of the *Roman Emperour*, who were called *Presbiterii*, in Greek, *τὸ πρεσβυτέρω*. These were commanded by two *Magistri Militum*, who were termed in *Presbiterii*, or *Prætorales*. And in the *Eastern Empire*, one of these Commanders was a *Magister of Foot*, the other of Horse. But in the *Western Empire*, each of them





<sup>a</sup> This *Isidore* excited *Ephraemius* <sup>b</sup> then Comes of the East, to take all possible Care, that the City might want nothing of those things that were necessary. Which person the Inhabitants of Antioch admired in this very account, and chose him their Bishop. *Ephraemius* therefore obtains the Apostolic Chair, which was allotted to him as the Reward and Recompence as <sup>c</sup> were of such his providence [towards that City.] Thirty months after this, Antioch was again afflicted with Earthquakes: <sup>d</sup> at which time also it [changed its name, and] was called Theopolis; and the Emperour made provision for it by all other care and diligence whatever.

of the East; as the Notitia of the Roman Empire informs us. That *Ephraemius* was adorned with this dignity, we are told by *Johannes Moschus* in chap. 37. of his *Limnerion*; where his words are these: *Es tempore vir clementis, & misericordie operibus deditus Ephraemius Conus Orentis erat, &c.* At that time *Ephraemius*, a person of great clemency, and addicted to works of compassion, was son of great clemency, and added to works of compassion, was Comes of the East, and by him the publick Buildings were repaired: for the City had been ruined by an Earthquake. *Florus* also attests the same, in his *Bibliotheca*, chapter 28. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> Tellis *Isidore* and then also, &c. I would rather read, *Isis* *Isidore*, as which time also, &c. Which is the reading in the *Tellis* *Manuscript*, and in *Nicephorus*, who writes, that in *Justinian's* Reign Antioch had that name given it. The same is attested by *Stephanus Byzantinus* in the word *Isidore*, and by *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*. This latter Earthquake happened on the twenty ninth day of November, in the seventh Indiction, two years after the former Earthquake, as *Theophanes* relates pag. 151; or rather thirty months after the former Earthquake, as *Eugarius* says truly. For, to many months are reckoned from the twenty ninth of May in the year of Christ 526, to the twenty ninth of November in the year of Christ 528. In which year the Seventh Indiction began to be reckoned from the month September. Whence, that appears to be most true which I have remarked before, viz. that that former Earthquake happened at Antioch on the year of Christ 526; and not on the year 525, as *Baonius* thought. And yet *Baonius* has rightly placed the latter Earthquake on the year of Christ 528; which is true. For, whereas he follows *Eugarius's* Calculation, he ought to have placed that Earthquake on the year 527: in regard the former Earthquake had happened at Antioch on the year 525 of Our Lord's Nativity. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

Concerning *Zosimas* and *Johannes* who were Workers of Miracles.

BUT, in regard we have mentioned the fore-  
said Calamities, come on, we will also insert  
some other passages, worthy to be remembered,  
into this our present Work; which passages were  
brought to our knowledge by those who saw  
them. There [was] one *Zosimas*, a person who  
exercised himself in a Monastick life, by Extract  
a Phœnician, of that Phœnicie termed *Maritima*;  
the place of his Nativity was *Sinde*, a Village dis-  
tant from Tyre not full out twenty furlongs. This man, by his abstinence from and use of  
meats, and by other virtues of his life, had in  
such a manner <sup>a</sup> possessed himself of God, that he  
could not only foresee things future, but had also  
received [from God] the Gift of <sup>b</sup> being free  
therefore from all manner of perturbation of mind. Being  
therefore [one time] in the City *Cæsarea*, which  
is the Metropolis of one of the *Palestines*, at the  
house of <sup>c</sup> a perage of eminency; (his name

was *Arceflaus*, a Person nobly Descended and  
Learned, and one who had arrived at Honours  
and those other [accomplishments] which adorn  
the life of a man:) at that very instant of time  
wherein Antioch was ruined [by the Earthquake,]  
this *Zosimas* all on a sudden grew sad, mourned  
and sighed deeply, and shed so great a quantity  
of tears that he wetted the Earth. He also asked  
for a Censer, and having burnt Incense all over  
that place where they stood, he prostrates him-  
self on the Ground, in order to his appeasing  
God with Prayers and Supplications. Then *Arceflaus*  
asking him, what that was which trou-  
bled him so much, he answered in express words,  
that the Noise of the Ruin of Antioch just then  
rang in his Ears. In so much that *Arceflaus*  
and those then present, being stricken with an  
amazement, wrote down the Hour, and found  
afterwards, that it had so hapned as *Zosimas* had  
declared. Several other wonders were wrought  
by this person; the multitude whereof I will omit,  
in regard they are even more in number than can  
be told; and will mention only some of them:  
There flourished at the same time with this *Zosimas*,  
a man by name *Johannes*, for virtues like to <sup>a</sup> *Arceflaus*,  
him; who had exercised a Monastick and <sup>b</sup> *inmate*—  
a life full  
of matter.

<sup>b</sup> *Xo. xxi. Chuziba*. So also  
the reading is in *Nicephorus*, and  
*Ortelius* has retained the same  
reading in his *Theophrastus* *Geogra-  
phicus*. But in the excellent *Eu-  
reline* *Manuscript* it is *Chuziba*;  
which is doubtless true. For  
so *Johannes Moschus* terms  
that *Laura* in chap. 24. *quo  
autem venisset in Beroam, &  
moraretur in Cellis Cusibus, &c.*  
But when he was come into the  
Desert, and abode in the Cells at  
Cusiba, he performed the same  
works of mercy. For he went  
through the high way which leads  
from Jordan to the Holy City.  
Where tis observable, that those  
are termed Cells by *Moschus*,  
which *Eugarius* calls a *Laura*.  
Indeed, a *Laura* was nothing else  
but Cells of Monks dispersed here  
and there, as I have remarked  
above, at book 1. chap. 21. note  
(b.) yet *Moschus* (chap. 24.) call it  
the Monastery *Chuziba*.—Valef.

<sup>c</sup> This *Johannes* was first Ab-  
bot and Presbyter of the Mon-  
astery *Chuziba*; whence he had  
the surname of *Chuzibite*. But  
afterwards he was made Bishop  
of *Cæsarea*, as (besides *Eugarius*)  
*Johannes Moschus* informs us  
chap. 24. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>e</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>f</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>g</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>h</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>i</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>j</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>k</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>l</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>m</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>n</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>o</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>p</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>q</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>r</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>s</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>t</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>v</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>w</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>x</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>al</sup> Or, Fol-  
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<sup>ql</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qm</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qn</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qo</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qp</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qq</sup> Or, Fol-  
lowed.

<sup>qr</sup> Or, Fol-

## CHAPTER IX.

*How Justinus whilst he was yet living, took Justinianus to be his Colleague in the Empire.*

THE same *Justinus* having passed the eighth year of his Empire, <sup>a</sup> and also nine months <sup>b</sup> The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* says, that his Sifters Son is made his Collegue in the Empire, being proclaimed on the first [day of the month] *Xanthicus*, or *April*, in the Five hundred seventy fifth year of *Antioch's* being stiled a free City. And when these affairs had proceeded in this manner, *Justinus* removes from his Empire here [on earth,] \* having ended his life on the first day of *Louis*, or the month *August*, when he had reigned four months with *Justinianus*, and had <sup>b</sup> held the Empire [as well alone, as with a Collegue] nine compleat years [c<sup>a</sup> one month,] and three days. [Further,] months when *Justinianus* was invested with the sole Government of the whole *Roman* Empire, and the Synod at *Chalcedon* had been asserted over all the most Holy Churches, by the order of *Justinus*, as I have related; [the affairs of the Ecclesiastick constitution were as yet disturbed in some Provinces, and especially at the Imperial City, Constantinople, and at *Alexandria*: *Antimus* then Governing the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*, and *Theodosius* presiding over the Church at *Alexandria*. For which both [these Prelates] asserted one Nature [in Christ.]

But the *Justinus* entered on the Empire on the ninth day of July, in the year of our Lord's Nativity 518. From which time to the Calends of April in the year 527, there are eight years, and as many months, together with nine and twenty days. But if we follow *Cedrenus*, who relates that *Justinian* was made *Augustus* by *Justinus* on the fourteenth of April, then the Computation of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* will be most certain. Vale.

<sup>b</sup> The *disiunctio* *harvaris* *apud* in the Tellerian Manuscript, I found it written, *disiunctio* *harvaris* *apud* and had held the Imperial Government, or, the Empire: which reading pleased me best. Vale.

<sup>c</sup> From *Eusebii's* own Computation 'tis apparent, that these words [*one month*] must be added here. For in regard he has said a little before this, that on the *Calends of April* of this year, the eighth year of *Julianus's* Reign was completed, and that he had reigned over and above, nine months and three days; the consequence is, that on the *Calends of August* of the same year, nine years were passed together with one month and three days. Whence 'tis Collected, that *Julianus's* Reign is to be begun from the twenty eighth day of *June*, according to *Eusebii's* Sentiment. *Valdf.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*Concerning the Universal Calamities.*

**D**uring the same *Justinus's* Governing the *[Roman]* Empire, that *[City]* now named *Dyrrachium* (which was anciently called *Epidamnus*,) was ruined by an Earthquake. As was likewise *Corinthus*, situate in *Achaia*. *Anazarbus* also, the *Metropolis* of the *Second Cilicia*, [suffered] a fourth Calamity of this sort. Which *Cities Justinus* rebuilt by the expence of a vast sum of Money. In these very same times also, *Edessa* a *City* of the *Ossien*, which was vastly great and rich, was drowned by the waters of the torrent of the *Scirtus* which runs hard by it; in so much that most of the houses were beaten down, and an innumerable multitude of men destroyed, whom the water carried away. *Edessa* and *Anazarbus* had their [ancient] names changed by *Justinus*; for both those *Cities* were adorned with \* his own name.

## CHAP. X.

*How Justinianus favoured those who embraced the Chalcedon Synod. But [his Wife] Theodora was a Lover of the Contrary party.*

**J**ustinianus indeed courageously defended the [ Fathers ] which had been convened at Chalcedon, and the Expositions they had made. But his Wife Theodora [ favoured ] them who asserted one Nature: whether it were ἑστὶν ὁ θεός διὰ τὴν φύσιν αὐτοῦ, because they themselves really thought so. ἡμεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἐκρίναμεν. I think it should be worded thus; εἰτε ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς λόγου ἐξήρταν, whether it were because they themselves really thought so. For the sense requires this reading. Nicephorus in no wife understood the meaning of this passage. But Mulsinus has explained it excellently well in this manner: Sive autem sic verē sentiebant, sive sic dispensatione quādam inter ipsos convenerat; But whether they really thought so, or whether it had been so agreed amongst themselves by a certain dispensation. Christoferson has followed Mulsinus, and began a new period from these words, in this manner. Sive igitur ita reverēsentiant, &c. Whether therefore they really thought so, &c. But we have joynd them with the foregoing words. Valē.





\* Or, *Who*  
dwelt in  
Tents.  
He meant  
the Sara-  
cens.  
† Or, *About him*.

\* Or, *With a vehemency of affection.*  
† Or, *Land of the Romans.*

\* Or, *Endless, or, boundless.*  
† *Procopius.*  
|| Or, *Watchword.*  
† Or, *Watchword.*

\* Εὖ τῶ  
νὴν τέρει;  
*In this mischief,*  
or, *here-*

THE same *Procopius*, in his book wherein he has related the Affairs of the *Vandals*, gives a Narrative of † strange things, and which de-  
serve for ever to be kept in memory by Men; *Or, The*  
which matter I come now to relate. *Humericus*  
who succeeded *Gisericus* in the Kingdom, in re-  
gard he embraced [ the Tenets ] of *Arius*, be-  
haved himself most barbarously towards those  
*Christians in Africa*; forcing them who asserted  
the Orthodox Opinions to [ retract and ] turn  
to the Opinion of the *Arians*. And if any re-  
fused to obey his Commands, he destroyed them  
by fire, and infinite other sorts of death. But  
he ordered the Tongues of some of them to  
be cut out. *Procopius* affirms, that he him-  
self

his design; by the Inducement of *Proclus*, who  
sate *Quæstor* to [ the Emperour ] *Justinian*,  
the Feud against the *Romans* was increased. Fur-

\* *Or. Scit. 484.* self <sup>3</sup> saw these Persons when they were at Constantinople, to which City they had fled; and that he conferred with them [and heard them] speak in such a manner as if they had suffered no such thing; [and he says.] that their Tongues indeed were cut out from the very root; but, that they had an articulate Voice, and spake distinctly: [which thing was] a wonder new and unusual. The Constitution of \* Justinian mentions these Persons also. Two of whom Lapsed, as the same Procopius relates. For in regard they would not converse with Women, they were deprived of their Voice, and the grace of Martyrdom continued not any longer with them.

\* *Or. Scit. 484.* In the Greek Text of \* Justinian mentions these Persons also. Two of whom Lapsed, as the same Procopius relates. For in regard they would not converse with Women, they were deprived of their Voice, and the grace of Martyrdom continued not any longer with them.

## CHAP. XV.

### Concerning Cabaones the Moor.

\* *Or. Scit. 484.* Moreover, [Procopius] \* relates another admirable passage, which was wonderfully effected by God [our] Saviour, amongst Men who were strangers indeed to our Religion, but who behaved themselves piously and holily at that time.

He says, that Cabaones was King of those Moors about Tripoli. This Cabaones, says he, (for I think fit to make use of Procopius's own words, who has elegantly related these matters, as well as others;) having received Information, that the Vandals would undertake an Expedition against him, he behaved himself in this manner. In the first place he ordered his Subjects, to abstain

\* *Or. Scit. 484.* from all manner of Injustice, and \* from dainty food and delicious Dishes; but most especially from the company of Women. Then, he pitched two Camps, in the one he himself encamped, together with all the Men: but within the other he shut up the Women, and threatened he would inflict a punishment of death upon any one that should go into the Women's Entrenchment. After this, he sent || Spies to Carthage, to whom he gave these Orders: That if the Vandals, when on their Expedition, should \* desire any Oratory † wherein the Christians worshipped, they should make an Inspection into what was done. But, when the Vandals were removed from that place, [he enjoined them] to do all things that were the quite contrary, to that Church out of which the Vandals had made their Removal, and were gone. † It is reported that || he said this also, That he was indeed ignorant of that God whom the Christians worshipped: but 'tis probable, says he, as if he be a strong and powerful [God,] as he is said to be, that he will be revenged on those who injure [his Deity,] and will assist his Worshipers. The Spies therefore, when they were arrived at Carthage, con-

\* *Or. Scit. 484.* tinued there, and \* viewed the Preparation of the Vandals: But when their Army had begun their

Expedition towards Tripoli, † they put themselves into a mean garb, and followed them. The Vandals on the very first day [of their march] made Stables of the Christian Oratories, into which they brought their Horses, and their other Beasts; omitting the performing no sort of Contumely whatever: also they themselves gratified \* their usual unwilfulness, cuff† their Christian Ministers whom on they could take, tore their backs with many stripes, and commanded them to wait on them. But Cabaones's Spies, as soon as ever the Vandals had removed from those places, performed what they had been ordered to do. For they cleansed the Churches immediately, with great care carried away the dung and whatever else had been irreverently put therein, lighted all the Candles, paid the highest Reverence imaginable to the \* Ministers, and were indulgent to them in all other instances of kindness and beneficence. Then, they distributed Money amongst the indigent, who sat about those sacred Houses; in this manner they followed the Army of the Vandals. And the Vandals from this very time throughout their whole Expedition committed such impious Facts as these: but the Spies made it their business to apply remedies thereto. But when the Vandals drew near [towards the Moors] the Spies hastened and told Cabaones, as well what the Vandals, as what they themselves had done to the Churches of the Christians, and [informed him] that the Enemy approached. Cabaones hearing this, put his Army into a posture fit to engage. Most of the Vandals, as 'tis said, were destroyed: many of them were taken by the Moors, and very few of that Army returned to their own homes. This overthrow Thrasamundus suffered from the Moors: and not long after this he ended his Life, when he had reigned seven and twenty years over the Vandals.

## CHAP. XVI.

### Concerning Belisarius's Expedition against the Vandals, and their total overthrow.

The same Procopius relates, that Justinian (in compassion to those Christians who suffered grievously there,) declared [he would undertake] an Expedition [into Africa;] but by the suggestions of Johannes the Praefectus Praetorio, he was diverted from that Design. Yet, he was afterwards admonished in a \* Dream, not to desist from that Invasion. Concerning this

Vision which appeared to Justinian in his sleep, Victor Tancoung writes thus: Justiniano Aug. IV. Cof. Justinianus Imper. Pfectus Leri, Soc. Justinianus Augustus being the fourth time Consul. Tot Emperor Justinianus, by a Vision of Leri the Bishop who was with a Martyr by Hunericus King of the Vandals, sends an army into Africa against the Vandals, under the Command of Belisarius Master of the Palace. Victor Vitenfis made mention of this Leri Bishop in his first book De Persecutione Vandalorum. Further, concerning this Expedition of Justinian into Africa against the Vandals, Marcellinus Comes speaks also in his Chronicle, and places it on the Fourth Consulate of the same Justinian, that is on the year of Christ 534. Marius Averecensis relates the same in his Chronicle. But Baronius in his Annals reproves Marcellinus, and maintains that the Expedition was undertaken by Justinian in his Third Consulate, on the year of Christ 533. Justinian's Constitution de Confirmatione Digestorum (which is prefixt before the Work of the Pandects,) confirms Baronius's Opinion. But, by Baronius's favour, I think the Opinion of Marcellinus and Victor to be truer. Nor do I doubt, but a fault has crept into Justinian's Constitution, (on the Authority whereof Baronius relies,) and that the Third Consulate of the Emperor Justinian was written by Transcribers of Books instead of the Fourth. And this Justinian himself does so manifestly shew in the fore said Constitution that I think it was not perceived by Baronius. For thus Justinian speaks: Legum autem nostrarum, quas in his Ceditibus, id est, Institutionum & Digestorum, posuimus.

primus, &c. But our Laws which we have put in these Codes, that is of the Institutions and Digests, [shall] obtain their strength from [our] third most happy Constitute of the present twelfth Indiction, on the third of the Calends of January, and shall be of force for ever. For on the twelfth Indiction Justinian bore his Fourth Consulate, as Marcianus Comes attests. But, faine one will object, that the twelfth Indiction was begun from the Calends of September, in Justinian's third Consulate. Therefore, we must have recourse to another Argument, to prove what I have said above; viz. That the Vandalick Expedition was begun on Justinian's Fourth Consulate; and that that Constitution whereon Barontius's Opinion is founded, was written in Justinian's Fourth Consulate. Now, this may be proved thus. In the end of the foresaid Constitution, as well in the Greek as Latine, Justinian makes mention of a Prefectus Prætorio of Africa. But a Prefectus Prætorio of Africa was first created by Justinian in his Fourth Consulate, a little before the Calends of September of the Thirteenth Indiction, as the First Law of the Code de Prefecto Prætorio Africa inform us. For Justinian speaks in this manner: Hec igitur magnitudo tua cognoscens, ex Calendis Septembris future decima tertie Indictionis effectui mancipari procuret. Vale.

For [he was told,] that in case he would give the \* Or, As Christians assistance, he should ruine \* the Kingdom of the Vandals. Incouraged by this Dream,

<sup>b</sup> Ecdusas this Barontius's words out of the first book of his Vandalicks pag. 107, are these: "Ecdusas id est \* autorem ex ægypto exoriturus, &c. Which words import, that his seventh year was already past. Now, if we should say that the Vandalick Expedition was undertaken in Justinian's Third Consulate, as Justinian's words do wholly seem to persuade (when about the Summer Solstice, the Roman Navy came up to the Byzantine Port, and soon after set sail from thence (as Procopius relates,) that is about the end of the month June;) Justinian was then in the seventh year and third month of his Empire. For the first day of Justinian's Reign is brought from the Calends of April. But if we should place the Vandalick Expedition on Justinian's Fourth Consulate it will be the eighth year of his Empire; and not the seventh, as Procopius writes: wherefore Barontius's Opinion is true; which is confirmed both by the Emperour Justinian's Authority, and also by the testimony of Procopius. Vale.

\* Or, Be Church \* without that City, near the Sea-Shore, and besides other Religious respects [by them paid to him,] they also celebrate an Anniversary Festival, which they term Cypriana; and hence the Mariners are wont to call that Storm (which I have even now mentioned,) by the same name with this Festival, because it usually rages at that very time, whereon the Africans are accustomed respectfully to celebrate that Festival. In the Reign of Hunericus, the Vandals took this Church from the Christians by force, drove the Priests out thence with great ignominy, and afterwards

\* altered it, in regard it was come into the possession of the Arians. The Africans being vexed and highly displeased on account hereof, they say that Cyprianus appeared and visited [them] frequently in [their] sleep, [and said to some of them,] that the Christians ought in no wise to be solicitous about him: for that he himself in process of time would be his own Revenger. Which Prediction was completed in the times of Belisarius; when Carthage by the Commander Belisarius was reduced to a subjection to the Romans, after the Ninety fifth year of its being lost: when also the Vandals were totally vanquished, the Heresy

of the Arians was perfectly driven out of Africa, and the Christians recovered their own Churches, according to the Martyr Cyprianus's Prediction.

de Officio Præfedi Prætorio Africa, are these: "De Africa per nos tam brevi tempore reciperet Libertatem, ante nonaginta quinque annos a Vandalis capta; That Africa should by Us receive its Liberty in so short a time, having been captivated by the Vandals ninety five years before. Marcellinus Comes in his Chronicon relates, that Carthage was taken by the Romans on the ninety sixth year of its being lost. But Victor Tumenensis affirms that Africa was recovered by the Romans under the Command of Belisarius, on the ninety seventh year of the Vandals entrance into it. Vale.

C H A P. XVII.

Concerning the Spoils which were brought out of Africa.

The same Procopius hath recorded this passage. When Belisarius (says he) having vanquished the Vandals, was returned to Constantinople, bringing along with him the Spoils, the Prisoners of War, and Gelimeres himself King of the Vandals; a Triumph was granted him, [at which time] he lead through the Cirque all things that were worthy of admiration. Amongst which there was a vast Treasure; for Gizerichus had heretofore plundered the Palace at Rome, (as has before been related by me,) at such time as Eudoxia Wife to Valentinian Emperour of the Western Romans, (having both lost her Husband by Maximus's means, and also been injured as to her Chastity,) had sent for Gizerichus, promising he would betray the City to him. At which time [Gizerichus] burnt Rome, and carried away Eudoxia with her two Daughters into the Country of the Vandals. When also, together with other Treasures, he made plunder of whatever Titus, Son to Vespasian, had brought to Rome, after his Conquest of Jerusalem; to wit, Solomon's Gifts, which he had dedicated to God. Which Gifts Justinian sent to Jerusalem again, in honour to Christ our God; whereby he exhibited a due honour to God, to whom they had been before dedicated. Procopius says also, That Gelimeres, lying then prostrate on the ground in the Cirque, over against the Emperour's Throne whereon Justinian sat, and beheld what was done, uttered this divine Oracle in his own Country Language, Vanity of Vanities, all is Vanity.

C H A P. XVIII.

Concerning those Phœnicians who fled from the Face of Jesus the Son of Nave.

Moreover; [the same Procopius] relates another thing never mentioned by any Author before him, which is most admirable, \* and transcends almost all belief. He relates \* Or, And therefore, that The Moors, a Nation of the African-Transcends cans, removed out of Palestine, and took up their habitation in Africa: and, that they are those [People] whom the sacred Scriptures do mention [by the names of] Gergeshites and Jebusites, and those other Nations who were vanquished by Jesus the Son of Nave. And he supposes this thing to be unquestionably true, from a certain Inscription cut in Phœnician Letters, which he affirms that he himself read. [This Inscription he says,] is to be seen near a Fountain;

tain, where two Columns of white Marble are erected, on which these words are cut: **WE ARE THEY WHO FLIE FROM THE FACE OF THAT THIEF JESUS THE SON OF NAVE.** And this was the conclusion of these transactions; *Africa* was again reduced to a subjection to the *Romans*, and paid in the Annual Tributes, as it, had usually done before. 'Tis moreover reported, that *Justinian* repaired an hundred and fifty Cities in *Africa*, (some whereof were wholly ruined, and others, as to their greatest part) and, that he made them most transcendently more magnificent than they had been before, [beautifying them] with an eximious Splendideſs, with Ornaments, and with Structures as well private as publick; with the Inclosures of Walls also, and with other vast Edifices, wherewith Cities are both usually adorned, and also [wherein] the Deity is appeased; with plenty of Waters likewise, as well for use, as ornament; some of which Waters were first brought into them by him, the Cities having not had them before; and others he reduced to their ancient course and order.

### CHAP. XIX.

\*Or, Then derichau. Concerning \*Theodoricus the Goth, and what hapned at Rome under him till the times of Justinian, and, that Rome was again reduced to a Subjection to the Romans, after Vitiges had fled out of the City.

I Come now to declare the affairs which were transacted in *Italy*, and these *Procopius* the *Rhetorician* has with great accuracy related till his own times. After *Theodoricus*, as it has

\* Book 3. Chap. 27. \* already been declared by me, had taken *Rome*, (having wholly vanquished *Odoacer* who tyrannized therein;) and had governed the *Roman* Empire as long as he lived; *Amalasuntha*, who had been his Wife, undertook the † Tutelage of

† Guardias p. † *Atalarichus* Son to them both, and governed the Empire; she \* was a Woman of a Masculine Spirit, and in this manner she managed affairs. This Woman first incited *Justinian* to a desire of a Gothic War, having sent Embassadors to him, in regard a Plot was framed against her. Further, when *Atalarichus* had ended his Life, which he did whilst very young, \* *Theodatus* Kinsman to *Theodoricus* takes upon himself the Administration of the Western Empire. Who, when *Justinian* had sent *Belisarius* into the western parts, relinquished his Government; (for being a Person addicted rather to Books and Study, he was wholly unexperienced in Military affairs;) *Vitiges* a most Warlike Person being in the interim Commander in Chief of the Western Forces. From the History of the same *Procopius* we may extract this also, that when *Belisarius* arrived in *Italy*, *Vitiges* left *Rome*; and, that *Belisarius* with his Army about him made his approach to *Rome*. Whom the *Romans* received most willingly, and opened their Gates to him; that having been chiefly effected by *Silverius* then Pontiff of that City; who on this account had sent *Fidelis* a Person that had been Assessor to *Atalarichus*. Thus the City was delivered up to *Belisarius* without an Engagement: and *Rome* was again brought to a subjection to the *Romans*, after [the space of] sixty years, on the ninth of the month *Apellatus*, which the *Latines* term *December*, when *Justinian* was in the eleventh

year of his Empire. The same *Procopius* relates also, that when the *Goths* besieged *Rome*, *Belisarius* having a suspicion that *Silverius* Pontiff of that City would betray it, † condemned him to † Or, Carried him away into Greece. a Deportation into *Aethia*; and made *Vigilius* Pontiff in his stead.

### CHAP. XX.

How those [People] termed The Eruli turned Christians in the times of Justinian.

About these very times, as the same *Procopius* relates, The \* *Eruli* (who long before had passed the River *Danube*, at such time as *Anastasi* Governed the *Roman* Empire;) having been kindly received by *Justinian* who enriched them with great wealth, by a general consent turned all Christians, and changed their pristine way of living for a more civilized and quieter course of Life.

of his *Gothicks*, and *Theopanes* in his *Chronicon*, p. 149. These People, in regard they lived near the Lake *Mæotis*, in *Fenny* places, were from thence first termed *Eluri*. For *En* in *Greek* signifies *Fens*, or *Fenny* places. *Jordanes* in his Book de rebus *Geticis*, writes thus concerning The *Heruli*: Nam prædicta *Genti*, *Abbas* Historico reference, &c. For the foresaid Nation, as *Abbas* the *Historian* relates, dwelling near the Lakes of *Mæotis*, in *Fenny* places, which the *Greeks* term *Ele*, were named *Eluri*. The Author of the *Etymologicum* says the same in the word *Ægæi*. *Helmodus* in his *Chronicon* of the *Slavi*, chap. 1. affirms that these *Heruli* were a *Slavick* Nation, who dwelt between *Albia* and *Odra*, and reach'd a great way out to the South in a long Bay; who also, as he writes, were by another Name termed *Heldi*. Valt.

### CHAP. XXI.

That *Belisarius* recovered [the City] *Rome*, which had been again taken by the *Goths*.

After this *Procopius* sets forth *Belisarius's* return to *Constantinople*, and how he carried *Vitiges* along with him, together with the Spoils taken out of *Rome*; also, *Totila's* seizure of the *Roman* Empire, and how *Rome* was again reduced under the *Goths* Dominion; and, that *Belisarius* arriving the second time in *Italy*, recovered *Rome* again. And how, when the *Persian* War broke out, *Belisarius* was again sent for to *Constantinople* by the Emperour.

### CHAP. XXII.

That the *Abasgi*, turned Christians also in those times.

The same [Writer] relates, that about these very times the *Abasgi* became more civilized, and embraced the *Christian* Religion; and, that the Emperour *Justinian* sent one of the Eunuchs belonging to his Court, by descent an *Abasgian*, his name *Euphrata*, amongst the *Abasgians*, to declare to them, that no one in that Nation should in future have his Genitals cut off with an Iron; nor, that a force should be put upon Nature. For out of these the Servants of the Imperial Bed-Chamber were for the most part chosen, whom they usually term Eunuchs. Then also *Justinian* built a Church [in honour] of The *Theotocos* amongst the *Abasgi*, and constituted Priests amongst them. And from thence forward [The *Abasgi*] learned

\*Or, The ned \*The Dogmata of the Christians with the opinions. greatest accuracy imaginable.

# CHAP. XXIII.

That the Inhabitants of Tanais also at that time embraced the Christian Religion; and concerning the Earthquakes which hapned in Greece and Achaia.

IT is related by the same Writer, that the Inhabitants of Tanais (those who dwell in this Region, term that Stream [which runs] out of the Lake Maeotis, untill [it falls] into the Euxine Sea, Tanais;) earnestly entreated Justinian to send a Bishop to them; and, that Justinian

\*Εὐαγρίῳ τῷ τῷ ἴδιῳ. I doubt not but Evagrius wrote Εὐαγρίῳ τῷ τῷ ἴδιῳ ἱεροκλήδῳ ἀντιόχει, and that Justinian brought their petition to effect. For thus Nicephorus words it, book 17. chap. 13. Valef.

\*Οὐδ' ἄρ' ἐκ τῆς Μαοτίης ἐκ τῆς Ῥωμαίων Πελοποννήσου [he declares] also, that there hapned dreadful Earthquakes in Greece, Boetia, and Achaia, and, that the places about the Crisean Bay were shaken, and, that innumerable other Towns and Cities were totally ruined. That there hapned likewise Chasms of the Earth in many places: and, that in some places the Ground closed and came together again: but, that in others, [those Chasms] continued.

# CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning Narfes a Master of the Milice, and his Piety.

\*Προκοπίῳ τῷ ὁρ. Com. mand of the Army. HE relates likewise Narfes's † Expedition, who was sent into Italy by Justinian; and in what manner he Conquered Totila, and after him Teia; and how Rome was taken the Fifth time. Further, those persons who had an intimacy with Narfes do report,

|| We have rendered this Clause, as far as the next full point, according as we found it pointed in Robert Stephens's Edition; the punctuation in Valef's Edition (as the Learned Reader will easily observe,) puts a sense upon these words far different from that we have expressed in our Version.

Engage: and that he should not give the Onset, before he had received the Signal from †Exod. 17. 13. thence. Many other actions, which deserve that is, Ca. great commendation, were performed by Narfes, from †Exod. 17. 13. for he vanquished Busestinus and Sindrinus, and reduced many [Regions,] as far as the Ocean, [to the Roman Empire.] Which †Exod. 17. 13. have [Actions] Agathias the Rectorician has rendered it: corded; but as yet they are not come to our hands.

†Exod. 17. 13. it, as Iud. from her, to wit, The Virgin Mary:

# CHAP. XXV.

That Chosroes, Stimulated with Envy at the prosperous successes of Justinian, broke out into a War against the Romans, and ruined many Roman Cities, amongst which [he destroyed] Antioch The Great also.

THE same Procopius has related these matters also, how Chosroes, after he had received information that affairs both in Africa and Italy had succeeded so fortunately to the Roman Empire, was excessively inflamed with envy: and objected some things against the Roman Empire, affirming that the League was violated [by them,] and that they had broken the Peace which had been agreed on [between the two Empires.] And, that in the first place Justinian dispatch'd away Embassadors to Chosroes, who might persuade him not to break that Intermittate Peace [which had been made] between them, nor to violate the Articles of agreement, but rather that the matters in controverfie might be inquired into, and compos'd in an amicable manner. But he says, that Chosroes, corroded by envy which stimulated him within, would accept of none of those rational propals; but with a numerous Army made an Invasion into the Roman Territories, in the Thirteenth year of Justinian's Governing the Roman Empire. [The same Procopius] relates likewise, how Chosroes laid Siege to and destroyed \*Sura a City situate on the Banks of The Euphrates, [with the Inhabitants whereof] he seemingly made some Articles of agreement, but dealt with them far otherwise, [perpetrating] all the most Impious and nefarious Facts [amongst them,] having not in the least heed'd the Articles of agreement; and was made Master of that City by Treachery rather than his \*Arms. Also, how he burnt \*Or, War. Beræa; and after that [made] an Attack upon Antioch, Ephraim being then Bishop of that City, who had left it, \*in regard nothing of what he did, succeeded according to his design. Which [Prelate] is reported to have preserved the Church and all [the Edifices] about it, having adorned [the Church] with sacred Gifts, [on this design,] that they might be the price of its Redemption. Moreover, [the same Writer] also gives a most pathetic and lively description of the Siege of Antioch, laid to it by Chosroes, and how Chosroes [becoming master of it] ruined and destroyed all things with Fire and Sword. Also, how \*he went to Seleucia a neighbouring City [to Antioch,] then to the Suburb Daphne; and after that to Apamea, Thomas then Governing the Chair of that Church, a person [admirable and] most powerful both in words and deeds. This Prelate wisely refused not to be a Spectator, together with Chosroes, of †The Cirque-Sports in the Hippodrome, (though that was a thing contrary to the usage of the Church;) [it being his desire] by all imaginable ways to gratifie Chosroes, and

\*Μακεδόνες ἀντιόχει τῶν ἱεροκλήδῳ. I have corrected this place from the Tellurian Manuscripts, and from Nicephorus, in which author it is written thus: Μακεδόνες ἀντιόχει τῶν καὶ ἐμὴν ἀντιόχει. In regard nothing of what he had succeeded according to his design, or, desire. See Procopius Book 2. Persic. where he says, that Ephraim the Bishop was falsely accused for having a design to deliver up Antioch to the Persians; and, that soon after he fled into Cilicia, being afraid of the Irruption of the Persians. But concerning the Ornaments given by Ephraim to the Church of the Antiochians, there is not a word extant in Procopius. Valef.

\*Chosroes; Seleucia a neighbouring City [to Antioch,] then to the Suburb Daphne; and after that to Apamea, Thomas then Governing the Chair of that Church, a person [admirable and] most powerful both in words and deeds. This Prelate wisely refused not to be a Spectator, together with Chosroes, of †The Cirque-Sports in the Hippodrome, (though that was a thing contrary to the usage of the Church;) [it being his desire] by all imaginable ways to gratifie Chosroes, and



\* Or, Byner \* by degrees upon the wood and on the earth, and making nearer approaches to the City, he raised it to so vast a height, and made it surmount the City-wall so far, that from an higher place he could throw darts against those who in defence of the City endangered themselves on the wall. The Besieged therefore, when they saw the Rampire (like a Mountain) coming near and approaching the City, and were in expectation that the Enemy would set foot into the City; very early in the morning attempted to work a Mine directly opposite to the Rampire which by the Romans is termed an *Aggeffa*; and put fire therein, to the end that, the wood being consumed by the flame, the Rampire of Earth might fall to the Ground.

† See Procopius (son of whom Evagrius borrowed) book 2. *Perse.* pag. 82. In what manner these *Aggeffa* were built by the Romans, Apollodorus informs us incomparably well in his *Mechanick*. Which Book, being lately done into Latine by me, by Gods assistance I will ere long publish, together with some other Writings of the same subject. *Valef.*

\* Or, They And that work was brought to perfection. But, <sup>† Or, Their</sup> after they had kindled the fire, \* their project proved unsuccessful, in regard the fire had not a passage, whereby the air being let in, it might catch hold of the heap of wood. Being

reduced therefore || to the greatest Non-plus imaginable, they bring forth \* that Image framed by God, which the hands of men had not made; but Christ [our] God had sent it to *Agbarus*, in regard <sup>† Or, Agbarus</sup> *Agbarus* desired to see him. Having carried this most holy Image therefore into the Mine which they had made, and † sprinkled it with water, they cast [some] of the same [water] upon the pile of fire and on the wood; and immediately (the Divine power giving assistance to their

Faith who had done this,) what had before been impossible to them, was brought to effect. For the wood forthwith received the flame, and being in the twinkling of an eye reduced to coals, transmitted it to the wood which lay above, the fire preying all about upon all things. Now the Besieged, when they saw the smoak breaking out above, made use of this device. They brought forth little † Stone-bottles, and having stufed them with Brimstone, Tow, and other matter which would readily take fire, they threw them upon that termed *The Aggeffa*: which Bottles, (the fire kindling within them by the force of their being thrown,) raised a smoak, and thereby effected this, [to wit,] that it was not perceived that a smoak broke out of the Rampire. For all persons who were ignorant hereof, supposed, that the smoak came out of the Bottles rather than from any other place. On the third day after this therefore, the small Tongues of Fire appeared coming forth out of the earth, and then those of the *Perfians* who fought † upon the Rampire, were sensible what imminent danger they were in. But *Chosroes*, as if he resolved to make a resistance against the Divine power, turned the *Aggeffa* which were before the City, upon the pile of fire; and attempted to extinguish it. But,

the fiery pile received the water as if it had been rather Oyl, or Brimstone, or some such matter as is † combustible, and was much more increased, till such time as it had destroyed the whole Rampire, and perfectly reduced the *Aggeffa* to ashes. Then therefore *Chosroes*, disappointed of all his hopes, and being experimentally sensible, that he had gotten great disgrace by supposing he could vanquish that God worshipped by us; made an inglorious return into his own Territories.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

Concerning the Miracle which was performed at Sergiopolis.

MOREOVER, I will relate another thing, which was done by [the same] *Chosroes* at the City *Sergiopolis*; in regard 'tis [a passage] worthy to be recorded, and in reality deserves to be consigned to eternal memory. For *Chosroes* came to this City also, and attempted to take it by a Siege. After therefore he had made an Attacque against its walls, † the Inhabitants came to a Parley with him about a preservation of the City. And it is agreed [at length reference on both sides,] that the sacred Treasure and Gifts [which had been dedicated to the Church] should be the Ranfome of the City; amongst which [gifts] was that

\* Crofs also which had been sent thither by *Iustinianus* and *Theodora*. After these things had been brought to *Chosroes*, he asked the Priest and those *Perfians* who had been sent with him [into the City on that account,] whether there were any thing remaining. Then a certain person of those not accustomed to speak the truth, returned answer to *Chosroes*, that there were other sacred Gifts of great value, which were concealed by the Citizens who were very few in number. Now, of [the sacred Treasure] which was brought out [of the City to *Chosroes*,] nothing of value had been left behind consisting either of Gold or Silver, but of another sort of matter more precious, and which was wholly dedicated to God; to wit, the most holy Reliques of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*, which lay in a certain oblong Chest covered over with Silver. When *Chosroes*, perswaded hereby, had sent his whole Army to the City, on a sudden, round the whole Circuit [of the City walls] there appeared an innumerable multitude of Souldiers, who with Bucklers defended the City. Which [Apparition] those sent by *Chosroes* having beheld, returned, and with admiration declared both their number, and their kind of Armour. But *Chosroes*, after on a second enquiry he understood that very few persons were left in the City, and those either very aged or very young, the men of strength and vigour being all cut off and destroyed; found that the Martyr was the Author of this Miracle. And being [on this account] put into a fear, and having admired the Faith of the *Christians*, he returned into his own Kingdom.

† Or, There was a contention of the City. And it is agreed [at length reference on both sides,] that the sacred Treasure and Gifts [which had been dedicated to the Church] should be the Ranfome of the City; amongst which [gifts] was that \* Crofs also which had been sent thither by *Iustinianus* and *Theodora*. After these things had been brought to *Chosroes*, he asked the Priest and those *Perfians* who had been sent with him [into the City on that account,] whether there were any thing remaining. Then a certain person of those not accustomed to speak the truth, returned answer to *Chosroes*, that there were other sacred Gifts of great value, which were concealed by the Citizens who were very few in number. Now, of [the sacred Treasure] which was brought out [of the City to *Chosroes*,] nothing of value had been left behind consisting either of Gold or Silver, but of another sort of matter more precious, and which was wholly dedicated to God; to wit, the most holy Reliques of the Victorious Martyr *Sergius*, which lay in a certain oblong Chest covered over with Silver. When *Chosroes*, perswaded hereby, had sent his whole Army to the City, on a sudden, round the whole Circuit [of the City walls] there appeared an innumerable multitude of Souldiers, who with Bucklers defended the City. Which [Apparition] those sent by *Chosroes* having beheld, returned, and with admiration declared both their number, and their kind of Armour. But *Chosroes*, after on a second enquiry he understood that very few persons were left in the City, and those either very aged or very young, the men of strength and vigour being all cut off and destroyed; found that the Martyr was the Author of this Miracle. And being [on this account] put into a fear, and having admired the Faith of the *Christians*, he returned into his own Kingdom.





For Philostratus admires; which reading nevertheless I approve not of. But who this *Philostratus* should be concerning whom *Eusebius* speaks, and where he should have written this, 'is uncertain. *Philostratus* an *Athenian Historian* is mentioned by *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Chronicon*, on, on the first year of the Emperor *Aurelian*. Valel.

Θη will not be

happ ask, On the right hand and on the left, \* opposite to what the [ Arches ] are placed Pillars, framed of the *Thessalick* Stone: and they bear up \* *Hyperæa*, which being underpropt by other such like Columns, give a liberty to those that are derisive of looking down from on high upon *The Mysteries*. To which place also the Emperors comes on Holidays when he is present at the Sacred performance of *The Mysteries*. But the [ Columns placed ] at the East and West, \* are so left, that there should be nothing which might hinder the admiration of so vast a Greatness. The *Porticus*'s of the forementioned *Hyperæa*, finish so great a Work with Pillars as here are and small Arches. Further, that the *Miracle* of this Structure may be plainer and more manifest, I have resolved to infer here the [ number of ] Feet, both of its Length, Breadth, and Height, as likewise the empty spaces, and height also of held by no the Arches. The Measure therefore is this. The Columns length from that Door opposite to the *Procoptus* † Or gate. Sacred \* *Concha*, where the unbloody Sacrifice is offered, unto the [ *Concha* ] it self, is an hundred and ninty Feet: the breadth from North attels this to South, One hundred and fifteen Feet: the concerning \* height from the Center of the Hemisphere to the Pavement, is an Hundred and eighty Feet. The breadth of each of the Arches is \* . . . . . Feet. The length from

αὐτῶν δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀντικείμεν πύλινον; But two of the Arches were raised up into the empty Air, at the rising and at the setting Sun. Valef.

ὁ δὲ τὸν ἀντικείμενον. Translations have rendered this Place very badly. Musæus turns it thus: In dextro latere ad sinistram ordinatae sunt in istis Columnis. In the right side on the left hand Columns are placed in them. Christophorus interprets it in this manner: In dextro latere sunt domini hyperæa et ad levam Columnæ ordine locatae. &c. In the right side, on the left hand to a Man going in. Pillars are placed in order, &c. They were led into a mistake by the omission of one Conjunction, [to wit, &] and which is wanting in Rob. Stephens's Edition; ] which we have put in from the Florentine Manuscript. In this manner, ἐν δεξιῇ ὁ ἕξ καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἀντικείμενον. On the right hand and on the left, &c. It remains now that we explain what those words mean which follow next; οὐκ ἔστιν ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν ἀντικείμεν πύλινον. *Evagrius* himself therefore shall be his own Interpreter; who (in his first Book Chap. 14.) describing the Sacred Church of *Symeon* the Stylite, says it consisted of four *Porticos*. [ But, by *Valefius*'s favour, *Evagrius*'s words in that Chapter are these; ἐν τῇ τεταμένῃ πρὸς τὴν ἀντικείμεν πύλινον, beautified with *Porticos*'s of [or, at the] four sides. And then he adds these words, πρὸς τὴν ἀντικείμεν πύλινον, &c. That is, opposite to [or, near to] those *Porticos*'s are placed Pillars; wherefore at this place, instead of *αὐτῇ*, I would more willingly read *αὐτῇ*; to wit, by understanding the term *ἄλλαν*, *Arches*, *Valef*.

\* These *Hyperæa* [ Galleries, or, Upper Rooms ] were designed for the Women, that being therein placed apart by themselves, they might behold the solemn performances of the Divine Service, as *Paulus Silentarius* relates in his Description of Saint Sophia; which Author says, that those Upper Rooms or Galleries, were upheld by six Columns of *Thessalick* Marble; whereas nevertheless, there were only two Columns below, which upheld the Galleries; pag. 110. *Paulus* terms them *ὑπερῶν ὑψώματα*, *The Women's Hyperæa*; in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here, and also *Procopius* in his first Book, where he describes this Church of Saint Sophia: altho' *Procopius* rather terms them *Porticus*'s. Valef.

† By these words *Evagrius* sets forth the difference which was between the Columns of the Church of Saint Sophia. For he says, that the Columns which were at the right and left side of the Church, that is, at the North and South, had Galleries or Chambers laid upon them, out of which the Faithful might behold the Sacred Mysteries which were celebrated at the Altar. But the Columns which were placed at the East and West, upheld no Gallery, but were left naked. It was my sentiment that these things were to be more largely explained; for this reason, because I perceived Translators, especially *Christophorus*, saw nothing here. Valef.

\* Ἐν τῇ ἀντικείμεν πύλινον τὴν ἑξῆς κίβητος. He means, I suppose, the most Easterly part of the Church; which, because the whole Structure was a *Tholos*, must be almost semicircular, or made in the form of a Shell.

† In *Rob. Stephens's* Edition, as likewise in this of *Valefius*'s, there is an imperfection in the Greek Text here. *Curtius*, *Grynæus*, *Christophorus*, and *D<sup>r</sup> Hammer* in their Versions, have inserted this number Sixty six, from what Authority I know not. *Musæus* and *Valefius* leave a Blank here in their Versions; the latter of whom says nothing concerning this in perfection in his Notes.

East to West [ contains ] Two hundred and sixty Feet. \* The breadth of their Light is Sixty five Feet. There are besides at the West the Description of two other *Porticus*'s very splendid, and Open Courts on all sides of an admirable Beauty and Gracefulness. The same *Justinian* built the Church of *The Divine Apostles*, which will not readily give precedence to any other Temple. In which Church the Emperours and the Prelates are customarily interred. But, concerning these and such things as these, let thus much every way [ suffice ] to have been said.

published, pag. 254. *Paulus Silentarius* describes these Windows, in his *Ecephrasia*, (which the most Learned *Perlon Carolus de Fraxino* hath newly published;) and *Procopius*, in his first book *De Edificiis*, Valef.

† *Sozomen* says the same in the Close of his second Book of Ecclesiastical History. But, (which is to be taken notice of,) neither of them (neither *Evagrius* nor *Sozomen*,) do affirm it was peculiar to the Constantinian Bishops, that they, in like manner as were the Emperours, should be buried in the Church of the *Apostles*; but they speak in general concerning the Bishops. Indeed *Nicephorus* (book 8. chapter the last.) does expressly attest, that not only the *Constantinopolitan*, but other Bishops also, who for sanctity of Life had excelled others were interred there. For it often hapned, that Bishops, either sent for by the Emperours, or making a journey to the Imperial City, on account of Ecclesiastick Affairs, ended their Lives there. Thus in the times of *Anastasis*, *Aleissus* and *Gajanus* died at *Byzantium*, and by *Marcellinus* in his *Chronicon*, are recorded to have been buried in one Sepulcher. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXII.

Concerning the Emperour [ Justinian. ] mad- \* Or, To nefs rather than kindness [ shown \* towards ] the Faction [ the Blue Colour. ] of the Venetian.

† There was also another thing in Justinian, a Envy that exceeded the utmost ferity of Savage [ the words of the Brevet. ] Beasts: ( which whether [ it proceeded ] from a fault of Nature, or from Sloth and fear, I cannot say; but, it took its beginning from that popular Sedition [ termed \* Nica. ] For he seemed so † highly to favour the one of the Factions, I mean that [ of the Venetian, ] that they committed murders upon Persons of the contrary Faction at noon-day, and in the midst of the City; and not only feared not punishments, but also obtained rewards: in so much that hence it hapned, that many were made Murderers. Moreover, a liberty was indulged them of entering even into Houses, of plundering the Riches laid up therein, and of selling [ miserable ] Men their own safety. And if any one of the Magistrates had attempted to punish them, he endangered his own safety. 'Tis certain, a Personage who was Comes of the East, because he had ordered some seditious Persons to be beaten with † Bow-strings, he himself was lead through the midst of the City and scourged with Bow-strings.

\* See Chap. 13. † Manifestly, or, openly. ‡ Ἰὼν κινῶντες, Those of the Blue.

† *Nica*: The term signifies originally a Nerve, or, Sinew; it imports also a Bow-string, or, Rope.

*Callinicus* likewise Governor of Cilicia, because according to the Prescript of the Laws he had inflicted a capital punishment upon two Cilician Murderers, *Paulus* and *Fausinus*, who fell upon him and would have murdered him; was Crucified, undergoing this punishment on account of his great prudence in passing Judgment

\* Or, *Sallustius* renders these words: *Profratrum, the given colour, faction, i Justitiam.*

ment, and of [his observing] the Laws. Hence it hapned, that \* those of the other Faction, having fled out of their own Country, and finding reception amongst Men whatever, but being drivet from all places as persons most detestable; beset Travellers, and committed Rapines and Murders: and all places were filled with untimely deaths, Robberies, and such like horrid and impious Crimes. But sometimes † he turned to the contrary opinion, and slew the *Petentians* themselves; subjecting them to the Laws, to whom he had given permission of perpetrating nefarious Facts, in a Barbarick manner, throughout every City. But, to give a particular Narrative of these matters, is a thing above Relation or [any compass of] time: nevertheless, these things [I have mentioued] are sufficient for the making a conjecture concerning the rest.

### CHAP. XXXIII.

*Concerning Barfanuphius the Asceta.*

AT the same time, Divine persons, and such as were Workers of great Miracles, lived in various parts of the world: but such of them, whose Glory shone every where, [were thus termed.] *Barfanuphius* by extract an *Egyptian*: This person led an unseelhy life in the flesh, in a certain Monastery near the Town *Gaza*: inasmuch that he performed many Miracles, and such as are superiour to [any] Relation. Moreover, 'tis believed that he lives at this present, shut up in his Cell; although Fifty years and upwards are now past, since he hath been seen by any person, or has pertaken of any thing that is upon the Earth. Which things *Eusebius* Prelate of *Jerusalem* <sup>a</sup> disbelieving, when he had ordered the Cell, wherein this man of God had inclosed himself, to be dug open, a fire brake out thence, which burnt almost all persons that were there present.

<sup>a</sup> *Augustine* says, *in* *the Verb* *[Eusebius]* *believing* [which undoubtedly is corrupted, *Nicephorus* makes use of *disbelieving*. And instead of *Eusebius* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the same *Nicephorus* has *Sallustius*. *Sallustius* was indeed Bishop of *Jerusalem* in the Reign of *Constantine Augustus*. But *Eusebius* governed the same Bishoprick about the beginning of *Justinian's* Empire, as *Theophrastus* attests in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXIV.

*Concerning the Monk Symeon, who for Christ's sake [feigned himself] a Fool.*

Moreover, at [the City] *Emisa* there was one *Symeon*: this person had in such a manner divested himself of the Garment of Vain-glory, that amongst all persons who knew him not, he was accounted an Idiot, although he abounded with all manner of wisdom and divine Grace. Further, this *Symeon* for the most part lived alone by himself, allowing no person whatever a Liberty of knowing, either when or in what manner he † prayed to God; not [permitting them to know] at what time he abtained from, or partook of nourishment at home. At some times being abroad in the streets, he seemed \* to be a person distracted, and to have nothing of prudence or wisdom in him.

† Or, *Remitted the Duty* *P. o* *Phisius*

\* *Extr* *recedit* *recedit*

† Doubtless it must be made *recedit*, as the reading is in *Nicephorus*, book 17. chap. 22. Valef.

At other times he would go into a *Virtualling-house*, and eat of whatever food or provision he met with, when he was hungry. But, if any

person bowed his head and revered him; he would immediately run from that place in anger, being afraid that his own Virtue should be found out by the Vulgar. And in this manner *Symeon* behaved himself in the *Forum*. But there were some persons that held a familiarity with him, with whom he usually conversed without any thing at all of dissimulation. Amongst those of his acquaintance therefore, one had a maid, who having been debauch'd and got with child by some person, when she was forced by her Masters to declare the man who had done this, she affirmed that *Symeon* had had to do with her in private, and that she was with child by him, and that she would swear that the matter was so, and (if need should require,) could manifestly prove the thing. Which when *Symeon* had heard, he assented, saying that he carried flesh about him, which was a frail and mutable thing. But when this matter came to be divulged amongst all persons, and *Symeon* (as it seemed) was obnoxious to a great ignominy, he withdrew himself, and feigned that he was ashamed. When therefore the Woman's time of delivery was come, and she sat in the usual posture of women in Travail; her Labour caused most acute, many, and intolerable pangs, and brought the woman into the imminent danger of her life. But the Birth \* fell not in the least. *Symeon* therefore being delightedly come thither, when he was requested [by those present] to go to Prayers, he declared before them all, that the woman should not be delivered, until she would confess who was the Father of the child in her womb. Which when she had done, and had named the true Father, the Infant leapt forth immediately. Truth it self doing [as twere] the office of a Mid-wife. The same person was one time observed to go into the house of a Strumpet, and having shut to the door, he and the continued alone for some time; after this he opened the door again, and ran away in great haste, looking round lest any one should see him, whereby he much increased the suspicion. In so much that the Persons who had seen him, brought forth the woman, and enquired of her, both what the meaning of *Symeon's* coming in to her was, and why he made so long a stay. The woman swore, that for three days before that, because of her want of necessities, she had tasted of nothing but water only: but, that *Symeon* had brought victuals and meat and a Vessel of Wine along with him, and having shut the door, had spread the Table, and bad her go to supper, and fill herself with provisions, because she had been sufficiently afflicted with want of nourishment; and she fetch'd out the Remains of the victuals [which *Symeon*] had brought to her. Further, some small time before that Earthquake hapned which shook *Phoenice Maritima*, wherein \* *Berytus*, *Emisa*, *Byblus* and *Tripolis*, suffered more [than other quakes, the Cities, the same *Symeon*] holding a whip on Antoninus high in his hand, scourged most of the Columns Martyr's in the *Forum*, and cried out, *Stand, You must stand*. Because therefore nothing was done unadvisedly and without design by this man, speaks in some

<sup>b</sup> The *Ludick* were wont to bow their heads, not only before the Bishops and Presbyters, but before the Monks also, to receive their Blessing. An Multitudo instance of which is extant in *Saxomen*, book 8. chap. 13. Valef.

\* Or, *Was not in the least forwarded.*

<sup>c</sup> *Concer* *ring this* *Author of* *Antoninus* *Martyr's* *in the* *Forum* *and* *cried* *out* *Stand, You must stand* *Because therefore* *nothing was done* *unadvisedly* *and without design* *by this man* *speaks in* *some*

these words: *Inde Venimus in partes Syrias, ubi requiescit sanctus Leontius*, &c.

some persons present at his doing hereof, took particular notice of those Columns, which he passed by, and did not scourge: which Pillars fell not long after, being ruined by the Earthquake. Moreover, he did very many other things, the Relation whereof requires a peculiar Treatise.

820. *Tunc* we came into the parts of Syria, where Saint Leontius rests, which City, together with other Cities, was ruined by an Earthquake in the time of the Emperor Justinian. From thence we came to Bihlus, which City also, with all things that were therein, was destroyed. From thence we came into the City Triari, which was likewise ruined. Thence we came into the most splendid City Beryto, wherein there was lately a study of Learning; which was also ruined, as we were told by the Bishop of the City, to whom the persons were known, except the fragments who perished there. Further, that City wherein Saint Leontius rests, is Trijoli, as I have remarked before, book 3. chap. 33. note, (c.) This Earthquake hapned on the twenty fourth year of Justinian's Reign, as Cedrenus writes in his *Chronicon*, and Theophanes pag. 192. What those Authors relate concerning Bory a City in Phoenice, is memorable, viz. that in that City there was an Haven made by that Earthquake, (thus having been no Port there before,) the Promontory which was called *Lithoprosopon* being removed. But in Theophanes's written *Βόρυς*, instead of *Βόρυς*. By which fault in the writing the Translator was induced to render it *Bolras*, which is a very gross mistake; in regard *Bolras* is a Mid-Land City of *Arakia*. The name of this City is in my Judgment to be reformed in *Ananinus Martyr's Itinerary*, at that place which I have quoted above. For, instead of the City *Triari*, it must be written *Bory*. Valef.

### CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the Monk Thomas, who in like manner feigned himself a Fool.

There was also at the same time one Thomas, who followed the same course of life in Syria-Cæle. This person went [one time] to Antioch, to receive the annual stipend [allotted for the maintenance] of his own Monastery.

\* *Τὸν μὲν δὲ ἐν τῇ δόξῃ ἐκείνῃ*. Who would not admire, that three Learned men should have been mistaken in the Remission of this place? *Τὸν μὲν Λαύριον* translates it thus: *Monachus Ecclesiæ cæsariensis*, for he was reckoned of that Church. And *Μεθυστα* renders it almost in the same manner. But *Chrysostomus* has translated it worth of all, thus: *ab eâ signat*, in Ecclesiâ Presbyter fuerat ordinatus, for he had been ordained Presbyter by that Church. These persons thought that these words [*ὁ Ζωγῆς, this Thomas*] were here to be understood; whereas we are to understand *ὁ Ζωγῆς, this annual stipend*, or *Annus* which was given yearly to be distributed out of the Revenues of the Church of Antioch to the Monastery of the *Abbas Thomas*. Valef.

† Or, *Gree.*

\* *Τελωνιον* translated to the *Mcches*, Hospital of the Infirms at the *Daphnenian* in his *1. Suburb*, whilst he was on his Return home. Chap. 83. They laid his dead Body in the Monuments of the Strangers. But, in regard when one or two Thomas had been buried after him, Thomas's Body was dyed in the still above them, God shewing a great Mi-

Church of Saint Euphemia which was in the *Daphnenian Suburb*. Therefore the Church of the Blessed Euphemia, was near the Hospital, where in strangers were entertained: in such manner as we nowadays fee Churches joyed to *Hospitals* and *Spitals*. Further, *Jobannes Metochus* says, that this Thomas was the *Apoecyristus*, that is, the Procurator, of his own Monastery. For those were termed *Apoecyristas*, who managed the affairs of Monasteries and Churches, as *Justinian* informs us in his sixth Novel. Valef.

tracle, even after his death: for [the other Bodies] were removed and thrust down; \* *Maschius* [the Inhabitants] admire this holy person, and declare [the thing] to \* *Ephraemius*. Then his \* Holy dead Body is removed to Antioch with a publick Festivity and [a Solemn] pomp, and is honourably buried in the Cemetery; having at its translation caused the Pestilential distemper, which then raged at Antioch, to cease. And the Inhabitants of Antioch do magnificently celebrate an anniversary Feast [in honour] of this [Thomas] till these our times. But let us † return to the † Or, Turn our course. \* proposed Series of our \* Present, or, opposite. History.

person Domnus, Valef.

### CHAP. XXXVI.

Concerning the Patriarch Menas, and concerning the Miracle which hapned then to the Boy of a certain Hebrew.

*Anthemius* having been ejected (as I have \* *Book 11.* \* said,) out of the Chair of the Imperial Chap. 11. City, \* *Epiphanius* succeeded in that Episcopate: and after *Epiphanius*, *Menas*; in whose times hapned a Miracle highly worthy to be recorded. There is an <sup>b</sup> ancient usage at *Constantinople*, that when a great quantity of the Holy parts of the immaculate Body of Christ our God are left remaining, [some] young Boys of their number who frequent the Grammar-Schools are sent for, that they may eat them. Which thing having hapned at that time, the Son of a \* *Glaf-maker* (as to his opinion a Jew. \* Or, *Glaf-maker*. was † called amongst the other Boys. This child told his Parents, who † Or, *Tea* enquired the reason of his stay, what had hapned, and what he together with other boys had tasted of. His Father, highly incensed and enraged, snatched up the boy immediately, and threw him into the Furnace of coals, wherein he usually formed Glafs. But his Mother fought for her son, and when she could not find him, she went all about the City mourning and \* making great lamentation. And on the third day after standing at the door of her Husband's work-house, she called her Son by his name, † weeping and tearing herself. The Boy knowing his Mother's self voice, answered her out of the Furnace. She breaks open the doors, goes in, and fees her Son standing in the midst of the coals, the fire having not touch'd him in the least. The Child, when afterwards asked in what manner he had continued un-hurt, said, that a woman clothed in a purple Garment came to him frequently, gave him water, quenched the coals that were near him, and fed him as often as he was hungry. Which passage having been brought to [the hearing of] *Justinian*, he [ordered] the Boy and his Mother to be † Baptized in the Laver of

\* We have taken notice of this mistake of *Evagrius* above at chap. 11. note, (c.) which *Nicephorus* has also corrected. But *Nicephorus* himself, whilst he commends *Evagrius*' error, has committed another. For he relates, that *Menas* was ordained by Pope *Agatho*, whereas he was ordained by *Agathus* in the place of *Anthemius*, as 'tis agreed amongst all persons. Valef.

\* *Nicephorus Callistus* (Book 17. Chap. 25.) attests, that this Custom, (viz. that the Particles of the Sacred Eucharist which remained, were at *Constantinople* distributed amongst the Boys to be eaten;) continued even in his age; and he writes, that he himself, whilst he was a Boy and was frequently conversant in the Churches, partook of those parts. Valef.

\* *Αὐτὴν* *καλεῖται* *ἡ μάτηρ* *αὐτοῦ*. Or, *Tea* herself with weeping.

\* *ἡ κοινὴ* *ταῦτα*, *ἐν* *τῷ* *βαπτισμῷ*. Or, *in* *the* *baptism*.

of generation; and enrolled them amongst the Clergy: but his father, because he would not embrace the Profession of Christianity, was [by the Emperor's order] crucified in [the Suburb] <sup>a</sup> Syce, as designing to have murdered his own Son. These things hapned in this manner.

<sup>c</sup> Εὐλαβία ὁ Ἰωάννης ὁ Λαυρεντίος renders this place thus: *Puerum cum matre dicens Regenerationis Lavacro addidit, deoque dicebat, He admitted the Boy with his Mother to the Divine Laver of Regeneration, and dedicated [them] to God. But Menasius and Christophorus have translated it far worse. For Menasius terms it, servavit, he kept, or preserved. But Christophorus has rendered it thus: Puerum cum matre Lavacro Regenerationis tingendum decernit, He decreed the Boy with his Mother to be baptized in the Laver of Regeneration. I doubt not but the place is thus to be rendered: Puerum simul ac matrem Regenerationis Lavacro baptizatos Clero adscripsit, He enrolled the Boy and his Mother, having initiated in the Laver of Regeneration, amongst the Clergy. Which must be understood in this manner, That the Emperor ordered that Boy to be reckoned amongst the Readers of the Church; but, commanded his Mother to be ordained a Deaconess, Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> In this Suburb of the City of Constantine, punishments were heretofore usually inflicted on Criminals, as I have already intimated in my Notes on Book 28. *Anm. Marc. lib. p. 362.* Where to add a passage of Saint Jerome on his Commentaries on Matthe. 26<sup>th</sup>, which runs thus: *Extra urbem enim & foras portam loca sunt in quibus truncantur caput dimittuntur, & Calvaria, id est, Decollatorum sumptere nomin. Valef.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

Who were Bishops of the greater Cities at that time.

**A**FTER Menas, Eutychius ascends the [Episcopal] Throne [at Constantinople.] But at Jerusalem, after Martyrius, Salustius succeeds in that See, and after him, Helias. After Helias, Petrus; and after Petrus, Macarius; [whose Election] the Emperor approved \* not of; so that he was [afterwards] ejected out of his own Chair: \* For they affirmed that he asserted Origen's Opinions. After this [Macarius] therefore, Eustochius succeeded in that Bishoprick. After the Ejection of Theodosius, as has been related † above, Zoilus is declared Bishop of Alexandria. And when he was added \* to [the Alexandrian Bishops] his predecessors, Apollinaris undertakes [the Government of] that Chair. After Ephraemius, Dominus is entrusted with the [Episcopal] Throne of Antioch.

\* Or, Not in jst.  
† Indeed, many Monks severed themselves from his Communion, because he was thought to assert Origen's Opinions.  
One of their number was the Abbot Eteus, who was also called Bookēs, as Iohannes Moschus relates in the nineteenth Chapter of his *Limousium*. And yet Theophanes, in his *Chronicon* cap. 205, says, Macarius was ejected out of his See χριζομενῶ, that is, by subornation, fraud and calumny. But Theophanes relates that in a place wholly unfit and incongruous, to wit, in the Empire of Justinus Junior. Now, Macarius was ordained Bishop of Jerusalem on the year of Christ 546. and having after two years been expelled out of his See, Eustochius was substituted in his room on the year of Christ 548, as Baronijs relates. Nevertheless, Euseb. Timonenis differs herefrom, in his *Chronicon*. For he attributes eight years of the Episcopate to Macarius, and says that Eustochius was ordained whilst he survived, on the year before the Fifth Synod, that is on the year of Christ 552; and my Sentiment is, that this is true. Valef.

<sup>a</sup> Τὸ αὐτὸν ἵσχυον. The same is the Reading, in Nicephorus also, book 17. chap. 26. But do not think it can be said in Greek, αὐτὸν ἵσχυον. I write therefore, εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν ἵσχυον, &c. For, αὐτὸν ἵσχυον is understood. Valef.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Concerning the Fifth Holy Oecumenical Synod, and on what account it was convened.

**D**URING therefore Vigilius's precedency over the Elder Rome; whilst in the first place Menas, and then Eutychius [was Patriarch] of Constantinople; and whilst Apollinaris [was Bi-

shop] of Alexandria, Dominus of Antioch, and Eustochius of Jerusalem; Justinian convenes the Fifth Synod, on this Account. The Assertours of Origen's Opinions abounding and growing powerful [in the Monasteries of Palestine,] and especially \* in that termed The New Laura; Eustochius made it his whole business to eject them. And going to The new mentioned Laura he drove them all out, and purified them in the Life to a great distance, as being the common pest [of Mankind.] They, dispersed into several places, associated many Persons to their own paring this matter

Theophanes (though in an unfit place, to wit, in the Affairs of Justinus Junior,) writes thus: εὐσεβίου τὸ ἀναλῶν εἰς ἱεροσόλυμα, &c. But Eustochius removing to Jerusalem, out of that barred he bore to Apollinaris, Agatho and Macarius, ejected these Monks of the New Laura, at Origenists. And on this account he himself was also [afterwards] ejected, and Macarius was again restored to his own Chair. Baronijs thinks indeed, that Macarius was restored to his own See, a little before Eustochius's Ordination; and then, that Eustochius had obtained the See of Jerusalem again, because by his Legate he was present at the Fifth Constantinopolitan Synod on the year of Christ 552; as 'tis sufficiently manifest from our Evagrius, and from the Acts of the aforesaid Synod. But Baronijs was widely mistaken. For Macarius [Eustochius being ejected,] was restored to his own See long after the Fifth Synod, in Justinian's Thirty seventh year, on the Twenty fourth year after Basilus's Conulate; as Victor Timonenis relates in his *Chronicon*, who lived in those very Times, and could not be ignorant of that. Valef.

Theodorus furnished Asidas (Bishop of Casarea the Head-City of the Province Cappadocia; [a Prelate] resident with Justinian, faithful to him, and of whom the Emperor made great use; undertook the Patronage of these [Monks.] Upon \* his making a disturbance therefore at the [Imperial] Palace, and terming [Eustochius's] Fact the highest impiety and wicked-impieties; Rufus Abbot of Theodosius's Monastery, \* Cyrillus and \* Conon [Abbot] of the [Monastery] of Saba (Persons of the chiefest note \* amongst the Monastics, both for their own worth, and on account of the Monasteries over which they presided;) are sent to the Imperial City by Eustochius. They were accompanied with others also, not much inferior to them in dignity. And these Men resolved to debate concerning Origen primarily, and concerning Eutychius and Didymus. But Theodorus the Cappadocian, desirous of diverting them to another matter, \* proposes to be debated the Cause of Theodorus [Bishop] of Mopuestia, and that men-

in Administration, &c. Which Cassianus, when he had completed his tenth month in his Administration, departed out of this life; after which the Monks commit the Prefecture to Conon. They command, but God, I suppose, moved the minds of the Monks to this. Now he was a person highly eminent for true Sentiments, all manner of Virtue and good Actions; who also made use of great care and diligence in his Prefecture. For he both collected these Fathers which had departed from thence, being ejected by the Origenists; and likewise erected and as it were renewed the Laura, which by those frequent Tumults and Wars of Heresicks, was now brought to its knees. Iohannes Moschus speaks of the same Conon Governor of St. Saba's Laura, in chap. 87. where he intimates, that he was an Acquaintance of Eustochius's Bishop of Jerusalem. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Εὐσεβίου τὸ κατὰ Σεβαστείαν Superintendens the Cause of Theodorus. Liberatus relates the same in his *Breviarj*, chap. 25. Yet Liberatus says nothing concerning Rufus and Conon the Abbots sent by Eustochius to Constantinople. On the other hand Evagrius makes no mention of that Condemnation of Origen, which had been made by the Emperor Justinian by the Endeavour of Pelagius Apollinaris of the Roman See; to which Condemnation all the Patriarchs had subscribed; to wit, Zoilus of Alexandria, Ephraemius of Antioch, Petrus of Jerusalem; as Liberatus writes in the foregoing chapter: now, that hapned on the year of Christ 538. as Baronijs relates. But that Embassy of Conon, Rufus, and the other Palestine Monks, was sent to Eustochius by Constantinople on the year of Christ 551. For on that year Apollinaris was put into the place of Zoilus Bishop of Alexandria, as Baronijs affirms. But Eustochius, out of his hatred chiefly to Apollinaris Bishop of Alexandria, ejected the Monks of the New Laura out of their Monastery, as being Origenists; agreeable to what we have related above out of Theophanes. Valef.



\* Or, Chapters. Hereto they also annexed whatever \* Heads Origen's followers had [from their Masters] learned to assert; which [Heads] manifested both their agreements, as also their disagreements, and likewise their manifold error. Amongst these there was a Fifth Head [which contained] the Blasphemies broacht by some private persons of that termed *The New Law*; the Contents of which Head run thus. "Theodorus *Afidas* the Cappadocian said: If the *Angels*; *poibles* and the *Maryrs* do now work Miracles, and are in so great honour; unless in the Resurrection they shall be made equal to Christ, what manner of Resurrection shall they have?"

To my best remembrance I have noted the same fault somewhere before this. But the place comes not at present into my mind. *Valf.*

As far as may be gathered from these words of *Evagrius*, this *Theodorus* the Cappadocian was one of the Monks of the New *Law*, which was near the City *Jerusalem*. This therefore is the *Theodorus*, follower of *Nummus* the *Origenist*, who being afterward made Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia*, openly undertook the patronage of the *Origenists*, as *Cyrius Scythopolitanus* relates in the *Life* of *Simeon Saba*. Further, whereas this *Theodorus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Cappadocia* acted the chief parts, as I may say, in the Fifth *Confession* in *Synod*, as may be seen from his *Acts*, how is he now accused in the same *Synod* as an *Origenist*? We may therefore not without Cause conjecture, that these things which *Evagrius*, *Theophanes*, and *Cedrenus* say were done in the Fifth *Synod* against *Origen*, were long after that *Synod* added to it, on account of the likeness of their Subject: but, were not done at that *Synod*. So also, the *Acts* of the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod* under *Menas*, against *Anthemius* and *Zoaras*, were wont to be joyned to this Fifth *Oecumenical Synod*, as *Phocas* attests in his *Bibliotheca*. The same thing may also be proved by what *Evagrius* subjoyns. For he says, that many impious expressions gathered out of the Books of *Evagrius*, *Didymus*, and *Theodorus Mopsuestenus*, were related to that *Synod*. Now, if these things had been done in the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod*, as *Evagrius* says, it would have been altogether superfluous and unuseful, to repeat those expressions of *Theodorus*, which had so often been reckoned up and condemned in the above said *Synod*. My Sentiment therefore is, that these things were acted against *Origen* in another *Constantinopolitan Synod* on the Year of Christ 538; then, when certain Monks of *Jerusalem*, who were favoured by *Pelagius* a Deacon of the Roman Church, and by *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople*, presented a Libel to *Justinian*, containing certain Heads collected out of *Origen's* Books; and requesting of the Emperor, that those Heads might be condemned; as *Liberatus* tells us chap. 23. of his *History*. See *Baronius* at the year of Christ 538. Moreover, our conjecture is fully confirmed by what *Evagrius* writes a little before this; viz. that into those things done against *Origen* was inserted the Emperor *Justinian's* Letter to *Pope Vigilius* concerning the errors of *Origen*. These matters therefore were not transacted in the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod* on the Year of Christ 533. For on that Year *Vigilius* was at *Constantinople*; nor was there any need that *Justinian* should treat with him by Letters. Wherefore these things were done against *Origen* long before, to wit, then when *Justinian*, having received the Libel of those *Palestine* Monks, wrote a Letter to *Menas* Bishop of *Constantinople* concerning the errors of *Origen*; giving him order, that when he had assembled the Bishops that were present in the Imperial City, and the Abbots of Monasteries, he should condemn those errors. This Letter of *Justinian's* is extant in *Greek* and *Latin*, published at the end of the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod*. In a place altogether foreign and unfit. For it belongs not to the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod* which was celebrated on the Year of Christ 533, but to another *Constantinopolitan Synod*, which by the Emperor *Justinian's* order had been convened on the Year of Christ 538. Therefore *Baronius* has rightly placed that Letter of *Justinian* at that Year I have mentioned. Now at the close of his Letter *Justinian* affirms in express words, that he had also written a Letter to *Vigilius* Bishop of *Rome* upon the same Subject. For thus he says. *Hec porro eadem scripsi non modo ad Sanctitatem tuam, &c.* Moreover, we have writ in the very same things, viz. only to your Sanctity, but to the most Holy and most Blessed *Vigilius* also *Pope* and *Patriarch* of the *Seinour Rome*, and to all the other most Holy Bishops and *Patriarchs*, of *Alexandria*, *Thopolis*, and *Jerusalem*, that they might both take care of this matter, and also that these things may come to an end. Lastly, those *Anathematismes* which *Nicephorus* says were thrown against *Origen's* opinions in the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod*, occur in the self same words in *Justinian's* Letter to *Menas*, which was written long before the Fifth *Synod*, on the Year of Christ 538; as *Baronius* informs us from *Liberatus*. The same also may be proved from the Letter which *Gregory the Great* wrote to the Four *Patriarchs* in the beginning of his *Epiiscopate*. For, although he does expressly profess in that Letter, that with Veneration he gives Reception to the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod*, in which Letter some writings of *Ibas*, *Theodorus*, and *Theodore* are condemned; yet he says not one word concerning *Origen's* condemnation. Which certainly he would not have omitted, if *Origen* had been condemned in that *Synod*. *Valf.*

The same Fathers related several other Blasphemies of *Didymus*, *Evagrius*, and *Theodorus*, which with great diligence they had collected out of their Books. Further, some interval of time, after this *Synod*, "Eutychius is ejected, and Johannes is placed in the Chair of the *Constantinopolitan Church* in his room. This *Johannes* was born at Sirimis, which is a Village situate in the *Cynegick Region*, in the *Antiochian Territory*. These things are carefully written by *Evagrius*, who has disguised the Cause of *Eutychius's* deposition, lest he should in any wise offend the Memory of the Emperor *Justinian*. If any one be desirous of reading a complete Narrative of this matter, 'tis extant in *Sirius* in the *Life* of the Blessed *Patriarch* *Eutychius*, elegantly written by his disciple *Euthathius*, and in *Nicephorus* Book 17. Chap. 29. *Baronius* says that was done on the Year of Christ 544, which was the Emperor *Justinian's* last Year. *Valf.*

This is *Johannes Scholasticus* who has a Collection of *Causes* Extant. *Victor Tunnenensis* in his *Chronicon*, gives us this account of his Ordination: Anno 37. Imperii sui *Justinianus* *Eutychium* *Constantinopolitanum* *Episcopum*, &c. In the 37th Year of his Empire *Justinian* sends into *Exile* *Eutychius* Bishop of *Constantinople*, a Condemner of the three Heads, and of *Evagrius* the *Hermist* a Deacon, and of *Didymus* the Monk an *Alexandrian* Confessor, whose praises we have produced above from the authority of *Isidore* Men; and in his room makes *Johannes* Bishop a like [affair] of the same Error. *Valf.*

Ex vi. *Valf.* In the excellent *Florentine Manuscript* I found it written *ἐκείνου*, both here and in the following Chapter. *Theophanes* makes mention of this Manner or Villages, in his *Chronicon*, pag. 154; where he writes concerning *Alamandrus's* intrusion into *Syria* & *Βαυρος* (says he) *τὴν ἐκὼν καὶ ἀποβῆναι ἐν τῷ ἀνατολικῷ ὁρίῳ* *καὶ τῷ ἀνατολικῷ ὁρίῳ*; that is, And he burnt the outward parts of *Chalcis*, and [ruined] the Manner [or, Possession] *Sirimis*, and the *Cynegick Region*. In the *Greek*, instead of *καὶ ἀποβῆναι*, *Chalcidon*, I have mended it thus, *καὶ ἀποβῆναι*, *Chalcis*. *Valf.*

# C H A P. XXXIX.

That *Justinian* \* having forsaken the right \* Or, Be Faith, asserted the Body of [our] Lord to be incorruptible. *Or, Turned aside.*

AT the same time *Justinian* † deflected from the right High-way of [Orthodox] Sentiments, and having entred a path untrodden by the Apostles and Fathers, fell into Thorns and Brambles. Wherewith being desirous to fill the Church, he mist of his design; the Lord having securely fenced \* the High-way \* with hedges not to be broken, that Murderers [and Thieves] might not break in, as if the wall had been slain and the Fence broken down: [and thus] he fulfilled the Prophets. *Prediction.* *Johannes* therefore, who was also termed *Catechumenus*, having † succeeded *Vigilius* in the Bishoprick of the Elder *Rome*, and *Johannes* born at *Sirimis* Governing the *Constantinopolitan Church*, and *Apollinarius* that of *Alexandria*, *Anastasius* successor to *Domnus* preiding over the *Antiochian Church*, and over that at *Jerusalem* \* *Macarius*, who was again restored to his own Chair: This place is

\* Or, The King's way. \* *Appollus* *desists*, with unspeakable Hedges. In *Nicephorus* 'tis truer written thus, *ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρίων*, with Hedges not to be broken. Which writing the *Belterian Manuscripts* confirms. *Valf.* \* *Evagrius* mistakes. For *Johannes* succeeded not *Vigilius*, but *Pelagius* was his successor. After whose death, *Johannes* undertook the *Episcopate* of the Church of *Rome*, on the Year of Christ 560. *Valf.*

chiefly to be taken notice of against the Sentiments of *Baronius*, who believed *Macarius* was restored to his own See before the Fifth *Constantinopolitan Synod*. But this passage of *Evagrius* refutes *Baronius's* Opinion; *Evagrius* informing us here, that *Macarius's* Restitution was made long before that *Synod*. To *Evagrius* agrees *Victor Tunnenensis* in his *Chronicon*, in these words: Anno 37. Imperii *Justiniani*, &c. On the 37th Year of *Justinian's* Empire, *Eutychius* Bishop of *Jerusalem* who had been ordained whilst *Macarius* was alive, is ejected; and *Macarius* is again put into his own See. But *Theophanes*, in his *Chronicon*, places *Macarius's* Restitution on the times of *Justinian's* junior, as I have observed above. *Valf.*



\* Justinian.

when \* he had Anathematized *Origen*, *Didymus*, and *Evagrius*, after *Eusebius*'s Deposition; *Justinian* writes that which amongst the Romans is called an *Edit*, wherein he has termed the Body of [our] Lord incorruptible; and incapable of Natural and irreprehensible † passions; affirming that [our] Lord ate in the same manner before his Passion, as he did eat after his Resurrection, his most holy Body having received no change or alteration from its very Formation in the Womb, neither in the Voluntary and Natural Passions, nor yet after [his] Resurrection. To which [Assertions] *Justinian* [resolved] to force the Prelates in all places to give their assent. But when all of them affirmed, that they earnestly expected [the Opinion of] *Anastasius* Bishop of *Antioch*, they [thereby] repress the [Emperour's] first Attempt.

† Or, Affections.

## C H A P. XL.

Concerning *Anastasius* Archbishop of *Antioch*.

Moreover, this *Anastasius* [was a Person] both incomparably well skilled in the Sacred scriptures, and also accurate in his Morals and way of living: in so much that he would \* take consideration about the most trivial matters, nor would he † be defunct at any time from a constancy and firmness, much less in things momentous, and which had a relation to the Deity itself. And he had \* tempered his disposition so, that neither an easiness of access to and conference with him, might render him exposed to what was unmeet and inconvenient; nor should an Austerity and Rigour make him inaccessible in relation to what was fit and rational. In [conferences that were] weighty and serious, he was of a ready Ear, and fluent Tongue: But in [discourses that were] impertinent and superfluous he had his Ears perfectly shut. A bridle repress his Tongue in such a manner, that he † measured his discourse with reason, and rendered Silence far better than Talk. This Person therefore *Justinian* makes an Attack against, as against some inexpugnable Tower, and sets upon him with all manner of Engines; considering with himself, that if he could ruine \* this [Tower], he should afterwards become Master of the City with ease, enslave the Doctrine of the true Faith, and lead captive the Sheep of

\* Or, Observe.  
† Or, Make an excursion.  
\* Or, Mixt

† Or, Directed his discourse by reason.

<sup>a</sup> *ἡ τὴν τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως τῆς Ἀντιόχειας* In *Nicephorus* and the *Tellurian* Manuscript it is truer written thus, *ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ αὐτοῦ τῆς πόλεως* If he could ruine this [Tower.] For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. 'Tis a Metaphor drawn from Machines used in Sieges, where with Cities are wont to be assaulted. Further, concerning the constancy

of this *Anastasius* *Sinaita* in defending the true Faith against the Heresy of the *Aphthartodocite*, *Eusebius* writes also in the Life of the Blessed *Eutychius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, Valef.

Christ. But *Anastasius* by a divine height of mind raised himself so far [above the Emperour,] (for he stood upon a Rock of Faith not to be broken;) that by his own Relation sent to *Justinian*, he openly contradicted him, and in the same [Relation] demonstrated [to him] most Perspicuously and with great Eloquence, that the Body of [our] Lord was corruptible in passions natural and irreprehensible, and that the Divine Apofles and \* Holy Fathers both thought \* Or, Divine, and taught so. The same answer he returned to the Monks of the *First* and *Second* *Syria*, who had consulted him: and he confirmed the minds of all Persons, and † prepared for the Conflict, reciting daily in the Church that saying of that Vessel of Election; \* If any one preach any other Gospel self unto you, than that you have received, though he \* Galat. i. be an Angel from Heaven, let him be accursed, &c. Which [words] when all Persons had || weighed in their minds, a very small number only excepted, they imitated him. The same *Anastasius* wrote a <sup>b</sup> *Valedictory Oration* to the *Antiochians*, after he had received Information, that *Justinian* was resolved to send him into Banishment. Which Oration is deservedly delightful and admirable, for the elegance of its words, strange the abundance of its \* sententious \* Or, Sentences, the frequent Quotations of Sacred Scripture, and for the Accommodateness of the History.

person, should all mistake in the Rendition of one word. The *Græci* termed *ὑποκρίσεις* and *ὑποκρίσεις λόγους*, *Valedictory*, or *Farwell* *Oration*s, and have handed down to us the peculiar method of these *Oration*s, as I have remarked in my Notes upon *Eusebius*'s Life of *Constantine*, book 3. chap. 21. note (A.) Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Καὶ ὁμοῦς* † *ἰστέλλει*. Sir Henry Savil at the margin of his Copy has mended it, *καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦς*. For so the Rules of Grammar require it should be. But I have observed that the Rules of Grammar are sometimes despised by our *Evagrius*. *Nicephorus*, when he wrote out this passage of *Evagrius*, instead of the Conjunction Particle, substituted a Preposition, in this manner, *καὶ τὸ ὁμοῦς* † *ἰστέλλει*. Valef.

## C H A P. XLI.

Concerning the death of *Justinian*.

But this Oration was not published, God having provided some better thing for us. For *Justinian* whilst he dictated a Sentence of Deportation against *Anastasius* and the Prelates about him, was invisibly wounded, and ended his Life, after he had reigned in all thirty eight years and eight months.

The End of the Fourth Book of *Evagrius*'s Ecclesiastical History.

THE  
FIFTH BOOK  
OF THE  
Ecclesiastical History  
OF  
EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,  
And [one] of the EX-PRÆFECTS.

## CHAP. I.

Concerning the Election of [the Emperour]  
Justinus, and concerning his Morals.

**W**hen therefore Justinian in this manner had fill'd all places with Disquietude and Tumults, and at the close of his Life had received the condign reward of such [Actings,] he departed to the infernal \* punishments: but Justinus his Sister's Son, who was intrusted with the custody of the [Imperial] Palace, which [Grand Officer] the Roman Tongue terms \* *Curopalates*, is invested with the purple after his [death:] neither Justinian's departure, nor the Election of Justinus having been made known to any person, save to those that were his Confidants, till such time as he appeared at the \* *Ludi Circenses*, † in order to his performing and undertaking what usually belongs to an Emperour.

\* Or, Running of Horses in the Circus.  
† Or, about to do and perform, submit himself to the to repeat usages of an Empire.  
which here is superfluous; we will remark this only, that the *Curopalates* always went before with a Golden Rod, as often as the Emperour would appear in publick. *Cassiodorus* tells us this in his *Formula Curopalati*, in these words: *Considera quia Gratificatione tractaris, &c. Consider with what Gratification you are treated, how being adorned with a Golden Rod, amongst numerous obsequants, you seem to go first before the Royal feet.* So also *Corippus* in Book 2. Chap. 7. *De Laudibus Justinii Minoris*; where he describes Justinus's procession to the Circus [in these words,]

Tunc ordine longo  
Incedunt summi proceres, fulgensque Senatus,  
Ipse inter primos vultu præclarus honoris,  
Fratris in obsequium gaudens Marcellus abibat.  
Dispositæque novus sacre Baduarius Aule,  
Successor Socræ, factus max Curopalates.

Concerning this Golden Rod which was wont to be carried before the Roman Emperours, *Paulus Silentarius* speaks, in his description of the Church of Saint Sophia, not far from the beginning.

Ὁρμήδου δὲ  
Ὁ χρυσοῦν ἡν ἰστέον διὰ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνέκτων

For I assent not to that Learned man, who hath rendered it; *Auricus Socrates*, Golden Axes. And at first this dignity was final, for it was

under the dispose of the *Castrensium* [See Dr. *Howell's History*, Second part, pag 64.] of the Sacred Palace: But afterwards it began to be accounted the chiefest dignity of the Palace, from such time as *Justinus* Nephew to Justinian bore it. It was a Civil, not a Military dignity, as *Alemannus* thought; who (in his *Notes* on *Procopius's Historia Arcana*,) confounds the *Curopalates* with the *Comes Excubitorum*. Valef.

After these [Solemnities] therefore were over, when nothing of an \* opposition had in any wise attempted [against him,] he returned to the Palace. [By] the first Edict he promulg'd, the \* Prelates who had been convened in all places, were sent home to their own Sees, in order to their worshipping God in the usual and received manner, no Innovation being made in relation to the Faith. And this Action done by him was highly commendable. But, as to his Life, he (book 17. chap. 33.) was dissolute, and \* altogether a slave to Luxuries and † obscene pleasures: so ardent a lover also of other mens money, that he sold all things for illegal gain; and revered not the Deity even in the Ecclesiastick preferments, which he made his markets of to any persons he could meet with, and publicly propos'd even these to sale, by \* *Justinian* into various places Vices, Boldness and Sloth, in the first place he caus'd his \* kinsman *Justinus* to be sent for, a for their personage of an universal honour and esteem, both for his skill in Military affairs, and for those other dignities [which he had born:] he at that time made his residence about the *Danube*, and hinder'd the *Avari* from passing that River. *Justinus* can not bear

this interpretation. Therefore *Christophorus* chose to interpret this place concerning the Bishops, who from all places had been assembled together at *Constantinople*. But neither can I approve of this Rendition; in regard *Evagrius* says those Bishops were not convened at *Constantinople*, but *ἐκ πανταχῶς*, that is, in all places. Valef.

\* *Tais xelais*. Some word seems to be wanting, which may be supplied in this manner; *tais enarmatutais xelais*, most contrary Vices. And so *Christophorus* seems to have read. Valef. See chap. 19. note (d.)

† This *Justinus* was Son to *Germanus Patritius*, and Cousin-german to the Emperour *Justinus*, as *Johannes Biclaritensis* informs us in his *Chronicon*. Indeed, *Germanus* and *Justinus Junior* were akin. For *Germanus* was *Justinian's* Nephew by his Brother. But the Emperour *Justinus* was the Son of *Vigilantia Justinian's* Sister. Further, this *Justinus* Son to *Germanus* had born the Consulate in the year of Christ 540. The Emperour *Justinian* had created the same person



But I cannot positively affirm whether or no these things were so: however, they were both most flagitious wretches. *Addeus* was a Notorious \* *Sodomite*. And *Atherius* omitted no sort of Calumny, but preyed upon the Estates as well of the living, as of the dead, in the name of that Imperial 'House,' of which he was *Curator* [or, Governour] during the Empire of *Justinian*. And such was the conclusion of these matters.

\* Or, Bag  
every

He means  
the house  
of *Antio-*  
*chus*, of  
which *Ar-*  
*chius*

## CHAP. IV.

*Concerning the Edict of our Faith, which Ju-  
stinus wrote to the Christians in all places.*

Moreover, the same *Justinus* wrote an Edict to the *Christians* in all places, [the Contents] whereof [ran] in these express words. IN THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS CHRIST OUR GOD, EMPEROUR CÆSAR FLAVIUS JUSTINUS, FAITHFUL IN CHRIST, MILD, THE GREATEST, BENEFICENT, ALEMATICUS, GOTTHICUS, GERMANICUS, ANTICUS, FRANCICUS, ERULICUS, GEPRÆDICUS, PIOUS, HAPPY, GLORIOUS, VICTOR, TRIUMPHATOR, ALWAYS ADORABLE, AUGUSTUS.

My peace I give unto you, *says the Lord Christ, our true God.* My peace I leave with you, declares the same [Christ] to all men. The purport of which [expressions] is nothing else, but that those who believe in him should unite in one and the same Church: being of the same mind in relation to the true Faith of the Christians, and having an aversion for them who affirm or think the contrary. For, the \* Primary safety [which] has been appointed to all men, is the Confession of the true Faith. Wherefore, We also following the Evangelical Admonition, and the Holy Symbol, or Creed of the Holy Fathers, do exhort all men to betake themselves to one and the same Church and Opinion: believing in the Father, in the Son, and in the Holy Spirit, in the Consubstantial Trinity, in the One Deity, or Nature and † Essence, both in word and deed, and ‡ asserting One Might and Power and Operation, in the three Hypostases or Persons, into which we have been baptized, in which we have believed, and to which we have been conjoined.

sons. For, that we may so speak, it is indivisibly divided, and divisibly conjoined. For [there is] One in Three, [to wit,] the Deity, and Three [are] One, in whom [namely] are] the Deity, or, to speak more accurately, which [are] the Deity it self: God the Father, God the Son, God the Holy Ghost, when as each Person is considered by himself; the mind [to wit] dividing those things which are inseparable: the Three [Persons being one] God, understood together, on account of the same Action and the same Nature. For we ought both to confess one God, and also to assert Three \*Hypostases or Proprieties. But \*O, Sub-  
sistences.  
God the Word, who was begotten of the Father before Ages and without time, not made; in the last days to have descended from Heaven on our account and for our Salvation, and to have been incarnate by the Holy Ghost, and of our Lady the Holy Glorious Theotocos and Ever-Virgin Mary, and to have been born of her: <sup>a</sup> who is our Lord <sup>αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος</sup> Jesus Christ, one of the Holy Trinity, Glorified <sup>δοξασμένος</sup> together with the Father and the Holy Spirit: <sup>τῷ πατρί καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι</sup>

ἡμῶς is to the Father and to the Holy Ghost. In Nicephorus, Book 17, Chap. 35, where this Edict of the Emperor Zephyrus concerning the Faith is recorded, this place is read thus: ὁ θεὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ τὸν ἡμῶς is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. With preceding Clorophorion hath followed. For he renders it thus; Qui est equalis Patri & Spiritui Sancto, ἡμῶς is equal to the Father and to the Holy Spirit. But in this place the equality of the Father and Son is not treated of; but, whether Cœlit be one of the Trinity. I have therefore supplied this place righter from the excellent Florentine Manuscript, in this manner; ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πνεῦμα ὁμοῦσι τῷ πατρί, ὁμοῦσι τῷ πατρί καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι, ὁμοῦσι τῷ πατρί καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Sec. The Trileban M.S. has it written thus; ὁ θεὸς καὶ ὁ υἱὸς καὶ ὁ ἅγιος πνεῦμα ὁμοῦσι τῷ πατρί καὶ τῷ ἁγίῳ πνεύματι. Val. In Rubric Stephens the reading is the same with that set at the beginning of this note.

For the holy Trinity hath not received an addition of a Fourth Person, althoughe one of the holy Trinity, God the Word, hath been incarnate: but he is One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Consubstantial to God and the Father according to the Deity, and the same [Person is] of the same substance with us in respect of the Humanity: possible in flesh, and the same [Person] impossible in the Deity. For we acknowledge not One God the Word who wrought Miracles, and another who suffered: but we confess One and the same our Lord Jesus Christ God the Word, to have been incarnate and perfectly made man, and that the Miracles † belong both to One and the same, as likewise the sufferings, which he of † Or, *his* voluntarily underwent in the flesh on account of our Salvation. For \* a man gave not himself for \* Or, a certain; but God the Word himself, made man him. *tain, or, same one man.* without [any] Conversion, ‖ underwent both a Spontaneous Passion, and a death in the flesh for ‖ Or, *Re-* us. *ceived.* Although therefore we confess him to be God, yet we deny not that the same person is also Man: and by our confessing him to be man, we deny not the same Person to be also God, Whence, whilst we profess one and the same [Person] our Lord Jesus Christ to be \* compounded of both Natures, the Deity and the Humanity. \* Or, *Made*

we introduce not a Confusion into the Union. & <sup>the</sup> ~~Confusion~~  
<sup>in</sup> ~~the~~ manner. Christpher has rendered this place ill, in this  
 manner: Non Confusioem in Unitatem introducimus. We introduce not  
 confusion into the Unity. Nor has Musculus done right; who  
 translates it thus: Unitatem non confundimus. We confound not the  
 Unity. I do not wonder at Musculus, who in this Edition of *Ingenium*  
 always renders *Unitatem*, *Unity*, very erroneously. That  
 learned man hath committed the same mistake, who has done into  
 Latin the Fragments of Ephraemus Bishop of Antioch, which are ex-  
 cited in Photius's Bibliotheca. But why Christopher, who every  
 where renders *Unio*, *Copulationem*, *Copulation*, should at this place  
 translate

translate it otherwise, I know not. *Johannes Longus Nicæporus's* Translatour renders it thus: *In Unione confusioem non induimus. We induce not a confusion in the Union.* Exactly right if you add a Syllable, in this manner, *In Unionem, in the Unionem.* For the term *Union*, though it be now a days frequently used in the Schools of Philosophers and Divines, is a barbarous word, when 'tis taken for *Unionem*. For *Unio* in Latine signifies *Unitatem, Unity*; as may be proved from *Tertullian, Jerome, Prudentius, Pope Simplicius*, and others. Let therefore those *Zoiti* [Carpenters, or, Carpenters] cease reproving of us, because in the Letter of Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, which is recorded by *Socrates* book 1. chap. 6. we have translated *ἡνωσις, Unio*. For we did that from the use and propriety of the Latine Tongue; which they being wholly ignorant of, thought that *Unio, Union*, was nothing else but *Unionem, Unionem*. But, betwixt *Unio* and *Unionem*, there is as much difference, as between *words* and *words*. In *Unio* or *Unity*, there is nothing but what is simple or single. But, in *Unionem* signifying compounded of two is necessarily understood. 'Tis certain, the Old Translatour of the Chalcedon Synod always renders *ἡνωσις, Unionem, or, adunation.* Valef.

\* Or, Shall For be \* will not cease to be God, because † a-greatly by us he was made man: nor again, because by Nature he is God, and cannot receive a Subli-meliness to us, will be refuse to be man. For, as † or, Evn: be hath continued God in the Humanity, so also † [though] existing in the † Majesty of the Deity, he nevertheless [continues] Man: \* existing Both in the same, and [is] One God and also Man, The Emmanuel. [Further, whereas] we confess him perfect in the Deity, and perfect in the Humanity, of which [two] he is also made up, [yet] † we bring not in a particular Division or Section upon his one compounded Hypostasis: but we show the difference of the Natures, which is not destroyed [or, taken away] by the Union. For, neither has the Divine Nature been changed into the Humane, nor hath the Humane Nature been converted into the Divine. But both [Natures] being understood, or rather existing in the definition and † manner of the proper Nature, we affirm that the Union was made according to the person: now, the Union according to the person imports, that God the Word, that is one Person of the Three persons of the Deity, was united not to a pre-existing Man, but in the Womb of our Lady the Holy-Glorious Theotocos and Ever-Virgin Mary; that from her he be framed to himself in a proper Person Flesh of the same substance with us and subject to like passions in all things, in only excepted, and that it was enlivened with a rational and intelligent Soul. \* For

† or, Be: be nevertheles [continues] Man: \* existing Both in the same, and [is] One God and also Man, The Emmanuel. [Further, whereas] we confess him perfect in the Deity, and perfect in the Humanity, of which [two] he is also made up, [yet] † we bring not in a particular Division or Section upon his one compounded Hypostasis: but we show the difference of the Natures, which is not destroyed [or, taken away] by the Union. For, neither has the Divine Nature been changed into the Humane, nor hath the Humane Nature been converted into the Divine. But both [Natures] being understood, or rather existing in the definition and † manner of the proper Nature, we affirm that the Union was made according to the person: now, the Union according to the person imports, that God the Word, that is one Person of the Three persons of the Deity, was united not to a pre-existing Man, but in the Womb of our Lady the Holy-Glorious Theotocos and Ever-Virgin Mary; that from her he be framed to himself in a proper Person Flesh of the same substance with us and subject to like passions in all things, in only excepted, and that it was enlivened with a rational and intelligent Soul. \* For

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But all those, who have thought or do think contrary hereto, we Anathematize, and judge them estranged from the Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church of God. Whereas therefore the true \* Dog-mata, which have been delivered to us by the Holy Fathers, are asserted; We exhort you all to Concur in one and the same Catholick and Apostolick Church; yea rather, we beseech you. For we are not ashamed, though placed in the sublimity of Royalty, to make use of such expressions for the Consent and Union of all Christians; to the end one Glorification may be † attributed to the Great God and our Saviour Jesus † Sent Christ; and that in future no person might pretend to quarrel about the Persons or the Syllables. For the Syllables tend to one and the same right Faith and meaning: that Usage and † From, which hitherto hath obtained in Gods Holy Catholick and Apostolick Church, [remaining] in all things firm and without Innovation, and continuing [so] to all Futurity.

To this Edict all persons gave their consent, and affirmed [that the Faith and Doctrine] was reduced not so much as one [of the Church's] members, [which] had been rent in sunder, to an Unity, because [the Emperor] in express Words had declared, that [the State of] the Churches had been preserved firm and without Innovation, and for the time yet to come [should] so continue.

Herein, who asserted two persons in Christ, the one of man, the other of the Word. But the word *ἡνωσις Syllables* was annexed on account of the Eutychians and Accephali, who affirmed that Christ consisted of two Natures before the Union; but after the Union, they asserted but one Nature in him. On the other hand, the Catholics adored Christ in two Natures. Those Syllables therefore are in and in Which though they are different, yet if they be rightly understood, do both aim at one and the same Faith and Opinion, as *Justinus* adds See *Evagrius* above, at book 1. chap. 1. note (c.) Further, this Edict was promulgated by *Justinus Junior* on the first year of his Empire, to wit the year of Christ 665, as *Borenius* remarks: than which Edict *Justinus* conferred nothing more upon the Catholic Church: but, satisfying himself in having only expounded the Orthodox Faith, he in future prohibited disputes about the *Nestorian* and *Eutychian* Opinion, and permitted every one to think of these matters according to his own arbitrement. From this Edict therefore followed no advantage, as *Evagrius* observes truly. Wherefore *Johannes Bickelensis* [his] amidst in his Chronicon, whose words concerning *Justinus Junior* are these: *Qui Justinus anno primo Regnans, &c; Which Justinus in the first year of his Reign, destroyed those things which had been devised against the Chalcedon Synod. And suffered the Creed of the Holy Fathers of the Church convened at Constantinople, (which Creed had been laudably received in the Chalcedon Synod.) to have entrance, and to be sung by the people in every Catholic Church, before the Lord's Prayer was to be repeated.* Bickelensis attributes those things to *Justinus Junior*, which rather belittled *Justinus Senior.* Valef.

## CHAP. V.

Concerning the Ejection of Anastasius Bishop of \* Theopolis.

Moreover, *Justinus* ejected *Anastasius* out of the Chair of Theopolis; objecting against him, both the profuse expence of the sacred Revenue which had been made, saying it was immoderate, and not according to what was meet and necessary; and also [charging him] with † reflecting abusively on himself. For when *Anastasius* was asked, why he would fling away the sacred money in so lavish a manner, he replied openly, that it might not be taken away by *Justinus* that common Pest. But 'twas said that [Justinus] had therefore conceived an old Grudge against *Anastasius*, because when

• The *Em* lie demanded money of him \* at his promotion to the Bishoprick, *Anastafius* would not give it him. Moreover, \* other matters were objected against *Anastafius*, by some persons who, I suppose, were desirous of serving and promoting the Emperor's design.

These words, omitted them, as may be seen in book 17. chap. 36. For he has express'd this place of *Evagrius* thus *Τὸν Εὐάγριον δὲ πάλαιος τὸν ἱερεὺς ἐλάττω, ὅτι μὴ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὡς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἦν* was less that *Justinus* was angry with him, because he refused to give him money when he demanded it. But 'twas easy to have mended the place of *Evagrius*, in this manner; *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* *Evagrius* refused to give *Justinus* money who demanded it. And so *Christophorus* and *Musculus* seem to have read. For thus *Musculus* renders it: *Dicitur autem Anastasio inuenisse, quod quoniam pecuniam pro Episcopatus collatione exigeret, dare illam noluisset*; But 'tis said that he had been angry with *Anastafius*, because when he exacted money for his Collation to the Bishoprick, he refused to give it. This occasion of hatred therefore against *Anastafius* was of a long standing, before *Justinus* had arrived at the Empire. Wherefore *Evagrius* used the word *πάλαιος*, which signifies an ancient and contemned *Antioch*. To certain, whilst *Justinian* lived, *Anastafius* had been elected Bishop of *Antioch*. Now, the Grandes at Court, and those whose interest was great with the Emperours, were wont to exact money of them who were elected Patriarchs, as may be proved by the Example of *Chrysapius* the Eunuch, who demanded money of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*; as *Evagrius* has related above, fee book 2. chap. 2. Nevertheless, this was forbidden by the Novel Constitutions of *Justinian*. Valef.

• Indeed, *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, brings another reason, on account whereof *Anastafius Sinaita* was deposed from the See of *Antioch*. But, because Translators have in no wise hit the meaning of *Theophanes*, I will annex his words here: *Τὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐρεῖ ἀναστασίῳ δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐλάττω, καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ, ὡς ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, ἦν* *Evagrius* refused to give *Justinus* money when he demanded it. But 'twas easy to have mended the place of *Evagrius*, in this manner; *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ καὶ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ* *Evagrius* refused to give *Justinus* money who demanded it. And so *Christophorus* and *Musculus* seem to have read. For thus *Musculus* renders it: *Dicitur autem Anastasio inuenisse, quod quoniam pecuniam pro Episcopatus collatione exigeret, dare illam noluisset*; But 'tis said that he had been angry with *Anastafius*, because when he exacted money for his Collation to the Bishoprick, he refused to give it. This occasion of hatred therefore against *Anastafius* was of a long standing, before *Justinus* had arrived at the Empire. Wherefore *Evagrius* used the word *πάλαιος*, which signifies an ancient and contemned *Antioch*. To certain, whilst *Justinian* lived, *Anastafius* had been elected Bishop of *Antioch*. Now, the Grandes at Court, and those whose interest was great with the Emperours, were wont to exact money of them who were elected Patriarchs, as may be proved by the Example of *Chrysapius* the Eunuch, who demanded money of *Flavianus* Bishop of *Constantinople*; as *Evagrius* has related above, fee book 2. chap. 2. Nevertheless, this was forbidden by the Novel Constitutions of *Justinian*. Valef.

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## CHAP. VI.

That after *Anastafius*, *Gregorius* was made Bishop, and concerning his disposition.

BUT after *Anastafius*, *Gregorius* is preferred to the Episcopal Throne, \* whose glory, that I may use the Poet's expression, is far spread.

• *Musculus* and *Christophorus* have rendered this place very ill, as if by these words *Evagrius* would have shown, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* had been eminent for Poetry. But *Langius* has turned these words righter, thus: *Cujus lata est illi Gloria, ut Poetae verbis utar, whose Glory is far spread, that I may use the Poet's Words*. Valef. *Evagrius* makes use of the same expression at chap. 13. book 1. where he speaks of *Hilarius Peltusius*.

[This person] from his younger years had been exercised in the Monastick Conflicts, and had striven with so much courage and constancy

of mind, that in a very short time, || even during his youthful age, he arrived at the highest degrees; and Governed the Monastick

of the *Byzantium*, where he embraced a Monastick life.

[Afterwards,] by the \* order of *Justinus* [he presided over the

Monks] of mount *Sinai* also; in which place he fell into the greatest of dangers, by undergoing a Siege from the *Arabians* [termed] *Scenite*. Nevertheless, when he had procured that place a profound Peace, he was called from thence to the

Patriarchate. For understanding and virtue of mind, and in all other things he was the eminentest person of all men, and the most active in [effecting] whatever he had proposed to himself; || of an undaunted spirit, and a man not to be induced to yield, or to be afraid of the Secular power.

He made such magnificent distributions of money, and used such a bountifulness and liberality towards all men, that whenever he went abroad, numerous crowds of people besides those that attendants, followed him. And whatever persons could either see, or hear he was going forth, flock'd together. \* The honour given to the supremest Powers [of this world] was inferior to that [paid] to this man; for people were for the most part desirous, both of seeing him as near as possibly they could, and coveted to hear him discourse. For he was most excellently qualified to excite a desire of himself in all persons, who upon whatever account came to and conversed with him. For, his aspect was admirable, and his discourse, by reason of his pleasantness of

speech, most delightful; as ready as ever was any man, in the present apprehending of a thing, and most quick in action: in || choosing the best || Or, *G*i- advice, and in passing a judgment; as well of his own, as the affairs of others, he was † most prudent. On which account he performed so many and such great things, never deferring any business till the morrow. He was the admiration not only of the *Roman* Emperours, but of them of *Persia* also, in regard he so demeaned himself in all affairs, as either necessity required,

|| *Ἐκ πρῶτον ἡλικίᾳ, from the first down upon his Child.*

• This *Em* *Bo* *affliction* *monks*. *Johannes Langius* renders these words thus: *Primum vero Byzantii Monasterio profectus, but in the first place he presided over the Monastery of Byzantium*. But *Evagrius* does not say, that *Gregorius* was a Monk or Abbot of *Byzantium*, but that he was Abbot of the Monastery of the *Byzantium*. This seems to have been a Monastery in *Syria*, wherein *Gregorius*, whilst he was yet young, had received the Rudiments of a Monastick life. *Theophanes* in his *Chronicon*, pag. 106. says *Gregorius* had been *Apocryphus* (that is, *Procurator*, or *Agent*) of the Monastery of the *Byzantium*. Valef.

† Or, *Arch-Bishoprick*.

• *Ἐκ πρῶτον ἡλικίᾳ*. I conjecture we should read here, *πρῶτα τῷ ἐν πᾶσι κρείττω*; and in all things he was: the eminentest person of all Men. For so *Evagrius* expresses himself hereafter, at chap. 19. of this book; where his words concerning *Macarius* are these; *ἦν πρῶτον ἐν πᾶσι ἀκρεῖς τῷ ἀδελφῷ*, and every way accurate and immovable. Valef.

• *Ἐκ πρῶτον ἡλικίᾳ*. I had rather make it *ἐκ πρῶτον, going forth*. In *Nicephorus* the reading is *ἀδελφῷ*, going. Valef.

• *Καὶ ὅτι τὰς ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ*. *τὸ ἀδελφῷ ἀδελφῷ* *τῷ ἐν τῷ ἀδελφῷ*. *Nicephorus* read this place otherwise. For, instead of the word *πρῶτον* he has *καταπύλιν*. *Mundane*, or, *Secular*. Which in my judgment is far righter. *Johannes Langius* has translated *Nicephorus*'s words thus: *Et honorem mundanis dignitatibus debuit, prae viri huius observantia secundo loco habebat, And they placed [Or, had] the honour due to Secular dignities, in the second place, in respect of the observancy of this man*. Valef.



the word *εὐαγγελιστής* signified. *Evagrius* has made use of this word above, at chap. 42. book 3. At which place we have remarked, that by that word, are meant the *Provincial Tributaries*, who are also termed *Collatores* in the Code. From those therefore *Marinus* the *Magister Militum* had by force drawn *Ditchers* and *Oxe-drivers*, and *Taylorers*, that he might make use of their Labour in his Army: for he reckoned them not amongst the *Souldiers*, as *Christophorus* seems to have thought. *Valef.*

## CHAP. IX.

*How Chofroes (after he had sent his General Adaarmanes against the Romans, who afflicted them with many and those severe Losses,) went himself in person to Nisibis.*

**B**UT *Chofroes*, after he had made sufficient provision of all things necessary for a War, went to a certain [place,] and having pass'd the *Euphrates* in his own Country, sends *Adaarmanes* into the *Roman Territories*, by a [place] termed *Circesium*. This *Circesium* is a Town most commodious to the *Romans*, situate in the utmost confines of the Empire. Which [Town] is fortified not only with walls raised to a vast height; but the Rivers *Euphrates* and *Aboras* do likewise encompass it, and make the City as 'twere an Island. But [*Chofroes*] himself having, together with those [Forces] about him, pass'd the River *Tigris*, march'd directly to *Nisibis*. [Though] these things had been done, [yet] the *Romans* were a long while ignorant of them: in so much that *Justinus*, giving overmuch credit to report, (which said that *Chofroes* was either already dead, or drawing his very last breath,) became highly incens'd, because the Siege of *Nisibis* was protracted so long; and sent some persons who might hasten *Maricianus* forward, and might forthwith bring him the Keys of the Gates: But when this affair was not in the least forward'd, but rather he himself procur'd great ignominy and disgrace in regard he would attempt those things which could not be done against such and so vast a City, and with so pitiful and despicable an Army; in the first place a message is brought to *Gregorius* Bishop of *Theopolis*. For whereas the Bishop of *Nisibis* was an intimate friend to *Gregorius*, in regard he had received great presents from him; and moreover being one that was highly displeas'd at the *Persians* contumelious usage of the *Christians*, which the *Christians* had continually suffer'd from them, being also desirous that his own City might become subject [to the Empire] of the *Romans*; he gave *Gregorius* an account of whatever was done in the Enemies Country, and in due time made known [to him] all things. Of which [matters *Gregorius*] forthwith sent *Justinus* a Relation, declaring to him *Chofroes*'s sudden irruption. But *Justinus*, involved in his usual pleasures, heeded not what had been written [to him by *Gregorius*]; nor would he give credit thereto, but only supposed [that true,] which he himself desired. For \*tis usual with persons who are dissolute, that they should be both \*lothful and confident against the Events [of affairs;] and if any thing happens contrary to their wills, they disbelieve it. He wrote therefore to *Gregorius*, [in which Letters] he perfectly reject'd those things [told him by *Gregorius*,] as being wholly false: or if they were true, yet, that the *Persians* could never prevent the

Siege; but, that if they did prevent it, they would retire [from hence] with great loss. [At the same time] he sends one *Acacius* (a wicked and spiteful person,) to *Maricianus*, giving him order, that although *Maricianus* should have set one of his feet into the City, he should nevertheless \*turn him out of Commission. Which thing [*Acacius*] performed exactly, obeying the Emperour's Commands though to the disadvantage of the Republick. For being arriv'd in the [Roman] Camp, he divests *Maricianus* of his Command, in the Enemies Country, without having acquainted the Army therewith. But the *Centurions* and Leaders of the Ranks, having understood at their coming off the Watch, that their Commander in chief was turn'd out of Commission, \* would not appear in publick any more, but left [the Service,] were dispers'd here and there, and brake up the ridiculous Siege. In the interim *Adaarmanes* having an Army of *Persians* and barbarous *Semites* fit to engage, pass'd by *Circesium*, and ruin'd the *Roman Ter-*

ritories with all manner of depopulations, burning and killing, designing in his mind or performing nothing that was mean and trivial. He also takes Castles and many Villages, no body making a resistance against him: First, because [at that time] there was no Commander [of the Romans:]; and then, in regard the [Roman] Souldiers were by *Chofroes* shut up in *Daras*; as well Excurfions to fetch in forage, as irruptions, were made without impediment. He made an attack also upon the † *Theopolites* † *Antiochians* by the Souldiers he had with him; (for he went not thither in person.) Nevertheless, those [Souldiers of his] receiv'd a repulse beyond all expectation, although no body, excepting only a very small number, continued in the City; and though the Bishop was fled, and had carried a long with him the sacred Treasure, because, both most part of the wall was fallen down, and the people also had rais'd a Sedition, being desirous of beginning an Innovation, as it usually happens, and most especially at such times as those. Moreover, [the Seditious] themselves betook themselves to their heels, and had left the City empty; nothing at all being to be found out, \* that might either annoy the Enemy, or on the other hand keep them off.

words which I have not yet met with, used in such a sense, as by all the Translatores they are taken here.

## CHAP. X.

*Concerning the taking of Apamia and Daras.*

**W**HEN therefore \* *Adaarmanes* had been \* *frustrated* in this attempt, having burnt that City anciently termed *Heraclea*, but afterwards named *Gabalice*, he took *Apamia*, which variously had been built by † *Seleucus* *Nicator*, a [City] written

in ancient Authors. In *Theopbanes*'s *Chronicon*, he is called *Artabanus*, and *Ardamanes* in the Palatine Manuscript Copy. *Anastasius* *Bibliothecarius* terms him *Dux* *Ardermanus*. In *Nicephorus*'s *is* *εὐαγγελιστής*, *Ardamanes*. In *Theopbanes* *Byzantius*, *Baraamanes*. Hereafter in the thirteenth chapter he is termed *Ardamanes*. *Theophylactus*, Book 3, calls him *Ardamanes*. *Valef.*

† *Seleucus* *is* *νικητής*. Undoubtedly it must be made *νικητής*; *Nicatoris*. For *Seleucus* the first king of Syria, because of his famous Victories, had the surname of *Nicator*, as we learn from the Old Coins, which ascribe this Title or Surname to him. *Valef.* See *Valesius*'s note on *Anm. Marci*. pag. 41.

heretofore

\* Or, It  
falsely.

\* Τὸ π. διπλόν. In *Nicephorus* 'is *εἰρηός*, with a double *v*. So a little before, where the reading is *εἰρηός*; *Nicephorus* has it written *εἰρηός*, which is more usual. Yet, that word may be written with a double *λ*, as *Hefestius* tells us. *Valef.*

\* Or, Re-  
move him  
from his  
Command.

† Οὐ παρέχεται τὸ πλῆθος. I think it must be made *εἰς* τὸ πλῆθος. And so *Mosellanus* seems to have read. For he renders it thus: *Exercitus porro adesse noluit, would not be any more present with the Army.* *Christophorus* likewise states it in this manner, *Copias non ulterius ducunt, lead not the Forces any more.* But the Greek will not bear this sense. *Valef.*

† Antio-  
chian.

\* Εἰς ἐπὶ  
τὴν πόλιν  
ἐπέβησαν;



heretofore rich and pophous, but in [process of] time it was become extremely ruinous. Having posselt himself of this City on some Articles of agreement, [for [the Inhabitants] were in no wise in a capacity to make a resistance, the wall by reason of its age being fallen to the ground:] he utterly destroyed it by fire; and when he had made plunder of all things, contrary to the conditions agreed to by him, he went away, and lead away Captive all the Citizens, and [the Inhabitants of] the adjacent Villages. Amongst which [Prisoners] he carried away, alive the Bishop of the City, and that person who was entrusted with the Government [of the Province.] Moreover, he committed all manner of \* outrages at his departure, there being no body that might restrain or give him any the least resistance, excepting a very few Souldiers sent by *Justinus*, under the Command of one *Magnus*, who was heretofore President

\* Or, Cru-  
elities.

† Bankers.

of the † *Argentarii* at the Imperial City, but had afterwards by *Justinus* been made *Curator* of one of the Imperial Honfes. And these [Souldiers] also ran away with all the hast imaginable, there having wanted but little of their being all taken by the Enemy. When therefore *Adaarmanes* had performed these Exploits, he came to *Chosroes*, who had not yet taken the City [*Dava*.] His joyning Forces with *Chosroes* was of great importance to [their] affairs, both because it gave encouragement to their own men, and also struck a terror into the Enemy. Further, [*Chosroes*] found that City encompassed with a wall, and a vast Rampire of earth cast up hard by the wall, also those Engines [termed] \* *Helepoles* standing ready; and especially the *Catapulta* wherewith stones are thrown from an Eminence, which [Machines] they usually term † *Petraria*. || In this manner *Chosroes* became Master of that City by force, in the Winter time, *Johannes* the Son of *Timostatus* being its Governour, who was very little solicitous about it, or rather betrayed it. For both are reported. Now, *Chosroes* had laid Siege to that City five months and more, no body appearing in its defence. Having therefore brought all persons out of the City, (which were a vast multitude,) and in a cruel manner killed some of them there, and preserved others, which were the most in number, alive; he fortified the City with a Garrison, because its site was commodious; but he himself returned into his own Country.

\* Machines  
used in  
Sieges, to  
batter  
down the  
Walls.  
† Or, En-  
gines to  
cast Stones.  
|| Or, With  
which.

## CHAP. XI.

That the Emperour *Justinus* was seized with a \* Frensic: but *Tiberius* undertook the care of the Republick.

\* Or,  
Frantick  
dissemper.

Which [proceedings] when *Justinus* was made acquainted with, having in his mind not so much as one thought that was found and prudent, nor bearing his \* misfortune so as it becomes a man to do; from such an height of pride and haughtiness he falls into a Frantick dissemper and madness, and in future became insensible of what was transacted. From thence forward therefore *Tiberius* had the management of the Republick, a person by descent a *Thracian*, but one who bore the chiefest place of trust, [and was the greatest Favourite] with *Justinus*.

\* To ev-  
il must be  
made some  
way; as I  
found it  
written in  
the Telle-  
rian MS.  
Valef.

This person had heretofore been sent [by *Justinus*] against the \* *Avari*, [ac-  
companied with] a vast Army of  
Souldiers which had been raised.

\* Or, A-  
bares, or,  
Avares.

† The Em-  
perour Ju-  
stinus sent  
Tiberius

But, the Souldiers not en-  
doring so much as the fight  
of the *Barbarians*, *Tiberius*  
wanted but little of being  
taken, had not the Divine  
providence in a wonderful  
manner protected him, and  
reserved him for the *Roman*  
Empire; which had  
been reduced to such danger  
by *Justinus*'s absurd and rash  
attempts, that [twas feared least] together  
with the whole State it should be utterly ruined,  
and might yield to the \* prevalent power and  
dominion of the *Barbarians*.

of his Guards, against the *Avares*,  
with an Army sufficiently strong,  
on the ninth year of his Empire,  
as *Theopanes* relates in his *Chroni-  
con*, but *Johannes* *Bieleniensis*  
says that was done in the fourth  
year of *Justinus*'s Empire: where  
he relates, that from this Battle  
*Tiberius* returned a Conqueror  
to *Constantinople*. Which yet is  
declared to be false by *Evagrius*  
and *Theopanes*. Valef.

\* Or, So  
great.

## CHAP. XII.

That *Trajanus* having been sent Ambassador  
to *Chosroes*, \* repaired the affairs of the \* Cor-  
Romans. rected, &  
restored.

*Tiberius* therefore resolves upon a † Course  
very seasonable, and accommodate to the or, advice.  
[present juncture of] affairs; which repaired  
the whole misfortune. For

\* *Trajanus*, a wife person of  
the *Senatorial* Order, a man  
highly valued by all men  
for his gray-hairs and un-  
derstanding, is dispatched a-  
way to *Chosroes*: He was  
not to perform that Embassy  
in the name of  
|| the Emperour,  
nor of the State;  
but was to speak  
in behalf only of

† This Ba-  
melus, of  
the Em-  
pire.

[the Empreſs] *Sophia*.  
Moreover, She wrote to  
*Chosroes*, [in which Let-  
ter] She lamented both the  
calamities of her Husband,  
and also the State's being  
deprived of an Emperour;

adding withall, that 'twas misbecoming [a  
Prince] to insult over a woman that was a wi-  
dow, over a || dead Emperour, and over a de-  
serted State: For, that \* he himself, when he  
had fallen sick sometime since, had not only ex-  
perienced the like [humanity and kind usage,]  
but had likewise had the best Physicians sent  
him by the *Roman* State, who also freed him  
from his distemper. [Hereby] therefore *Chosroes*  
is prevailed upon. And although he was  
just ready to make an Invasion || upon the Ter-  
ritories of the *Romans*, yet he concludes a Truce  
for the space of three years, in the Eastern parts.

But, 'twas thought good, that *Armenia* \* should  
not be included in the like [Conditions of a  
Truce:] so that, he might wage War there,  
provided no body disturbed the Eastern parts  
upon the Territories [or, affairs] of the *Romans*. Valef.

† By this *Barbarian* prince. In my own Judgment I have re-  
stored this place very happily, so that instead of the word *quoniam*,  
it must be written, *quod*. For in the Truce which was made between  
the *Romans* and *Persians*, it had been expressly cautioned, that there  
should be a Cessation of Arms throughout the East only: but in  
*Armenia* and *Iberia* it should be lawful to wage War. See *Menander*  
*Proctor* in the Sixth Book of his Histories, pag. 157. which author  
does fully confirm this our emendation. And so does *Theophylactus*,  
Book 3. Chap. 12. Valef.

During

(where ancient custom says such Solemnities, I can't  
were performed,) both of <sup>the</sup> *Johannes* the Patriarch, <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
whom we mentioned before, together with his <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
Clergy, of the Magistracy and *Flourant*, and of all this <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
the Grand Officers about the Court; <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
when he had invested *Tiberius* with the <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
Coat, and had clothed him in the <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
purple] \* Robe, with a loud voice [sake  
publicly [these following words.] \* <sup>the</sup> *Joan*  
Clock. <sup>the</sup> *Joan*

proclaimed in the *Arrium* of the Imperial Palace. For the old custom was, that the *Augusti* should be proclaimed in the Seventh *Miliarium*, or, *mila*, from the City, in the presence of the Army, in the *Campus*, or Field without the City. And *Valens* [was] the first that had been titled Emperor in that Suburb, by his Brother *Valentinian*. After whom, the following Emperours of the East were proclaimed in the same place, as I have long since observed in my *Notes on Amm. Marcellinus's* 26th book, pag. 115, 116. The Emperor *Zeno* also was Crowned in the Seventh *Miliarium* by his own Son *Leo*, as *Victor Tinnensis* relates in his *Chronicon*. Likewise *Basilius* was a little after titled Emperor in the *Campus*, as *Thorpaeus* informs us. Now, the *Campus* was in the Seventh *Miliarium*, as *Theopylactus* attests, book 8. chap. 12. But who was first slated *Augustus* in the *Arrium* of the Imperial Palace, at *Constantinople*, I have not yet plainly found. Indeed, *Ingratus Simar* seems to have been proclaimed Emperor there, as may be gathered from the first chapter of this book. Valef.

e Theophanes in his *Chronicon* attests, that (not *Johannes Scholasticus*, but *Eutychius*) was then Patriarch of Constantinople. For *Johannes Scholasticus* died on the Tenth Indiction, in the Month *August*, the day before the *Calends* of *September*. And *Eutychius* was reitor to his own See on the same year, in the Month *October*, on the *Eleventh Indiction*, as *Theophanes* attests. On the year following (which was the year of Christ 778, in the Twelfth Indiction, on the 26th of *September*.) this *Eutychius* Crowned *Tiberius Augustus*, as *Theophanes* and the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* inform us. But, on a more attentive examination of the thing, I have perceived nothing is to be found fault with here, for *Eusegius* speaks not here concerning *Tiberius's* being proclaimed *Augustus*, but of the Appellation of *Cesar* granted to him. Further, *Tiberius* was made *Cesar* on the Eighth Indiction, as the *Author* of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us: at which time *Johannes* was Patriarch of Constantinople. Vale.

Let not the Magnificence of Your Attire deceive You, nor the Scene of those things which are seen : by which I have been imposed upon, and have rendered my self obnoxious to the Extremest of Punishments. Do You correct my mistake, and with all \* Lenity and Manufacture Govern the State. Then pointing to the † Magistrates; <sup>† Eumenides, den</sup> You ought not, said he, in any wise to be per- <sup>light of mind.</sup> swaded by them; and further added, For they <sup>Or, Governours,</sup> have reduced me to those Circumstances wherein You now behold me. [He uttered] several other such like [expressions,] which put all persons into an amaze, and drew from them plenty of Tears. Now, Tiberius was very tall of Body, and besides his Stature, the Comeliest person, not only of Emperours, but of all other Men, <sup>a</sup> as far as any one may conjecture; <sup>b</sup> in so much that, in the first place, even his very shape deserved an Empire. His temper of mind was <sup>c</sup> Sweet and Courteous, [a person] that received all Men kindly even at the first sight. He esteemed it [the greatest] Riches to be liberal to all Men in reference to bountifull Contributions, not only as far as a necessity, but even to an affluence. <sup>d</sup> <sup>e</sup> <sup>f</sup> <sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> <sup>i</sup> <sup>j</sup> <sup>k</sup> <sup>l</sup> <sup>m</sup> <sup>n</sup> <sup>o</sup> <sup>p</sup> <sup>q</sup> <sup>r</sup> <sup>s</sup> <sup>t</sup> <sup>u</sup> <sup>v</sup> <sup>w</sup> <sup>x</sup> <sup>y</sup> <sup>z</sup> <sup>aa</sup> <sup>ab</sup> <sup>ac</sup> <sup>ad</sup> <sup>ae</sup> <sup>af</sup> <sup>ag</sup> <sup>ah</sup> <sup>ai</sup> <sup>aj</sup> <sup>ak</sup> <sup>al</sup> <sup>am</sup> <sup>an</sup> <sup>ao</sup> <sup>ap</sup> <sup>aq</sup> <sup>ar</sup> <sup>as</sup> <sup>at</sup> <sup>au</sup> <sup>av</sup> <sup>aw</sup> <sup>ax</sup> <sup>ay</sup> <sup>az</sup> <sup>ba</sup> <sup>bb</sup> <sup>bc</sup> <sup>bd</sup> <sup>be</sup> <sup>bf</sup> <sup>bg</sup> <sup>bh</sup> <sup>bi</sup> <sup>bj</sup> <sup>bk</sup> <sup>bl</sup> <sup>bm</sup> <sup>bn</sup> <sup>bo</sup> <sup>bp</sup> <sup>bq</sup> <sup>br</sup> <sup>bs</sup> <sup>bt</sup> <sup>bu</sup> <sup>bv</sup> <sup>bw</sup> <sup>bx</sup> <sup>by</sup> <sup>bz</sup> <sup>ca</sup> <sup>cb</sup> <sup>cc</sup> <sup>cd</sup> <sup>ce</sup> <sup>cf</sup> <sup>cg</sup> <sup>ch</sup> <sup>ci</sup> <sup>cj</sup> <sup>ck</sup> <sup>cl</sup> <sup>cm</sup> <sup>cn</sup> <sup>co</sup> <sup>cp</sup> <sup>cq</sup> <sup>cr</sup> <sup>cs</sup> <sup>ct</sup> <sup>cu</sup> <sup>cv</sup> <sup>cw</sup> <sup>cx</sup> <sup>cy</sup> <sup>cz</sup> <sup>da</sup> <sup>db</sup> <sup>dc</sup> <sup>dd</sup> <sup>de</sup> <sup>df</sup> <sup>dg</sup> <sup>dh</sup> <sup>di</sup> <sup>dj</sup> <sup>dk</sup> <sup>dl</sup> <sup>dm</sup> <sup>dn</sup> <sup>do</sup> <sup>dp</sup> <sup>dq</sup> <sup>dr</sup> <sup>ds</sup> <sup>dt</sup> <sup>du</sup> <sup>dv</sup> <sup>dw</sup> <sup>dx</sup> <sup>dy</sup> <sup>dz</sup> <sup>ea</sup> <sup>eb</sup> <sup>ec</sup> <sup>ed</sup> <sup>ee</sup> 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<sup>ju</sup> <sup>jv</sup> <sup>jw</sup> <sup>jx</sup> <sup>ky</sup> <sup>kz</sup> <sup>la</sup> <sup>lb</sup> <sup>lc</sup> <sup>ld</sup> <sup>le</sup> <sup>lf</sup> <sup>lg</sup> <sup>lh</sup> <sup>li</sup> <sup>lj</sup> <sup>lk</sup> <sup>ll</sup> <sup>lm</sup> <sup>ln</sup> <sup>lo</sup> <sup>lp</sup> <sup>lq</sup> <sup>lr</sup> <sup>ls</sup> <sup>lt</sup> <sup>lu</sup> <sup>lv</sup> <sup>lw</sup> <sup>lx</sup> <sup>ly</sup> <sup>lz</sup> <sup>ma</sup> <sup>mb</sup> <sup>mc</sup> <sup>md</sup> <sup>me</sup> <sup>mf</sup> <sup>mg</sup> <sup>mh</sup> <sup>mi</sup> <sup>mj</sup> <sup>mk</sup> <sup>ml</sup> <sup>mm</sup> <sup>mn</sup> <sup>mo</sup> <sup>mp</sup> <sup>mq</sup> <sup>mr</sup> <sup>ms</sup> <sup>mt</sup> <sup>mu</sup> <sup>mv</sup> <sup>mw</sup> <sup>mx</sup> <sup>my</sup> <sup>mz</sup> <sup>na</sup> <sup>nb</sup> <sup>nc</sup> <sup>nd</sup> <sup>ne</sup> <sup>nf</sup> <sup>ng</sup> <sup>nh</sup> <sup>ni</sup> <sup>nj</sup> <sup>nk</sup> <sup>nl</sup> <sup>nm</sup> <sup>nn</sup> <sup>no</sup> <sup>np</sup> <sup>nq</sup> <sup>nr</sup> <sup>ns</sup> <sup>nt</sup> <sup>nu</sup> <sup>nv</sup> <sup>nw</sup> <sup>nx</sup> <sup>ny</sup> <sup>nz</sup> <sup>oa</sup> <sup>ob</sup> <sup>oc</sup> <sup>od</sup> <sup>oe</sup> <sup>of</sup> <sup>og</sup> <sup>oh</sup> <sup>oi</sup> <sup>oj</sup> <sup>ok</sup> <sup>ol</sup> <sup>om</sup> <sup>on</sup> <sup>oo</sup> <sup>op</sup> <sup>oq</sup> <sup>or</sup> <sup>os</sup> <sup>ot</sup> <sup>ou</sup> <sup>ov</sup> <sup>ow</sup> <sup>ox</sup> <sup>oy</sup> <sup>oz</sup> <sup>pa</sup> <sup>pb</sup> <sup>pc</sup> <sup>pd</sup> <sup>pe</sup> <sup>pf</sup> <sup>pg</sup> <sup>ph</sup> <sup>pi</sup> <sup>pj</sup> <sup>pk</sup> <sup>pl</sup> <sup>pm</sup> <sup>pn</sup> <sup>po</sup> <sup>pp</sup> <sup>pq</sup> <sup>pr</sup> <sup>ps</sup> <sup>pt</sup> <sup>pu</sup> <sup>pv</sup> <sup>pw</sup> <sup>px</sup> <sup>py</sup> <sup>pz</sup> <sup>qa</sup> <sup>qb</sup> <sup>qc</sup> <sup>qd</sup> <sup>qe</sup> <sup>qf</sup> <sup>qg</sup> <sup>qh</sup> <sup>qi</sup> <sup>qj</sup> <sup>qk</sup> <sup>ql</sup> <sup>qm</sup> <sup>qn</sup> <sup>qo</sup> <sup>qp</sup> <sup>qq</sup> <sup>qr</sup> <sup>qs</sup> <sup>qt</sup> <sup>qu</sup> <sup>qv</sup> <sup>qw</sup> <sup>qx</sup> <sup>qy</sup> <sup>qz</sup> <sup>ra</sup> <sup>rb</sup> <sup>rc</sup> <sup>rd</sup> <sup>re</sup> <sup>rf</sup> <sup>rg</sup> <sup>rh</sup> <sup>ri</sup> <sup>rj</sup> <sup>rk</sup> <sup>rl</sup> <sup>rm</sup> <sup>rn</sup> <sup>ro</sup> <sup>rp</sup> <sup>rq</sup> <sup>rr</sup> <sup>rs</sup> <sup>rt</sup> <sup>ru</sup> <sup>rv</sup> <sup>rw</sup> <sup>rx</sup> <sup>ry</sup> <sup>rz</sup> <sup>sa</sup> <sup>sb</sup> <sup>sc</sup> <sup>sd</sup> <sup>se</sup> <sup>sf</sup> <sup>sg</sup> <sup>sh</sup> <sup>si</sup> <sup>sj</sup> <sup>sk</sup> <sup>sl</sup> <sup>sm</sup> <sup>sn</sup> <sup>so</sup> <sup>sp</sup> <sup>sq</sup> <sup>sr</sup> <sup>ss</sup> <sup>st</sup> <sup>su</sup> <sup>sv</sup> <sup>sw</sup> <sup>sx</sup> <sup>sy</sup> 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doubt but *Eccegrinus* left it thus written: Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Tellerian Manuscript*, wherein I found it plainly written in this manner. Away therefore with the rendition of *Mufelinas*, who translates it thus: *Insignis magni, quàm ut quicquam idis conferri possit, more eminenti, eam* that any one might be compared to him. But *Christophorus* turns it in this manner: *Pulebrutindis excellenti omnium opinione major, for the excellency of beauty, greater than the opinion of all men. Vajel.*

is Καὶ πᾶσιν ἰδοὶ τὸ εἰς τὸ ἀξίον. The reading in the Florentine Manuscript is truer, thus, ὡς πᾶσιν μὲν, &c. in so much that, in the first place, &c. Evagrius alludes to that known Verse of the Tragædian; πᾶσιν μὲν εἰς τὸ ἀξίον τυγχανέειν.

For he considered not, what Petitioners ought to receive, but what it became an Emperor of the Romans to give. \*Twas his Sentiment, that that Gold was adulterate || which was Collected with the Tears [Of the Provincials.] Hence (Tis certain) it was, that he remitted the

Collection of \*one whole years Tribute, to the Tributaries. And those possessions which Adulterary Function, not only in proportion to the damage they had suffered, but also much above [the loss.] Moreover, \*those illegal Presents were remitted to the Magistrates, for which [Bribes] the Emperours had heretofore sold their Subjects [to them.] He also wrote Constitutions concerning these matters, making thereby provision for the security of posterity.

\* Or, he written *ἡρώδης*. Valef.

There is extant a Constitution of Justinus Junior, wherein he has remitted to the Provincials the Remains of the Tributes of the past year, until the Eighth Indiction of the Cycle current. Which Justinus seems to have done by the persuasion of Tiberius, whom a little before he had created Caesar, at the beginning of the Eighth Indiction, as the Author of the Alexandrian Chronicle informs us. Into this first Constitution therefore of the Emperor Justinus junior, the name of Tiberius the Caesar ought to have been inserted.

At this present there is extant a Constitution of the Emperor Justinus junior, concerning the promoting Rectours of Provinces without reward. Which amongst the Novel Constitutions of Justinus junior is the fifth in number. In that Constitution Justinus gives permission to the Provincials, that they may make known to the Emperor those persons whom they should judge fit to Govern their own Province; and the Emperor promises, that he will give forth the *Codices* and the *Insignia* [Marks, Tokens] of Magistracy freely, without any present or gift. Which Law, in regard it bears date on the Eighth year of Justinus junior's Empire, was, we doubt not, set forth also by the persuasion and suggestion of Tiberius the Caesar. Valef.

#### C H A P. XIV.

That the Emperor Tiberius raised a vast Army [to be employed] against Chosroes; [at the head whereof] he sent Justinianus the Dux, and drove [Chosroes] out of \* the Roman Pale.

\* Or, Land of the Romans.

Having therefore employed the ill gotten Treasure to a good use, he made provision for a War. And raises to vast an Army \* of valiant Men, by listing the choicest Soldiers, both of the || Transalpine Nations who [inhabit] about the Rhine, and also of the || Cisalpine, of the Massageta likewise, and other Scythick Nations; of those also about \* Pannonia and Achaia, of the Illyrii and Iavari: that he intermixt near an Hundred and fifty thousand Men with his incomparable Troops of Horfe, and Routed Chosroes: who after his taking of Daras, immediately in the Summer had made an irruption into Armenia, and from thence

\* *ἦλθε ἰσχυρῶς*. Without doubt it must be made *ἦλθε*. \*Tis a wonder to me, that this was not taken notice of, either by Nicephorus, or the Translators. Valef.

\* Or, Consider of their Enfranchisement.

resolved upon an Invasion of Caesarea, (which is the Metropolis of Cappadocia,) and of the Cities in that Region. He contemned the Roman Empire in such a manner, that when Caesar dispatched away an Embassy to him, he would not vouchsafe the Ambassadors access to himself: but ordered them to follow him to Caesarea: for there, he said, he would \* give them audience. But when he saw the Roman

Army fronting him, (Commanded by \* Justinianus \* Brother to that Justinus who had been barbarously murdered by [the Emperor] Justinus) accurately well Armed, the Trumpets sounding an Alarm, the Colours raised in order to an Engagement, the Soldier greedy of slaughter, and with a most incomparable decency breathing forth rage and fury, [lastly] such and so great a number of Horfe, as none of the Sixty Emperours had ever conceived in their mind; he was stricken with a great amazement, fighed deeply at so unhop'd for and unexpected a thing, and would not begin a Fight. When therefore he deferred an Engagement, made delays, spent the time, and only feigned a Fight; the Scythian, a Person that Commanded the Right Wing, makes an Attack upon him. The Persians were not able to bear the Shock of his Charge, but apparently deserted their Ranks; whereupon [Curs] made a great slaughter amongst the Enemy. Then he Attacks the Rere [of the Persian,] where Chosroes and the whole Army had their Baggage: and he takes all the Kings Treasure, and more-over the whole Baggage, in the very sight of Chosroes, who bore it with patience, &c. thought his own trouble might with more ease be endured, than the Attack of Curs, the Persian in this manner therefore Curs, together with his Soldiers, possesses himself of great Riches and Plunder, and drives away the Beasts of burthen together with their Burthens, amongst which happened to be Chosroes's Sacred Fire, adored by him as a God: [after this] he marches round the Persian Army singing a Victorious Song, and about Candle-lighting returns to \* the Roman Army, which had now left its Station; neither Chosroes nor the Romans having begun a Fight: only some Skirmishes had happened, and (as it usually hap-

pened) Justinianus the Dux, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale. Justinianus the Dux, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale. Justinianus the Dux, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale.

of the East being sent by Tiberius, makes ready for a War, and in his Field which lies between Daras and Nisibis engages in a brave Fight, having with him those most valiant Nations, which in the Language of the Barbarians are termed Hermandi; where he vanquishes the aforementioned Emperor. Valef.

Tiberius Justinus Junior, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale. Justinianus the Dux, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale.

A Theophylactus mentions this person, in book 3. chap. 16. and in book 1. chap. 9. In which places the Latine Translator terms him Cursus. But, he had better have translated it Cursus. For so Alexander Protector calls him, in the sixth book of his Histories, pag. 159. of the King's Edition. In Theophanes's Chronicle, pag. 214, he is corruptly termed *κέρς*, Crons. Valef.

Alexander Justinus Junior, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale. Justinianus the Dux, who had been sent by the Emperor Justinus junior, to assist the Roman Army, arrived at the head of the Roman Army, and drove Chosroes out of the Roman Pale.

pens,) sometimes one Man [came out] of each Army and engaged in a single Combat. On the night following *Chosroes* kindled many Fires, and prepared for a Night-Fight: and whereas the *Roman* Army was divided into two Camps, in the dead of the Night he falls upon those who were Encamped to the Northward. After he had routed them by his sudden and unexpected Attack, he invades *Meditina* a City that lay near, which was then without a Garrison and destitute of Inhabitants. And after he had burnt down this whole City, he made preparations for his passing over the River *Euphrates*. But when the *Roman* Army was got together into one Body, and followed him, being put into a fear in relation to his own safety, he himself got upon an Elephant, and to pass the River. But a vast number of the [Forces] about him were buried in the Torrent of the *Euphrates*. After he had received information of their being drowned, he marched away from thence. *Chosroes* therefore having undergone this last punishment for his too great <sup>†</sup> infolence towards the *Romans*, in company of those [of his Forces] who had made their escape, went into the East, where he had a Truce, to the end no one might make an Attack upon him. But *Justinianus* with the whole *Roman* Army entered the *Persian* Empire, where he passed the Winter season, no body giving him any the least molestation. About the Summer Solstice he returned, without the loss of any part of his Forces, and with great felicity and much glory spent the Summer about the Confines of both Empires.

† *Petroleum*  
or, *Con-*  
*tumelle*.

## CHAP. XV.

*That Chosroes being heavily disquieted at his own overthrow, ended his life: but his Son Hormisdas undertook the Government of the Persians.*

BUT, an immense [deluge of] sadness being poured in upon *Chosroes*, (who was now sorely distressed, reduced to a desperation, and overwhelmed with a reciprocal Torrent of Grief,) in a miserable manner took him out of this life; after he had erected an immortal Monument of his own Flight, [to wit] the Law he wrote, that no Emperor of the *Persians* should in future lead forth an Army against the *Romans*. His Son *Hormisdas* succeeds him in the Empire. <sup>†</sup> Of whom I must at present omit to speak, in regard the sequel [of Transactions] calls me to themselves, and doth expect the \* thread of my Discourse.

\* Line, or,  
Procedure.

† The death of *Chosroes* King of the *Persians* is related too soon here. For he died after *Tiberius* had gotten the Empire, as *Theophylactus* attests, book

3. chap. 16. which is also confirmed by *Menander Protector* in his *Excerpt. Legat.* Wherefore *Theophanes* is mistaken in his *Chronicon*, who relates *Chosroes's* death, and the Inauguration of his Son *Hormisdas*, in the Empire of *Justinus Junior*. Valef.  
† *O' tōv iustōv*. In the *Tellerian Manuscript* I found it written, *o' tōv iustōv*, of whom I must at present omit to speak: which reading I prefer far before the *Vulgar* one. Valef.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Who at that time were Bishops of the Greater Churches.*

AFTER the departure of *Jobannes*, called also *Catelinus*, out of this life, <sup>a</sup> *Bonifacius* undertakes <sup>a</sup> In *Nice*. the Government of the Bishoprick of *Rome*; he phorus, book 17. was succeeded by another *Jobannes*, whose successor was *Pelagius*. The *Constantinopolitan* Chair, when *Jobannes* was dead, was restored to *Eutychius*, who had been Bishop before *Jobannes*. After *Apollinaris*, *Jobannes* succeeds in the Throne of *Alexandria*, who was succeeded by *Eulogius*. After *Macarius*, *Jobannes* is promoted to the Episcopate of *Jerusalem*, a person who had been exercised in the Conflicts of an unfurnished life, in that termed the Monastery of the *Acemetti*; <sup>b</sup> nothing of an Innovation having been attempted in relation to the Ecclesiastick constitution. <sup>b</sup> *Christophorus* understood these

words so, as if *Evagrius* would have said, that in the times of *Jobannes* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, no tumult had been raised in the Church. But to me *Evagrius* seems to mean another thing; to wit, that during that whole time, wherein these Prelates, here named by *Evagrius*, late, there had been no tumult in the Church; *Valef*.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Concerning the Earthquake which happened at Antioch in the times of Tiberius.*

BUT, <sup>a</sup> in the third Year of *Tiberius* the *Cæsar's* Governing the *Roman* Empire, there happened at *Antioch* and the Suburb *Daphne* which is near it, a most dismal shaking of the Earth, <sup>a</sup> at the very hottest time of Noon-day. At which time all *Daphne* was totally demolished by this Earthquake, and the Edifices at *Antioch*, as well the publick as the private ones, were rent in sunder to the very earth, but fell not to thought the very ground. Some other accidents happened that by likewise, highly worthy to be recorded, both at *Theopolis* it self, and at the Imperial City also: which disquieted both those Cities, and incited them to the greatest Tumults. [These Accidents] took their \* beginning from <sup>a</sup> *Ocasus*, a divine Zeal, and obtained a conclusion besitting God. Which [matters] <sup>c</sup> I come [now] to give a Narrative of.

*Stephanos* and *Musculus*, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But in my judgment, *Evagrius* seems to mean here the Year of *Tiberius's* *Cæsarean* Dignity. For, in the first place the words themselves do sufficiently show that. Then secondly, *Evagrius* has not yet related *Justinus Junior's* death, nor the Coronation of *Tiberius*. For he speaks of these hereafter, in the nineteenth chapter of this book. Wherefore, those things related in this chapter, happened whilst *Justinus Junior* was yet alive. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> *Es t' autē tīs pōnēdētēs tō cōpōtōtōi*. It must be thidē *es autē*, at the very; as 'tis in the *Tellerian MS*; or, *es' autē*, as it is in *Nicephorus*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀρξάμενος, I begin to relate*. I had rather write, *ἔρχομαι, I come*: for to *Grecians* are wont to speak. In the *Tellerian MS*. I found it plainly written, *Ἀλλ' οὐκ ἔρχομαι, I come to give a relation of*. Valef.

## CHAP. XVIII.

## Concerning the Infurrection against the Execrable Anatolius.

**O**ne Anatolius (a person at first<sup>a</sup> of the ordinary rank, and one of the Sedentary Mechanicks, but afterwards, in what manner I know not, he had thrust himself into the Magistracy, and into other Offices;) lived in the City *Antioch*: where also he followed those affairs which he then had in hand. On which account likewise it happened that he contracted an intimate familiarity with *Gregorius* the Prelate of that City: and made frequent visits to him,<sup>b</sup> partly that he might confer with him, and partly to render his own power and authority greater by often conversing with him.

And one of the Sedentary Mechanicks. The same is the reading in *Nicephorus*. Further, 'tis strange that three Translators should have been mistaken in the rendition of one word. For *Joannes Languis* renders it thus: *Erant Theopolis Anatolius quidam, ex plebeis libi quidem & ignavis uoxis. There was at Theopolis one Anatolius, a person of the ordinary rank and one of the foolish.* *Mosculus* translates it in this manner: *Unus ex multis qui sui vitam delicatè instituerunt. One of those many who lead a delicate life.* *Christophorus*'s Version runs thus: *Anatolius vir quidam plebeius primùm & mollis. Anatolius a man at first a plebeian and effeminate, or, soft.* Which interpretation they seem to have drawn from *Suidas* and the Author of the *Etymologicum*; who expounded *ἀνδρῆς* in this manner, *ἀνδρῆς ὁ γυναικώδης, idle and effeminate.* But, this term signifies something else here, as is concluded from the preceding term. Wherefore I doubt not, but by this word *Evagrius* means the Artificer *Sellarii*, Sedentary Mechanicks, which the Greeks also term *ἰδωγός*, for the same reason, to wit because they do their work sitting. So *Julius Pollux* book 7. chap. 1. and the Author of the *Etymologicum* in the word *βραχὺς*. *Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> *Τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς πρὸς τὰν βραχὺν λέγουσι.* I write, *τὸ αὐτὸ ὡς βραχὺν λέγουσι*, partly that he might confer with him, the word *πρὸς* must be expunged, which crept in here from the foregoing line. *Valef.*

This [*Anatolius*] was afterwards discovered to have sacrificed [to the Gods,] and having on that account been called to Examination, was detected to be a most execrable wretch, a Conjuror, and a person involved in innumerable impicities. But he † corrupted the *Comes* of the East with Money; and wanted but little of gaining his diffinition, together with his Accomplices; (For he had several others of the same Morals with himself, who had been apprehended at the same time that he was;) had not the populace made an Infurrection, and by raising a great disturbance, spoiled that design. Moreover, they exclaimed against the Patriarch himself, and said that he \* was a party in that Consult. Also, some turbulent and destructive Demon had perwaded some persons, that he was † present together with *Anatolius* at his [detectable] sacrifices. For this reason *Gregorius* was reduced to the imminentest of danger, most violent incursions being made against him by the populace. And this suspicion was raised to such an height, that the Emperour as the *Tiberius* himself became desirous of knowing thing in the truth from *Anatolius*'s own mouth. He gives order therefore, that *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should forthwith be conveyed to the Imperial City. Which when *Anatolius* understood, he ran to an Image of the *Theotocos* hung up by a rope in the Prison, and having folded his hands behind his back, shewed himself in the posture of an humble Suppliant and Petitioner. But she, abominating [the man,] and reproving [the Wretch] as impious and

hateful to God,<sup>a</sup> turned [her face] quite backward; an horrid sight, and worthy to be forever remembered: which thing having been seen, without both by all the Prisoners, and also by those who were entrusted with the custody of *Anatolius* and his Accomplices; was declared to all persons. Moreover, he was seen by some of the Faithful, inciting them against that Pest *Anatolius*, and saying that he had been injurious to her Son. But after he was brought to the Imperial City, and having been \* exposed to the acutest of Tortures, had not any thing in the least to say against the Prelate [*Gregorius*,] he, together with his Associates, became the Occasioner of greater Tumults there, and [was the Author] of a popular Sedition in that City. For, when some of † them had received a sentence of Banishment, but were not to be taken off by a capital punishment; the populace, incensed by a kind of Divine zeal, put all things into a disturbance, by being exasperated, and highly enraged. And having seized the persons that had been condemned to Exile, they put them into a Boat, and burnt them alive; which sentence the People pronounced against them. They likewise exclaimed against the Emperour, and against *Eutychius* their own Patriarch, as being betrayers of the Faith: And they were about to have murdered *Eutychius*, and those persons to whom the Cognizance of this Cause had been committed, going up and down to all places in quest of them; had not providence, the preserver of all things, delivered them out of their hands who sought after them, and by degrees appeased the Rage of so numerous a multitude, in such a manner, that no mischievous Action was committed by their hands. Further, *Anatolius* himself in the first place was cast to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, and his Body having been torn by them, was afterwards fixt to a Cross. But neither in this manner found he an end of his punishment in this life. For the Wolves having drag'd his impure Body down from the Cross, (a thing never before seen,) divided it for a prey amongst themselves. There was also a certain person amongst us, who (before these things happened,) affirmed, that he saw in his sleep, in what manner the Sentence against *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should be \* pronounced by the People. And an Illustrious \* Curator of the Imperial Houses, who was a vigorous defender of *Anatolius*, affirmed that he saw the *Theotocos*, who said, how long would he defend *Anatolius*, who had cast such great contumelies, both on her self, and on her Son. And in this manner were these affairs concluded.

must be written, *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς εὐσεβείας, turned [her face] quite backward.* And so *Nicephorus* read, who has exprest this place of *Evagrius* thus, *ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς παύσεως ἀντιπροσώπου, turned her self quite away from him.* Whence it appears, that *Nicephorus* put a Comma before the word *τῆς αὐτῆς*, after the term *ἀντιπροσώπου*: which punctuation I do rather approve of. *Valef.* In *Rebert Stephens*'s Edition, this passage is worded and pointed thus; *ἡ δὲ, μοναχὴ θεοῦ ἡ τὴν ἐκείνου ἡ δεικνύσαντα τέλειον, ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς παύσεως.* But she, said a dominating this impious person and perfectly reproving [the Wretch] hateful to God, turned backward.

\* Or, Subjected. † *Vis. Anatolius* received a sentence of Banishment, but were not to be taken off by a capital punishment; the populace, incensed by a kind of Divine zeal, put all things into a disturbance, by being exasperated, and highly enraged. And having seized the persons that had been condemned to Exile, they put them into a Boat, and burnt them alive; which sentence the People pronounced against them. They likewise exclaimed against the Emperour, and against *Eutychius* their own Patriarch, as being betrayers of the Faith: And they were about to have murdered *Eutychius*, and those persons to whom the Cognizance of this Cause had been committed, going up and down to all places in quest of them; had not providence, the preserver of all things, delivered them out of their hands who sought after them, and by degrees appeased the Rage of so numerous a multitude, in such a manner, that no mischievous Action was committed by their hands. Further, *Anatolius* himself in the first place was cast to the wild Beasts in the Amphitheatre, and his Body having been torn by them, was afterwards fixt to a Cross. But neither in this manner found he an end of his punishment in this life. For the Wolves having drag'd his impure Body down from the Cross, (a thing never before seen,) divided it for a prey amongst themselves. There was also a certain person amongst us, who (before these things happened,) affirmed, that he saw in his sleep, in what manner the Sentence against *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should be \* pronounced by the People. And an Illustrious \* Curator of the Imperial Houses, who was a vigorous defender of *Anatolius*, affirmed that he saw the *Theotocos*, who said, how long would he defend *Anatolius*, who had cast such great contumelies, both on her self, and on her Son. And in this manner were these affairs concluded.

For the Houses of the Emperours, as well those in the Imperial City, as them in the Suburbs, had their Curators, who look'd after their Revenue. And this dignity was not the meanest, for the persons who bore it had the Titles of Most Glorious and Most Magnificent, as I have remarked before at the third chapter of this book. They seem also to have had a Jurisdiction, as *Agathius* shews in his Fifth Book, speaking concerning one *Anatolius* an Ex-consul; *ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχῆς παραδίδωκε, &c.* A person that had been borne away with the Dignity of the Consuls, and besides had obtained an Office, [which was,] to take care of and to look after the Houses and posses-

† Or, thought off.

\* Or, Was a party of that design. † *Εὐχρίτης* *ὁ ἐπίσκοπος*. *Gregorius* was reduced to the imminentest of danger, most violent incursions being made against him by the populace. And this suspicion was raised to such an height, that the Emperour as the *Tiberius* himself became desirous of knowing thing in the truth from *Anatolius*'s own mouth. He gives order therefore, that *Anatolius* and his Accomplices should forthwith be conveyed to the Imperial City. Which when *Anatolius* understood, he ran to an Image of the *Theotocos* hung up by a rope in the Prison, and having folded his hands behind his back, shewed himself in the posture of an humble Suppliant and Petitioner. But she, abominating [the man,] and reproving [the Wretch] as impious and

\* Given out, or, executed. † *Τὸν βασιλέα* *ἐκείνου* *αὐτοῦ*; that is, Curator of the Imperial Houses.

For the Houses of the Emperours, as well those in the Imperial City, as them in the Suburbs, had their Curators, who look'd after their Revenue. And this dignity was not the meanest, for the persons who bore it had the Titles of Most Glorious and Most Magnificent, as I have remarked before at the third chapter of this book. They seem also to have had a Jurisdiction, as *Agathius* shews in his Fifth Book, speaking concerning one *Anatolius* an Ex-consul; *ἀρχὴν τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρχῆς παραδίδωκε, &c.* A person that had been borne away with the Dignity of the Consuls, and besides had obtained an Office, [which was,] to take care of and to look after the Houses and posses-



Inlands, Cities, and Countreys, which in proceſs of time had been deſerted; and land that before had been wholly untill'd, was by them rendred fertile; and out of them were raiſed numerous Armies, which with great Courage and Valour waged wars againſt other [barbarous] Nations: [in ſine,] every family was fill'd with thoſe that might perform Servile Offices, in regard Slaves could be procur'd at a moſt cheap rate.

## CHAP. XX.

*How Mauricius vanquished Tamchofroes  
and Adaarmanes Generals of the Persians.*

Moreover, He engaged with the Eminentest of the Persian Commanders, to wit, *Tamchoufres* and *Adnammes*, who had made an irruption [into the *Roman Pale*] with a Considerable Army. In what manner, when, and where this Action was performed, let others relate; or perhaps we will give a Narrative thereof in another work: for our present Subject promises an account of far different affairs. Never-

thelefs, \**Tamchofrees* fell in that Engagement, not by the Valour of the *Roman Army*, but by the piety only of their Commander in chief [*Mauricius*], and by his Faith in God. \*Moreover *Aadamantes* flies with all imaginable haſt, having been ſeverely wounded in that Fight, and loſt many of his own Forces: and that, notwithstanding *Alamundarus*, who Commanded the † *Saracens*, had aſted perfidiously, and reſuſed to paſs the River *Euphrates*, and to give aſſiſtance to *Mauricius* againſt thoſe *Saracens* who were in the

\* Or, *tu*, they be taken, if at any time they be \* stoppt,  
*elosed*, or they prevent the Enemy in their Retreats.  
 \* *Theodorichus*, Notwithstanding also, \* *Theodorichus*, who was  
 Commander of the *Sythyian* Nations, stood not  
 made mention of this Forces about him.  
 Command-  
 of *Theodorichus*, in his *third book*, chap. 17. He was by Nation a  
 Goth, as may be concluded from his name. *Valef*.

## CHAP. XXI.

† Or, *Concerning those Signs which † presignified*  
*Mauricius's being made Emperour.*

Further, here hapned Signs also shewn from Heaven, which foretold, that *Mauricius* should be Emperour. For, as he offered incense late at night, within the Sanctuary of the Sacred Houſe of the holy and moſt undefiled Virgin and *Theotocos Mary*, (which by the *Antiochians* is termed *Eſſian's Church*,) the Veil about the Sacred Table ſeemed to be all on fire; in ſo much that *Mauricius* was ſtruck with Terror and Amazement, and very much dreaded that fight. *Gre-*

gorius Patriarch of that City, **ricius**, told him, that that \* from God; and portended the greatest and most eximious events to him. Christ our God appeared likewise to him <sup>a</sup> in <sup>a certain</sup> Divine in-  
sist.

<sup>a</sup> That is when *Manricius* was in the East. So *Nicephorus* expounds this place of *Evagrius*, in the ninth chapter of his 18th book. A little after, from the same *Nicephorus*, and from the Tellerian MS. I have inserted it, *ὅτι τὸ ἐκείνους ἐξέβη, and petitioned him in relation to a revenge*; whereas before it was one word, thus, *ἐξέβησαν, &c. Vale!*

of himself? Moreover, his Parents related to me several other memorable passages, and such as are worthy to be recorded, when I my self made enquiry of them concerning these matters. For his Father affirmed to me, that in his sleep he saw a vast Vine, which sprang out of his Bed at the very time of \* his <sup>\* Mauri-</sup> conception, and that a great many and those the <sup>cini's</sup> fairest sort of Grapes appeared hanging on it. And his Mother declared, that <sup>It is</sup> at the very <sup>birth</sup> b of the <sup>of a</sup> strange and unusual sweet smell. Also, that the <sup>of a</sup> time of her delivery, the Earth sent forth a <sup>of a</sup> termed <sup>of a</sup> *The Empusa* had often carried away the Infant, as if he would have devoured it: with Sir <sup>of a</sup> but was unable to do it any mischief. <sup>of a</sup> *Symeon*, <sup>of a</sup> *Henry Sa-* likewise who kept his Station upon a Pillar near <sup>of a</sup> *Antioch*, a man of extraordinary prudence in the <sup>of a</sup> management of affairs, and one adorned with <sup>of a</sup> all the Divine Virtues, spoke and performed many things, which declared that *Mauricius* should be <sup>of a</sup> Emperor. Concerning which person we shall speak more opportunely in the following book of our History.

red, that at the very time of her delivery, &c. And so the reading is in Nicephorus. In the Tellerian Manuscript I found it written, *αὐτὴν τὴν ἰστορίαν*, at her very delivery. Vale.

c See, if you please, what I have remarked concerning *The Empusa*, at the eighth book of *Sozomen's History*, chap. 6. *Nicephorus*, who deservedly derides such Old-wiver-fables as these, affirms (chap. 9. book 18.) that in his age this [She-devil] was called *Gilo*. Those termed *Sergie* by the *Romans*, were like to those *Empusæ*; concerning these *Sergie* see *Festus*. The old *Glosses*, *Sergie*, *νεκρῶν γινώσκουσιν*, *Leffringus*, a *Witch*. Concerning this *Gilo* or *Gello*, which heretofore was believed to snatch away Children, *Leo Allarius* has remarked much, in his *Letter to Paulus Zorobias*. Val.

## CHAP. XXII.

*Concerning the Proclaiming of Mauricius and Augusta.*

Further, *Mauricius* is promoted to the Empire, at such time as *Tiberius* was drawing his last breath, and had delivered to him his Daughter *Augusta*, and the Empire instead of a portion, \* He survived his being made Emperour but a very short time; but left an immortal Memory for the good Actions he performed. Nor, are they easily to be confined within the bounds of a Narrative. Moreover, *Tiberius* left an incomparable Inheritance to the Republick, to wit, his Proclaiming of *Mauricius* Emperour. To whom he distributed his Names also: for he styled *Mauricius*, *Tiberius*; and to *Augusta* [he gave the name of] *Constantina*. What was performed by them, the following book, divine strength affording me its assistance, shall set forth.

## CHAPTER XXIII.

† *A Computation of the Times from Justinus Junior, to Mauricius.*

Moreover, that the Times may be \* distinguished with all imaginable accuracy, you are to know, that *Justinian* reigned <sup>a</sup> by himself twelve years ten months and a half; <sup>b</sup> with *Tiberius* [his Colleague,] three years and eleven months. All which time put together, [make up] sixteen years nine months and an half. *Tiberius* reigned alone four years. So that, from *Romulus* until the proclaiming of *Mavricius Tiberius* Emperor, there are concluded to be....., as both the former, and present [description of] the years hath manifested.

[illegible]

the reign of Augustus, was made *Cæsar* by *Julianus*, in the eighth Indiction, on the seventeenth day of the month September;<sup>21</sup> 'tis recorded in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. But he began his Empire in the twelfth Indiction, on the fifth day of the month *October*. Hence there are four years and twenty eight days of *Tiberius's Cæsaræan power*. But, if we had rather follow *Theophilistus*, who writes, that *Tiberius* was made *Cæsar* by *Julianus* on the seventh day of *December*, on the sixth *Fera*; there will be three years and almost ten months, which is, from the year of Christ 574, to the year 581. Further, 'tis to be observed, that *Tiberius Constantinus*, after the death of *Julianus Junior*, reckoned the years of his own Empire from the beginning of his *Cæsaræan power*, as we are informed by the Subscription of the same *Tiberius's* *Synagmatica*, concerning the Confirmation of the Emperor *Julianus Constantinus*, which runs thus, *Datus aeto Idus augusti, Sex Idus, et die tertia Idus Augusti*. *Datus* is the third day of the Ides of August, at Constantinople, on the eighth year of the Emperor our Lord *Tiberius Constantinus* Augustus, and as the third year after his own *Consulate*, and on the fifth year of the most noble *Flavius Tiberius Mauricius* the most happy *Cæsar*. Vale.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*Concerning the Series of History, which is preserved till our Times.*

\* Or, *Prepared.* BY God's assistance, the History of the Church is \* handed down to us, digested into one body, by [the industry of the best] Writers. Till the times of *Constantine*, by *Eusebius Pamphilus*. From *Constantine's* Reign, to [the Empire of] *Theodosius Junior*, by *Theodoret*, *Soz-*

men, and Socrates: and [Lastly,] \* by those Collections, we have made in this our Sacred Work. The Ancient History, as well Sacred as Profane, is extant, continued in a Series by the Industrious. For *Moses*, who was the first that began to write an History, (as 'tis most evidently demonstrated by those who have made Collections in reference to these matters;) compiled a true and most exact account of affairs from the beginning of the world, according to the information he had from God himself, with whom he conversed in the Mount *Sinai*. Others who followed him, preparing a way for our Religion, have in the Sacred Volumes set forth what happened in succeeding Ages. Moreover, *Josephus* wrote a large History, which is every way useful and profitable. Whatever occurrences, whether fabulous or real, have happened amongst the *Greeks* and ancient *Barbarians* whilst the *Greeks* enjoyed Liberty, and the

was a different person from *Nicostratus* the Sophist, 'who flourish'd in the Empire of Marcus, as *Suidas* affirms, and also *Georgius Syncellus* in his *Chronicon*. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> ἀπὸ μωθίων ἀγέτωσιν. In my Annotations on the Excerpta Legationum out of Dexippus I have long since remarked, that at this place the reading must be, ἀπὸ σκυθίων, from the Scythick Wars. For Dexippus wrote the σκυθία, that is the Wars which the Romans waged against the Scythians, as Ptoleus attests in his Bibliotheca. Valse-

\* *Arrianus* wrote the *Parthica* and *Alonica*, in which books he related the Actions performed by the Romans against the *Parthians* and *Alans*. *Evagrius* therefore means these books here. *Valef.*



things concerning the same times. The History of the following Times is given us by *Zosimus*, until the Emperours *Honorius* and *Arcadius*. After which Emperours, Affairs have been Recorded by *Priscus Rhetor*, and others. All these Transactions are excellently well reduced into an Epitome by *Eustatbius Epiphaniensis*, in two Volumes; the first whereof [comprizes matters transacted] until the taking of *Troy*, and the second, unto the twelfth year of *Anastasi*'s Empire. From whence, until the times of *Justinian*, *Procopius* the Rhetorician hath Recorded affairs. The History of those Times next immediately following, until the flight of *Chosroes Junior* to the Romans, and his

This is the *Eustatbius Syrus* whose Testimony our *Evagrius* has made frequent use of, in the foregoing books.

Concerning this Author *Suidas* writes thus: *Εὐσταθίου τῷ Σὺν δὲ τῷ Εὐαγρίῳ ἀναγινώσκοντες τὰς ἐκείνου ἐκ τῶν Εὐσταθίου ἐπιφανίου [wrote] a Chronological Compendium of affairs from *Alexis* till the Emperour *Anastasi* in Times. At my peril write, ἐκ τῶν Εὐαγρίου, in two Volumes, or Times. I have *Evagrius*'s authority here, for this Emendation. Valef.*

Restoration to his own Kingdom by *Mauricius*, (who made not any the least delay at that affair, but gave [the Fugitive] a Royal Reception, and with the Expence of a vast sum of money, and accompanied with great forces, conveyed him back into his own Kingdom, \* with all possible expedition;) hath been written in a continued Series by *Agathias* the Rhetorician, and *Johannes* my Fellow-Citizen and Kinman; although as yet thy have not made their Histories publick. Concerning which affairs, we our selves also, the Divine † Clemency giving us permission, will in the Sequel † Or, Be- give such a Narrative as is accom- modate and agreeable.

\* This *Johannes* was an *Epiphaniensis*. For, whereas *Evagrius* calls him his own Fellow-Citizen, he must needs have been an *Epiphaniensis*, in regard *Epiphania* a City of *Syria*, was *Evagrius*'s native place. Wherefore *Vossius* is mistaken in his book *de Hist. Grecis*, who thought that this *Johannes* was by birth an *Antiochian*. Valef.

The End of the Fifth Book of *Evagrius*'s Ecclesiastical History.

THE

# THE SIXTH BOOK OF THE Ecclesiastical History

OF

EVAGRIUS SCHOLASTICUS EPIPHANIENSIS,

And [one] of the EX-PRÆFACTS.

## CHAP. I.

Concerning the Marriage of Mauricius and Augusta.

**M**AURICIUS, After he had obtained the Empire, in the first place made provision for his Marriage. And, agreeable to the solemn usage of Emperors, he takes to Wife *Augusta*, who was also called *Constantina*. The pomp of those Nuptials was most magnificently performed, and Banquets and \* Jolity [celebrated and observed] in every place of the City. At this Wedding were present *Piety* and *Imperial Dignity*, which [two] guarded [*Mauricius* and *Constantina*] in the gracefullest manner imaginable, and presented them with the richest Gifts. For, the † First [produced the Father and the Mother [of *Mauricius*,] (a thing never known to have hapned to any Emperor before,) who consecrated the Wedding with their Comely Gray-hairs and Venerable Wrinkles; his Brethren also, eminent for their Shape, Stature, and Comeliness, who adorned the Nuptial Pomp. The \* Second [presented] a Robe interwoven with Gold, adorned with Purple and Indian Stones; Crowns also of the highest value, enrich'd with much Gold and the various brightneses of Gems; all those personages likewise, which bore Offices in the Imperial Palace, and were enrolled in the *Militia*; who carried Nuptial Tapers in their Hands, were most magnificently clad, to the end they might be known, and with Songs celebrated that Nuptial Solemnity. In so much that, never was there

amongst men any thing more Splendid, or \* Richer than that || Show. *Demophilus*, \* More writing concerning *Rome*, does indeed relate, that *Plutarchus Chæronensis* uttered a † wise saying, viz. that for the sake of that one only † City, *Virtue* and *Fortune* had † Remo. entered into a mutual League. But I may say, † Concerning this *Demophilus*, that *Piety* and *Felicity* in such a like manner had come together in one *Mauricius*; for *Piety* had vanquished *Felicity*, and would write in in no wife permit her to make an escape. *his Lexicon* After this, *Mauricius* made it his Business to invest and adorn, not his Body only, but his mind also, with the Imperial Purple and Crown. For, of all the Emperors that were his Predecessors, he alone Reigned over himself. And being in reality made an Emperor, he expelled out of his own mind that † Democratical dominion of the Passions. And † Popular, having Conliterated an \* Aristocracy within his own Mind, he shewed himself a living Image of *Virtue*, instructing his Subjects to an imitation of himself. All this is not spoken by me out of flattery. For, why should I utter these words with such a design, since † he is wholly ignorant of what I write? But, that what I have said is really so, will be made evident, both by those Gifts conferred on him by God, and also from the successful Accidents which have hapned at several times; all

(or, *Demophilus*,) here mentioned was a Native of *Bithynia*, who wrote several useful stories and passages out of the books of the Ancients, as *Julian* informs us in his *Misopog*. *Demophilus* the Bithynian, of which he made a Collection out of various Authors, and composed Relations that were pleasing both to the Younger and the Elder Student. I am far *Julian* at that place produces a certain passage, which that *Demophilus* had collected out of *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, in like manner as our *Evagrius* does here. *Valer*. \* *Demophilus* uttered a plain saying. I had rather read, *more wisely*, altered a wife saying; as *Christophorus* seems to have read: Further, the place of *Plutarch*, which *Evagrius* means here, is extant in his book de *Fortunâ Romanorum*, not far from the beginning: *Valer*.

Which

\* Or, *Con-* which must \* without controversy be by us as-  
cribed to God.

## CHAP. II.

*Concerning Alamundarus the Saracen, and his Son Naamanes.*

BESIDES all his other [Virtues,] this was the chiefest of his Care, that the blood of none of those who had been guilty of High-Treason, should in any wise be shed. Therefore, he did not put to death even *Alamundarus*, Chief of the *Saraceni*, who had betrayed both the Republick and *Mauricius* himself, as I have \* already related: but only punished him with *Deportation* to an Island, together with his Wife and some of his Children, [ordering him] to dwell in *Sicily*. But *Naamanes* Son to this Man, (who had involved the State in innumerable mischiefs, and by the assistance of those *Barbarians* he had about him, had ruined and enslaved both the *Phoenice's*, and the *Palestine's*, at such time as [his Father] *Alamundarus* was seized;) although all [the Judges] were of opinion that he deserved a capital punishment, was only detained by him under a \* Custody at large; and he insisted no further punishment on him. He used the same [Clemency] towards innumerable other persons, as shall be particularly related in due place.

\* Or, *A*  
see *Custody*  
at.

## CHAP. III.

*Concerning Johannes and Philippicus Masters of the Milice, and the Actions done by them.*

FURTHER, *Mauricius* in the first place sent *Johannes*, (a Native of *Thracia*,) Commander of the Eastern Milice. Who having been worsted in some Engagements, and got the better in others, did nothing worthy of a Narrative. After him, [he sent] *Philippicus*, who was related to him; for he had married one of *Mauricius's* two Sisters. He entered the Enemies Country, ruined all things he met with, and possessed himself of a vast quantity of Plunder. He likewise slew many [Inhabitants] of the City *Nisibis*, who were of Noble Birth and well defended, and of other Cities also which stood beyond the River *Tigris*. Moreover, he engaged with the *Persians*: whereupon a great Fight hapned, in which fell several *Persians* of the greatest Note, and he took many \* Prisoners; he likewise sent away a † Body of *Persians* unhurt, who had fled to a certain \* Eminence conveniently enough situated, when † was in his power to have taken them; after they had made him a promise, to persuade their own King, forthwith to dispatch away [an Embassy] to treat about a Peace. He also behaved himself very well in relation to several other matters, during his command of the *Roman* Forces; for he freed the Army from all things that were superfluous, and which opened a way to Luxury; and the Soldiers were by him reduced to Modesty, tractableness, and obedience. But these matters must be left to those who have written, or do now write, according as they may either receive information from Report, or are lead by opinion: whose Relation, in regard it either sum-

\* Or,  
*Allee*.  
† Or,  
*Troop*.  
\* Or, *lib*.

bles and is lamed by ignorance, or is softened by Affection and Partiality, or [Lastly] is blinded by \* Hatred, does [usually] wander from the Truth.

\* Or, *Ac*  
*tripally*.

## CHAP. IV.

*Concerning Priscus's Mastership of the Milice, and what he suffered from the Army who raised a Mutiny against him.*

AFTER this *Philippicus*, *Priscus*, is preferred to the Mastership of the Milice; a Person to whom access was not easily obtained, and one who came not abroad but upon affairs † of consequence. For, it was his Sentiment, that he could transact every thing better and with more ease, if for the most part he continued retired: as if the Soldiery, induced by fear this way rather, would yield a more ready obedience to his Commands. At the time therefore of his first arrival in the *Roman* Camp, his looks were supercilious and haughty, and his garb too gorgeous; when he \* published some [Edicts] also, concerning the Soldiers \* perseverance in undergoing hardships in the Wars, in reference to their being completely Armed, and in relation to the *Ammon* which they were to receive out of the publick Treasury. They having had some intimation of these matters beforehand, at that time broke forth into an open rage; and by a joyned consent made an Attack upon that place where *Priscus's* Tent was pitched, and in a barbarous manner made plunder of his magnificent Furniture, and of his richest and most valuable Treasure. Moreover, they mist but little of killing him; had he not mounted one of his \* *Lead-Horses*,<sup>b</sup> To which City the Soldiers sent a Detachment of their own Body, and laid Siege to it, demanding *Priscus* to be Surrendered up to them.

\* *Περὶ τῶν νόμων*. These words are to be understood concerning the Edicts published by *Priscus*. For the word *πρόστασις* denotes that; which term has that import and signification I have mentioned. *Theopylactus* confirms our Exposition, book 3. chap. 1. whom by all means consult. Valf.

\* Or, *Patient Sufferance*.

† *ἵππων*. *ἵππων*, an Horse belonging to the Carriages. *Christophorus* translates it, *Vehicularum*, a Chariot-horse. These Horses the Latines termed *Peredoi*, because they conveyed the *Redes*, as *Estius* tells us. *Evagrius* uses this word again, at the fifteenth chapter of this book. Where see what I have observed at note (a.) Valf.

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## CHAP. V.

*Concerning Germanus's being forced against his will to undertake the Imperial dignity.*

BUT when the Inhabitants of *Edeffa* refused to do that; they left *Priscus* there, and by force lay hands upon *Germanus* Commander of the *Militia* \* in *Phoenice Libanensis*, whom they create their Leader, and \* as much as they were able to do it, their Emperor. *Nicephorus* (chap. 11. book 18.) the reading is, *ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς πόλεως*. This signifies with a mistake on the other hand. For, it must be written, *ἡ πόλις ἀρχαία*. For, there were two *Phoenices* that were Provinces, the one termed *Libanensis*, the other *Maritima*. Valf.

\* *ἡ πόλις ἀρχαία*. I doubt not but it should be written, *ἡ πόλις ἀρχαία*. that is, *quantum in ipso erat*, as much as they were able to do it. *Nicephorus* confirms our Emendation, who instead of the forecited words of *Evagrius*, hath substituted these; *ἡ πόλις ἀρχαία*, as much as in them lay. In the *Tiberian* MS. I found it plainly written, *ἡ πόλις ἀρχαία*, &c. Valf.

But,

emperor to make an enquiry into that disturbance. This *Johannes* was a person unfit to manage the most trivial affairs, much less [to compose] a matter of such consequence. Having therefore filled the City with Tumults and Disturbances and by a publication of his Edicts declared, that any one that would, might accuse the Patriarch: He receives

a Libel against him, presented by a certain person who was *President of a money-table*; where-  
in 'twas set forth, that *Gregorius* had had to do with his own Sister, who was given in marriage to another man. He receives likewise [Accusations] from other men of the same

<sup>b</sup> *Περί τῆς εὐσεβείας πόλεως.* Mosheim renders it, the abundance and plenty of the *Annona*. *Langus* and *Christophorus* translate it, the peace and felicity. The word *εὐσεβείας* signifies both, as *Suidas* attests. *Valf.*

kidney, which related to the peace and repose of the City [Antioch,] as if that had been frequently disturbed by *Gregorius*. As to [the Crime he stood charged with for disturbing]

the Repose of the City, *Gregorius*'s answer was, that his defence was ready. But, in relation to other matters objected against him, he appealed to the Emperor and a Synod. Having me-  
therefore his Aflessor, Councillour and Companion, he went to the Imperial [City, *Constantinople*,] in order to the making his de-  
votion in Crise against these [Accusations,] And, the Patriarchs in all places, partly in person and partly by their Legates, having been present at the Examination hercof, as likewise the Sacred  
[the] *litanies*; when the matter had been thorowly sifted; at length, after many \* *Adi-*  
\* *Or, Con-* ons, *Gregorius* carried the Cause: in  
so much that, his Accuser was scour-  
ged with *Nerves*, lead about the City, and pun-  
ished with Exile. From thence therefore *Gre-*  
*gorius* returns to his own See, at such time as the  
*Roman Army* in the East was in a Motiny; *Phi-*  
*lippicus* then making his Residence about the  
Cities *Beræa* and *Chalcis*.

place of *Evagrius* informs us. For *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, when he went to the Imperial City, to make his defence concerning his Accusation of Incest before a Synod of Bishops and before the Senators, carried *Evagrius* Scholasticus along with him, who might be his Councillour and Aflessor, and might give him advice where there was need. For that is the import of the word *μαγιστρός* at this place. Further, in this Relation of *Evagrius*'s, many things are observable. First, his saying that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*, when accused of Incest by a Laick before a Secular Judge, appealed to the Emperor and a Synod. (Concerning an appeal to the Emperor, the Letter of the Roman Council to *Gratianus Augustus* is to be consulted, which was first published by *Jacobus Symonides*.) Secondly, it is to be observed that *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius*'s Cause was tried before the Patriarchs and Metropolitans, and before the Senators. So in the *Chalcedon Synod*, after the Bishops and Secular Judges were met together, the Cause of *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Alexandria* was discussed and determined. In which Synod the most glorious Judges and Senators are always named before the Bishops who were present at that Synod: in like manner as in this place of *Evagrius*, the Senators are named before the Metropolitans; but they are mentioned after the Patriarchs. *Valf.*

## CHAP. VIII.

That Antioch suffered again by Earth-quakes.

\* *Gregorius*.  
F<sup>or</sup> our months after \* his return, \* on the Six hundred thirty seventh year of *Antioch*'s being styled a Free City, Sixty one years after *Christ* 399. the former Earthquake, on the last day of the month *Hyperboreatus*, whereon I had married a young Virgin, and the whole City kept Holiday, and celebrated a publick Festivity, both as to Pomp, and also round my Marriage-Bed; the Nativity of *Christ* eight and forty years, as I have observed above. Now, that which *Evagrius* adds, (viz. that this Earthquake hap-  
pened at *Antioch* Sixty one years after the former Earthquake which had afflicted *Antioch*.) agrees exactly with our account. For, the former Earthquake, in *Justinus*'s Reign, had hapned on the year of *Christ* 328. as I have remarked at the Fourth Book of *Evagrius*, Chap. 6. note (b) Further, from hence may be gathered the year of

the *Constantinopolitan Synod*, which was convened in the Cause of *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*. This Synod *Baronius* places on the year of *Christ* 387. But, from *Evagrius*'s authority, I doubt not of its having been assembled two years after. For, whereas this Synod was celebrated four months after that Earthquake whereby *Antioch* was shaken, and whereas the Earthquake hapned on the Six hundred thirty seventh year of the *Antiochians*, as *Evagrius* attests; what I have affirmed is necessarily made out, viz. that the *Constantinopolitan Synod* was convened on the year of *Christ* 389. *Valf.*

† about the third hour of the night, hapned an † \* *Aug.*  
Earthquake accompanied with a dreadful noise, *τεταραχῆς*, which shook the whole City: it overturned *δοκίμια*, very many Edifices, \* and tore up their very foundations. In so much that all [the Build-  
ings which stood] about the most holy Church founda-  
tions were totally ruined, only the *Hemisphære* there-  
of was preserved, which *Ephraem* had built of Timber fell'd in the *Daphnesian Grove*, when it had suffered by an Earthquake in *Justinus*'s Empire. In the Earthquakes which hapned afterwards, the same *Hemisphære* had been so bowed towards the Northern-side, that it \* *Apoc.*  
had Timber-Props wherewith 'twas supported. *ἐν τῇ βα-*  
Which Props having been thrown down by the *λεῖν*, I  
violent concussion of the Earth, the *Hemi-* think it  
*sphære* returned to the other side, and being must be  
directed by a certain rule as 'twere, was re-  
stored to its proper place. Moreover, there *λαβὼν*, was re-  
fell many Buildings of that [Region] termed *received*,  
the *Ostracine*, the *Paphlagonian* also, of which we *our*, had.  
have made mention † before, and all † *Our* *men-*  
those places called the \* *Brylia*, the *Book 1.* on is con-  
Edifices likewise about the most v- *Chap. 18.* firmed by the  
nérable Church of the *Theotocos*, only its middle *Thell-*  
*Porticus* was miraculously preserved. Further, *rian Me-*  
all the \* Towers in the *Campus* were ruined, but *nscript*,  
the rest of the Building continued entire, ex-  
cepting only the Battlements of the Walls. For *Nicephorus*, who  
some Stones of those Battlements were \* *Or,* *hath*  
\* driven backward, but they fell not. *Turned to of Ev-*  
Several other Churches suffered like- *the contra-*  
wise, as did also the one of the pub- *gruities*  
lick Baths, to wit, \* one of them which was divi- *side.* *διὰ τὴν*  
ded according to the Several seasons of the year. *νημερίαν* *ἐν τῷ*  
*Ev-*  
*Langus* renders it, *saque de causa, signa qua id sustinebant, habuimus*, and on that account is had Props which bore it up. The Greeks call these Props *ἀντισταῖς*, in one word, as *Eusebius* attests. Which term I lately found *Philo Mechanicus* to have made use of, when I translated his books of *Machinis into Latine*. In French we call them, *Devils*. In *Latine* they are termed *Fulcrata*, Props, or Shoars. Which term *Fulcrata* is made use of by *Livy*, in his description of the Siege of *Ambracia*. *Valf.*

\* *Τὰ καλὸν ἀνα βεῖα.* In the *Tellurian Manuscript*, and in *Nicephorus*, 'tis *Γενεῖα*, *Brylia*, which I rather approve of. Certain pleasant and flourishing places seem to have been so termed, viz. *Γενεῖα*, which signifies, *florere*, to flourish; as *Suidas* attests, and the Author of the *Etymologicon* in the word *Γενεῖα*. *Valf.*

\* *Οἱ πύργοι τῆς πόλεως.* The Translators, *Langus*, *Mosheim*, and *Christophorus*, understood not this place, as 'tis apparent from their Versions. For they have rendered it thus: *Omnes quoque turres in plano constitutæ, disjectæ sunt*; Also all the Towers, placed in the Plain, were thrown down. I think *malui* to be the *Campus*, which was without the Gates of the City *Antioch*, wherein the Soldiers were wont to be exercised. *Athanasius* makes mention of this place, in a Supplicatory address, which the *Arians* had presented against him to the Emperor *Julian* then residing at *Antioch*: *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀντιόχειας τῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀντιόχειας τῇ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀντιόχειας*, that is, the first Congress they had with the Emperor [was] in the Gate *Romanensis*, when the Emperor went forth into the *Campus*. *Valf.* See *Athanasius* Works, Tom. 21 pag. 27. Edit. Paris. 1627.

\* *Εὐαγγέλιον τῶν ἀποστόλων* *ἀντισταῖς* *ἀντισταῖς*. *Nicephorus* adds some few words here, in this manner: *ἀντισταῖς τῶν οὐρανίων ἀντισταῖς*; *Βο* The whole place is thus rendered by *Langus*: *Et utrumque publicum Lavacrum, ex pulcherrimo statu ad eam que ex diametro est deformitatem, collatum*; And each publick Bath, faine from a most beautiful condition to that deformity which is Diametrically opposite. Which rendition is by no means to be born with. Nor is *Mosheim*'s translation much better, who renders it thus: *Et ex publicis Balneis alterum ipsæ*

issem boris dirutum est, And the one of the publick Baths is ruined in the very same hours. Christopherson has expounded this place thus: *Et unumque publicum Balneum, quod duobus distinctis temporibus interire, eadem oppressit Calamitas; And the same Calamity ruined each of the publick Baths, which served for two distinct times.* But my Sentiment is, that the meaning of these words is this. There were at Antioch two publick Baths, divided according to the Seasons of the year. The one a Summer Bath, the other a Winter-one. Of these Baths, says Evagrius, the one was ruined by that Earthquake.

To supply the want of the Greek text.

An innumerable company of People perished also in this Earthquake; and, as some have made a Conjecture from the publick *Amoma*, this Calamity destroyed about Sixty thousand persons. But, the Bishop was beyond all expectation preserved, although the House wherein he sat fell, and no Person escaped, save only those who stood about him. Which Persons, when another shaking of the Earth had rent that place, \* took [up the Bishop] on their shoulders, and let him down by a Rope, and so made their escape from danger. There happened another thing also, which was Salutory to the City, in regard our Compassionate God sharpened his Menaces with Lenity, and chastized the Sin [of the People] with the Rod of commiseration and mercy. For, no part of the City happened to be burnt, notwithstanding there was so vast a quantity of flame every where in the City, [which arose] from the Hearths, from the publick and private Candles, from Kitchens, Furnaces, and Baths, and from innumerable other places. Further, many Persons of great Note and Eminency perished in this Earthquake; amongst which number was *Asterius*. And the Emperor administered comfort to this Calamity of the City, by [a supply of] Money [out of his Exchequer].

But, I am not pleased with this Rendition. For 'tis my Sentiment, that the number of the dead could not be made out that way. Wherefore, I had rather explain this place thus. As at *Rome*, *Constance*, and *Alexandria*, the *Amoma* was distributed to the Citizens, out of the publick stock; so in my opinion, the practice was at Antioch. For Antioch was one of the four greatest Cities of the Roman Empire. From this bread therefore, which they were wont to distribute daily, 'twas easie to collect the number of the dead. Nevertheless, if any one had rather follow Christopherson's Exposition, I shall not much resist him. Especially, in regard there is extant no evidence of any Ancient Writer, concerning the publick *Amoma* of the City Antioch. Valef.

\* *δοξάτω ἀνελκόμενος*. Nicephorus has added some few words here, in this manner, *δοξάτω σὺν τῷ ἐπίσκοπῳ ἀνελκόμενος*, took up [the Bishop] together with his Bed, or, Couch, on their Shoulders. I know not whether he added this by conjecture, or found it so written in his own Copy. Valef.

### CHAP. IX.

That the Barbarians taking Courage from the Defection of the Army from the Emperor, set upon them, and were worsted by Germanus.

But the Army \* persisted in their Defection: in so much that the Barbarians made an irruption into the Roman Territories, being fully periwaded that no Person would hinder them from doing such actions as are usually perpetrated by Barbarians. But, \* *Germanus* marches out against them at the head of the Roman Army, and gave them such a total Rout and overthrow, that not so much as a Messenger was left remaining, to carry the *Persians* news of their Calamitous Defeat.

his usage is, in book 3. chap. 3. Valef.

### CHAP. X.

Concerning the Emperor's Clemency towards the Mutineers.

Moreover, the Emperor rewarded the Army with Money. But, he recalled *Germanus* with some other Persons from thence, and brought them to Tryal. And though all of them were condemned to undergo a capital punishment, yet the Emperor would not permit them to suffer any thing of trouble or inconvenience; yea he bestowed honours and rewards upon them. Whilst these affairs proceeded in this manner, the *Abares* made two Excursions as far as that termed the *Long Wall*, [posselt themselves of] *Singidunum*, *Anchialus*, and all *Abcacia*, and took several other Cities and Castles, and reduced [the Persons they found there] to slavery, destroying all places with Fire and Sword; [no resistance being made against them,] in regard the greatest part of the Roman Army made their residence in the East. The Emperor therefore sends \* *Antheodreas*, a personage of eminentest note amongst the Imperial \* *Satellites*, who might periwade the Army to receive their \* Or, former Leaders, and the rest [of *Guards*, their Commanders.]

third Chapter. He says also, that he was Curator of the House of *Antiochus*. Valef.

### CHAP. XI.

That Gregorius [Bishop] of \* Antioch was \* Or, sent to pacifie the Army. Theophilus

But when the Soldiers would not endure so much as to hear this order, the management of that whole affair is † committed to † Or, *Gregorius*; not only because he was a Person † Or, fit to negotiate matters of the greatest importance, but also in regard the Army gave him a deserved deference, and paid him the highest respect and honour. For some of the Soldiers had had Money bestowed on them by him: and [he had supplied] others of them with Clothes, Provisions, and other Necessaries. \* at such time as, when registred in the Muster-Roll, they had marched thorow his [Grounds] not a little difficult

and obscure. *Musculus* renders it thus: *Quando ad Militiam conscripti ex Catalogo, per ipsum sunt admissi*, when having been enrolled to the Militia by Catalogue, they were admitted by him. *Christopherson*, translates it almost in the same manner; thus: *Alti vestitu, cibo, & aliis rebus adiuti tum cum in album militum adscripti & per eum admissi fuerant*; Others were assisted with Clothes, Provision, and other things, then when they were registred in the Muster-Roll, and had been admitted by him. *Nicephorus* also seems to have followed the same sense, who has expressed this place of *Evagrius* thus: *Ἄλλοι τε δὲ δόσι ἐν γυμνασίου ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἦν, δὲ ἐκείνῳ παρέχοντο*. Which words *Langus* renders thus: *tum autem quicunque delecti habito per sacramentum Militare in Catalogo adscripti erant, per ipsum id consensu fuerant*; then also whomever, when an Election was made, by the Military Oath had been registred in the Muster-Roll, had obtained that by his means. But this rendition does not please me. For the Roman Militia was not at that time so desirable a thing, that there should be need of any persons favour and assistance for this matter to procure any one to be enrolled amongst the number of the Soldiers. Wherefore, I rather think that these words, *ἄντ' ἐγγεγραμμένοι ἐν γυμνασίῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν παλαιῶν*, are to be expounded thus, *Tunc cum Militariis numeris adscripti, per ipsum agros transierant, ac sub hac ut, when registred amongst the Military Companies, they had passed, or marched through his Grounds*. *Evagrius* at this place sets forth the Munificence of *Gregorius* Bishop of Antioch, who had not only given entertainment to the Soldiers passing thorow his grounds, but had also bestowed on them their Clothes, Provisions for eating, and Money: Indeed, *Tufinian* uses the term *παράδοχος* in this sense, in his 1301st

Naval, concerning the passage of Soldiers; *ὅς ποτ' ἔτι ἡμετέροις ἐσέληται* by *ἐν τῇ παλαιᾷ ἀποστολῇ ἀποδείκνυται*, in so much that without making complaint [or, without fault] he nourished those of our Army in their passage in every Province. In the *Tellurian Manuscript* I found this place thus written; *ἐν ταῖς ἀποστολῇς ἐν αὐτῇ πελοπον.* Valef.

Having therefore sent Messengers all about, he calls together those who were accounted the principal Persons of the Army, to a place termed *Litarba*, distant from Theopolis about Three hundred Furlongs. To whom, after he was come amongst them, notwithstanding he lay on his Bed, he spake these words.

*Ἐν Ἀλιδῷ* Coss. 'Tis a Village in the Territory of Chalcis a

City of Syria, whereof the Emperor Julian makes mention in his 27th Epistle. Near this Village were the Winter-Quarters of King Antiochus, the remains whereof were visible in his age, as Julian does there attests, in these words: *μυρεὶ τῶν Ἀλιδῶν ἡδὺν ἐν ᾧ ἡ πόλις καλεῖται*, & *ἐν τῷ δὲ δὲ λειψάνῳ ἔχοντες ἡμετέροις ἀποδείκνυται*. Which place Morinus renders thus; *Ad Litarbos venit, quod oppidum est in Chalcide: Et castris in viam quandam que reliquias adhuc Antiochisum Hibernorum habebat, I came to Litarbi, which is a Town in Chalcis: and by chance I light upon a certain way which as yet had the remains of Antiochian Winter-Quarters.* But I translate it thus; *Litarba adventi, qui vicus est in agro Chalcidico. Et viam oppidi que reliquias habebat Hibernorum Regis Antiochi, I came to Litarbi, which is a Village in the Territory of Chalcis. And I found a way which had the remains of the Winter-Quarters of King Antiochus.* Theophylact mentions the same Village, in his *Chronicon*, pag. 111; where he says, that *Alanudanus* depopulated Syria prima, as far as the Borders of Antioch, and unto *Litarba*, and *Scaphata*. But in my judgment, it must be written thus in Theophylact, *τὸν ἀστυνόμενον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀστυνόμενης, ἀλλοιούμενον, those possessions termed Litarba and Scaphata.* Which emendation is confirmed by his following words. For he adds, *ὅς καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶ τῶν καλῶν*, and he buys the places without Chalcis. Valef.

## CHAP. XII.

### Gregorius's Speech to the Army.

It was indeed of Opinion, (Ye Men truly Romans, as well by Name, as for Your Actions!) that You would have long since come to Me, both to \* Confer with me about the present Juncture, and to take that Advice also, which My Benevolence towards You doth abundantly promise. Which [kindness of mine] has indubitably been confirmed by former Good Officers, at such time as, by sending You supplies of Necessaries, I As-

\* Or, Communicate.

*Τὸν μίτρον ὑμῶν καλῶν.* Chri. Johnson dream'd I know not what here concerning a Naval Fight of the Romans. A Naval Fight had not been begun at that time by the Romans, but they had engaged with the Persians in a Land-Fight. Our Gregorius therefore has made use of a Metaphor at this place; and compares the Roman Camp to a Ship; and the Mutiny they had rais'd, he compares to a Tempest. Valef.

swaged \* Your Naval Tumult, and the Storm which arose from thence. But, in regard That has been neglected till now, (an inducement thereto having peradventure not happened from a love,) both that the Persians, vanquished by Persons without a Leader, might perfectly understand the Valour of Romans; and also, that Your sincere kindness [to-

wards the State,] having been accurately tried by opportunity, and attested by Actions themselves, might every way receive confirmation: (For You have evidently demonstrated, that although You have had Cause of Trouble and Offence against your Leaders given you, yet nothing is more of value to You than the State :) Come on therefore, Let us now consider what is to be done. The Emperor invites you, and has

\* Oblivion. promised an \* Amnesty of all that is past, having received your Benevolence toward the State, and your fortitude in Battle, in \* place of the Boughs and Olive-Branches of Suppliants; and having given you these severest pledges imaginable of his Pardon, in regard he says thus: if God

bath given || Victory to your Benevolence [to- || towards the State,] and (your Offences being preference, dispell'd,) your Courage has shined forth, which the Br- is a most certain argument of Pardon granted; ter.

How shall not I follow the Divine Judgment? The heart of a King is in the Hand of God, and he inclines it which way he pleases. Obey me therefore, ye Romans! with all imaginable speed. And let us \* Or, Be not \* lose the pre- ter.) sent opportunity, nor frustrate it by letting it slip: for it hates to be taken after it has escaped, and, vex'd as 'twere because it is neglected, never suffers it self to be taken twice.

Be ye Heirs of your Ancestors obedience, as you have been Inheritors of their Valour; that you may every way show your selves Romans, and that no infamous brand may be fixt upon your name, or demonstrate you to be a spurious Issue. Your Ancestors, when under the Government of Consuls and Emperours, by Obedience and Valour possess themselves of the whole

World. Manlius Torquatus † Crowned his own † Treason by beheading him; who though he had be- † rous'd; he obeyed himself valiantly, had notwithstanding dis- † tinguish'd the story of Commanders, and the Obedience of the Mi- † litary bank lice, great || things are wont to be performed. But § 3. p. 37. if the one of these two be \* separated from the Edu- † cation other, it Halts, Staggles, and Stumbles; in re- † gard these most excellent pair of Virtues are dis- † joynd. Make no longer delays therefore: but † be persuaded by Me, (the Sacredotal Function † does now mediate between the Emperor and his Obedient Army :) and give a demonstration, that what you do is not || Rebellion, but a just indignation || Or, [entertained] for some short time against those Traitors, your Commanders by whom you had been injured. For if you will not flie [to the Emperor] with all imaginable speed, I indeed shall have \* done what \* Exile is requisite, both in discharge of that Benevolence † ed, or I owe the State, and of my friendship also to those † wards you: but I would have you consider, what the † Exits of Tyrants are. For, in what man- † ner will you terminate the present State of affairs? con- † 'Tis altogether impossible that you should continue † together in a Body. For whence shall the fruits of the Earth be brought unto you, or those con- † veniencies which the Sea affords the \* Continent \* Or, for a supply; unless you wage War with Christians, Land, and on the other hand be involved in Wars brought upon you by them, whereby you will commit and suffer the horridlest Mischiefs, Villainies, and Re- † proaches imaginable? And what will be the end hereof? Being dispers'd into all places, you will spend the residue of your lives. Revenge will forthwith overtake you, and not suffer any Pardon to be granted you in future. Give therefore your right hands, and let us consider what is advantageous, both to Our selves and to the Government; in regard we have the Festival Days of the Salutary Passion, and of the most Holy Resurrection of Christ our God, to give us assistance in that affair.

CHAP. XIII.

That, after Gregorius's Speech, the Soldiers changed their minds, and received their General Philippicus again.

\* Or. Al-  
seculi.

† St. Mat.  
16. 19.

\* These Prayers and Supplications may be referred, either to the reconciliation of the penitents, and to the absolution from that Oath wherein the Soldiers had bound themselves; or else to the solemn Prayers, which Gregorius then celebrated before the Tribunes and Centurions of the Roman Army, to whom also he distributed the sacred Communions, as Evagrius attests. So indeed Nicephorus expounds this place: *Αναγιν, λέγει δε, ελγιστην τω δεινῳ τῷ τῶν δεινῶν αἰτιας μυστηριωδῶς, ὡς ἀποφῶνισαυ, ὡς ἀποφῶνισαυ, ὡς ἀποφῶνισαυ.* He appeared the Deity with Supplications. And having performed the divine Prayers, He implored the immaculate Body *τὴν ἁγίαν.* Valef.

\* H. *αὐτοῦ* *ἡλικῆς.* In the excellent Florentine and Vatican Manuscripts, the word *ἡλικῆς* is added; that is, the Second Feria [or, Monday] of the Great Week, or Passion Week. I found the same E-mendation also written in the margin of The Vatabian Copy. Valef.

\* *Εὐαγγελιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν βασιλέων.* I allent to Chrysophylion and Sir Henry Savil, who have put a point after these words. For in wholly necessary. Moreover, before them, Nicephorus had distinguished this place thus. But the reading in Nicephorus is better, thus, *καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.* or, Constantinople. Valef.

\* Objection.  
† Or. Ex-  
pedition  
with him.

sons who had been vouchsafed Divine Regeneration, to make an Address in their behalf, they fall prostrate before him. And when they had received his right hand, in confirmation of an Amnesty of what was past, they made an Expedition under his Command. In this manner proceeded these affairs,

CHAP. XIV.

Concerning the taking of Martyropolis.

[IN the interim,] one *Sittas* a Decanus in *Martyropolis*, vexed at an injury he had received from one of the Military Commanders there, betrays the City [to the Enemy,] observing the time when the Garrison lodged in that City was marched out of it: and having brought in a *Persian* Cohort, as if it had been a Roman one, he posset himself of that City, which was a place of great consequence to the Romans. He kept most of the younger women within the City; but turned out all other persons, except some few servants. Immediately therefore Philippicus made his march thither, and having invested the City, besieged it, although he had none of those provisions necessary for a Siege. Nevertheless, he made use of what came next to hand in his Attacks, and having wrought some Mines, ruined one of the Towers: but was not able to make himself Master of the City, in regard the *Persians* fate up all Night, and repaired what had been beaten down. When the Romans had made frequent Attacks against the Wall, they were as often beat off. For, the Darts thrown upon them from an higher place, very seldom mist the Mark they were designed against; in so much that, they were more dammified, than they could do hurt to the Enemy within; and therefore brake up the Siege. And having marched off at some small distance, Encamped; but took particular care of this, that no other supplies of Forces should be let in to those *Persians* Besieged. But by the order of *Mauricius*, Gregorius makes a journey to the Camp, and perswades them to return to the Siege. Nevertheless, they were unable to effect any thing more than what they had done before, in regard they were wholly destitute of warlike Engines commonly made use of in the Siege of Cities. On which account the Army was sent into their Winter-Quarters. But in the adjacent Castles, several Garrisons were left, that the *Persians* might not by stealth get into the City. And on the Summer following, when the Roman Army was got into a body, and the *Persians* had made an Expedition against the Romans, there hapned a great Fight about *Martyropolis*. In which Engagement Philippicus got the better, and many of the *Persians* fell, amongst whom was slain one valiant Prince; but no small number of *Persians* got into *Martyropolis*, which was the chief thing they designed to effect. From thence forward the Romans resolved not to lay Siege to that City: for it was impossible for them to take it by Force. But they built another City at seven furlongs distance [from *Martyropolis*,] upon mountainous and more inaccessible places; that from thence they

In the Florentine and Vatican Manuscripts, the true writing is, *ἀποφῶνισαυ*; as also Vatabian and Sir Henry Savil had mended it in their Copies. Nicephorus (book 18. chap. 17.) has expounded this place of Evagrius thus: *ἀποφῶνισαυ, ὡς ἀποφῶνισαυ, ὡς ἀποφῶνισαυ.* having been made Commander of Ten Soldiers amongst the Military Forces. These Officers were by the Latines termed Decani, not Decuriones, as Musculus and Chrysophylion do render it. Vigerius attests this book 2. chap. 8. speaking concerning the Centuriones or Ordinarii; Erant, *ἡλικῆς*, Decani denis militibus p. *αποφῶνισαυ* qui nunc Caput Contubernii vocatur. The Decani were Commanders of ten Soldiers, which Officers are now called the head of a File. Valef.

\* *Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα.* Without doubt it must be *ἀντὶς*, in that City. For to the Rule of Grammar requires. Valef.

\* *Ἀπὸς ἀπὸν.* Four hundred armed Men, as Theophylactus relates, book 3. chap. 5. Valef.

\* *ἡλικῆς.* In the excellent Florentine and Vatican Manuscripts, the word *ἡλικῆς* is added; that is, the Second Feria [or, Monday] of the Great Week, or Passion Week. I found the same E-mendation also written in the margin of The Vatabian Copy. Valef.

\* *Εὐαγγελιστῶν τε καὶ τῶν βασιλέων.* I allent to Chrysophylion and Sir Henry Savil, who have put a point after these words. For in wholly necessary. Moreover, before them, Nicephorus had distinguished this place thus. But the reading in Nicephorus is better, thus, *καὶ τῶν βασιλέων, τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως, τοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως.* or, Constantinople. Valef.

\* Or. *ἡλικῆς.* In the excellent Florentine and Vatican Manuscripts, the word *ἡλικῆς* is added; that is, the Second Feria [or, Monday] of the Great Week, or Passion Week. I found the same E-mendation also written in the margin of The Vatabian Copy. Valef.



\* Or, *Con-  
trary At-  
tacks.* they might infect it with Stratagems and \* Ex-  
curtions. And these things [the Romans]  
performed during the Summer; but in the  
Winter the Army was dismissed.

## CHAPTER XV.

Concerning Comentiolus's Mastership of  
the Milice, and the taking [the Castle]  
Ochas.

AFTER this, *Comentolus*, by descent a *Thracian*, is sent successour [to *Philippicus*] in the *Maſterſhip of the Milice*. He Engaged the *Perſians* in a moſt courageous manner, and wanted but little of loſing his life, (having been beaten down together with his Horſe,) and

had not one of his Guards mounted him on 'one of his *Led-Horses*, and conveyed him out of the Fight. Nevertheless, <sup>b</sup> the *Persians* were vanquished and fled, having lost all their Commanders; and made their escape to *Nisibis*. And being afraid to return to their own King; (For he had threatened them with death, unless they brought back their Commanders safe and unhurt :) they enter into a conspiracy.

\* Or, Hormisda, the

whereof was *Varanus Master* of the Persian *Artifice*, who not long before had made his return together with the Forces about him, from an Engagement with the *Turks*. In the interim *Comestolus* invested *Martyropolis*, and leaves the greater part of his Forces there; but he himself, together with some choice Soldiers which he had chosen out from *Man*, makes an Excursion

he almost impregnable, first  
left *Martyropolis*, on the op  
the River *Nymphius*, and  
deep and craggy Rock; from  
the City was easily to be feere  
siege thereto, and left nothing  
beaten down some part c  
*Catapults*, he broke  
it takes the Castle  
fore, the *Persians*  
despaired of holding *Marty*

in the same manner, wherein *Evagrius* *Oebus*. Therefore, as well from the light, it appears, that *Oebus* is the same; situate near the River *Nymphæ*. Our conjecture is fully confirmed by the fact, that *Oebus* is the same as *Oebus*, where that *Cattle-Oebus*, which is by *Comentiolus*, is by *Tocephyllus*.

## CHAP. XVI.

*Concerning the Murder of Hormisdas.*

W Hilst these Actions were performed in this manner, the *Persians* Murdered *Hormisdas*, who was the unjustest of all Kings, not only because he had oppressed his Subjects with exactions of Money, but also for [his insisting on them] various sorts of deaths.

## CHAP. XVII.

Concerning the Flight of Chosroes Junior to\* <sup>115</sup> \* Or, The

\* Then, in his room they Constitute his Son *Chofroes* their King, against whom *Varamus* undertakes an Expedition together with those Forces he had about him. *Chofroes* marches out to meet him accompanied with an Army not very numerous, and flies, because he perceived his own Forces were engaged in a treacherous design against himself. And at length he arrives at *Circofum*, having first called upon the God of the *Christians*, (as he himself affirmed,) that his Horse might go to that place, whither he should be brought by \* him. Being come to this

together, together with his Wives, two Children newly born, and some Persian Nobles who voluntarily followed him; from thence he dispatches away an Embassy to the Emperor Mauricius. Mauricius, as in other affairs, so in this also consulted for the best; and being convinced, by making his measures even from this instance of the inconstancy and mutability of this life, and of the sudden Turns ebbings and flowings of Humane affairs; readily adds of Chofroes's humble address, and instead of an Exile [entertains him as] his Guest, and in place of a Fugitive makes him his Son; having Mauricius's Empire, not the seventh, as Baronius relates. For the years of Mauricius's Empire proceed almost in an equal pace with the years of the Indiction, as do likewise the years of Justinus Junior's Empire. Wherefore, whereas on the year of Christ 592 it was the tenth Indiction, as Baronius himself attests, it must then also necessarily have been the tenth year of the same Mauricius's Empire. The next year, the tenth of the Alexandrian Indiction, places the Inauguration of Chofroes, and his flight to the Roman, one year before this account. For thus he writes; *In the ninth Indiction, on the ninth year of Mauricius's Empire, on the seventh year after the Conquest of the same Mauricius Thiberius* τὸν πρῶτον ἐνέστυξεν, &c. On this year Chofroes Emperor of the Persians came to the Romans, having laid a Rebellion raised against him by Baram [or, Varamu] his kinsman; and by the assistance of the Romans he was restored to his own Kingdom. But Johannes Biciariensis in his Chronicle, relates this to have been done a year sooner. For there are his words at the Eighth year of the Emperor Mauricius, where he has closed his Chronicle. *A vigesimo ergo Constantini Imperatoris anno*, &c. From the twentieth year therefore of the Emperor Constantine, as which time the Arian Heresy took its beginning, until the eighth year of Mauricius Emperor of the Romans, there are one hundred fifty six years. In those years of the Romans, where the omnipotent God (the venom of poisonous Heresie being destroyed), has restored Peace to his Church, the Emperor of the Persians embraced the Faith of Christ, and made [it, or, confirmed] a Peace with the Emperor Mauricius. Where, that it to be taken notice of, which Biciariensis says, viz. that the King of Persia, having thrown off the worship of Idols, came over to the Faith of Christ. Indeed Theophylactus attests the same, book 4. chap. 10. and book 5. chap. 2. Valef.

Therphylactus (book 5. chap. 3.) says Chofroes was only termed Son by the Emperor Mauricius. But Theopanes in his Chronicle, pag. 24. affirm express words, that Chofroes's Son so adopted by Mauricius was βασιλεὺς καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ βασιλέως, ὡς τὸν ἀνδρὸν καὶ υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ υἱὸν τοῦ βασιλέως, &c. On this year the Emperor Mauricius having adopted Chofroes the Emperor of the Persians, &c. Valef.

βασιλεὺς ἔσθωεν τὴ βασιλείᾳ προσόν, &c. On this year the Emperor  
Mauricius having adopted Chosroes the Emperor of the Persians, &c.  
I'alef.

given him a Reception [whereat he was presented] with Imperial Gifts. By which [presents] not only the Emperour himself declared his own kindness to Chosroes, to whom he sent them in a manner befitting an Emperour; but the Emperess also did the same towards Chosroes's Wives, and the Emperour's Children to those of Chosroes.

# CHAP. XVIII.

*How the Emperour sent Gregorius and Domitianus to meet Chosroes.*

Moreover, he sent all his Imperial Guards, and the whole Roman Army together with their Commander in Chief, who were to follow Chosroes even whither he would. And, to show him greater honour, [he sent to him] Domitianus Bishop of Melitina his own kinsman, a person Prudent and Sagacious, most completely accomplish'd both for Action and Discourse, and every way fit for the management of affairs of the greatest consequence. He sent likewise Gregorius, who in all things struck Chosroes with amazement, by his discourses, with his presents, and with the advices he gave him, seasonable and accommodate to his affairs.

# CHAP. XIX.

*That Chosroes recovered the Empire of the Persians, by that assistance given him by the Romans.*

Further, when Chosroes was come as far as Hierapolis, which is the Metropolis of the [Province] Euphratensis, he went back again, in regard Mauricius also look'd upon that as expedient, who contributed more to the [advantage of the] Suppliant, than to his own glory. Moreover, he pleased Chosroes with a vast sum of money, a thing never recorded [to have been done] before. And when he had raised an Army of Persians, the whole charge whereof he paid out of his own Treasury, he sends Chosroes with a double Army, one of Romans, another of Persians, out of the confines of the Roman Empire; Martyropolis having before that been Surrendered to \*him, together with Sittas. Which person was \*Stoned in the Martyropolis, and afterwards crucified. Darius also was surrendered [to the Romans], the Persians having been drawn out thence. After this, when Varamus had been vanquished in a single Engagement by the Romans only, and had ingloriously fled away alone, Chosroes was brought back to his own Palace.

# CHAP. XX.

\* Or, that the holy Mother Golanduch \* lived in those Times.

IN those times also lived the Martyr Golanduch, and was conversant amongst us. Which woman, after many conflicts, was crowned with Martyrdom, (the Persian Magi being her Tormentours,) and became a Worker of great Miracles. \* Stephanus the Former, Bishop of Hierapolis, hath written her Life.

# CHAP. XXI.

*Concerning those Sacred Presents, which Chosroes sent to the Holy Martyr Sergius.*

Moreover, Chosroes being repossess of his own Kingdom, sends to Gregorius a Cross, adorned with much Gold and precious Stones, in honour of the Victorious Martyr Sergius. Which [Cross] Theodora Wife to Justinian had Dedicated: but \* Chosroes had made plunder of it, together with other Sacred Treasures and Gifts, as has † already been related by me. Further, the same Chosroes sent another Cross of Gold, whereon he set this Inscription in Greek Letters. I Chosroes King of Kings, Son of Hormisdas, [sent] this Cross, at such time as by the Diabolical Force and Malice of the most unlucky Varamus and the Horsemen with him, We betook Our Self to the Empire of the Romans: and in regard the Wretched Zadespram came

with an Army to Nisibis, in a treacherous manner to Solicite the Nisibene Horse to † Revolt from and oppose Us; We also sent [a Body of] Horse with a Commander to [the Town] Charachas. And because we had heard, that the Venerable and Illustrious Sergius was a Giver of those things requested from him; in the first year of Our Reign, on the seventh day of the month January, We made a request by the Genius of the said Saint, [promising] that if Our Horsemen should kill Zadespram, or could take him alive, We would send a Cross of Gold set with Gems to his \* Church, in honour of his \* Or, Venerable Name. And on the ninth of the month February, they brought Us the head of Zadespram. Having therefore obtained our desire; that we might put every thing out of doubt, we have sent to the house of the Venerable Saint Sergius, this Cross made by Us in honour of his Venerable Name, together with that Cross sent to his house by Justinian Emperour of the Romans, which in the Times of War between the two Empires, was brought thither by Chosroes King of Kings Son of Cavades, our † Father, and was found amongst † Our Treasures. Gregorius having with the consent of the Emperour Mauricius received these [Crosses,] with great pomp Dedicated them to, and deposited them in, the Sacred house of the Martyr. Not long after, the said Chosroes sent other persons also to the same Sacred Church, and on a Bason made of Gold, ordered this Inscription to be set in the Greek Tongue. I Chosroes King of Kings, the Son of Hormisdas, [have ordered] this inscription to be set upon this Bason, not that it might be seen by men, nor that by my words the Greatest of Your Venerable Name might be made known; but, on account of the truth of what is inscribed, and by reason of those many Favours and Benefits which I have received from You. For 'tis my happiness, that my Name is extant on Your Sacred Vessels. When I was at a place [called] Beramaïs, I requested of You (Holy Man!) that You would come to my assistance, and that Sira might conceive. And in regard Sira is a

Y Y 3 Christian;

\* To Mauricius.  
† Theophylactus, book 4, chap. 15, says, that Sittas was burnt to death by the Command of Comenolus the Magister Militie. Valef.

\* Or, Venerable Name. And on the ninth of the month February, they brought Us the head of Zadespram. Having therefore obtained our desire; that we might put every thing out of doubt, we have sent to the house of the Venerable Saint Sergius, this Cross made by Us in honour of his Venerable Name, together with that Cross sent to his house by Justinian Emperour of the Romans, which in the Times of War between the two Empires, was brought thither by Chosroes King of Kings Son of Cavades, our † Father, and was found amongst † Our Treasures. Gregorius having with the consent of the Emperour Mauricius received these [Crosses,] with great pomp Dedicated them to, and deposited them in, the Sacred house of the Martyr. Not long after, the said Chosroes sent other persons also to the same Sacred Church, and on a Bason made of Gold, ordered this Inscription to be set in the Greek Tongue. I Chosroes King of Kings, the Son of Hormisdas, [have ordered] this inscription to be set upon this Bason, not that it might be seen by men, nor that by my words the Greatest of Your Venerable Name might be made known; but, on account of the truth of what is inscribed, and by reason of those many Favours and Benefits which I have received from You. For 'tis my happiness, that my Name is extant on Your Sacred Vessels. When I was at a place [called] Beramaïs, I requested of You (Holy Man!) that You would come to my assistance, and that Sira might conceive. And in regard Sira is a

|| Or.  
Pagan.

Christian, and I a Gentile. Our Law allows Us not to have a Christian Wife. On account therefore of my Benevolence towards You, I disregarded this Law, and have had a kindness for this Woman above my other Wives, and do Love her every day more and more. Wherefore, I have taken a resolution, at present to desire of Your Goodness, (Holy Man!) that She might conceive. I have requested therefore, and solemnly vowed, that if Sira shall conceive, I will send the Cross worn by her to Your Venerable house. And on this account, I and Sira have this design, that we will retain this Cross in Memory of Your Name, Holy Asan! And we have reserved instead thereof (in regard its value exceeds not Four thousand four hundred <sup>Milliarefium</sup> Staters,) to transmit Five thousand Staters. And from such time as I conceived this Request within

Σ πατή-  
ρας μιλια-  
ριον.

There were three sorts of Stater's, (1) Stater Atticus; its value in our Coin was Fifteen Shillings, (2) Stater aureus Macedonius; its value in our money is Eighteen Shillings four pence, (3) Stater Daricus, which its probable is the money here meant, it was valued at Fifteen Shillings, our money. See more in Mr. Bremood's *Ponderibus & Pectus veterum Nummorum*, chap. 3. pag. 22.  
\* Εὐαγγ. In Nicephorus 'tis εὐαγγ. but in Theopylactius the reading is εὐαγγ. which reading I do rather approve of. Valef.  
\* Τὸ πῶν ὁμοῦ. In Theopylactius and Nicephorus, 'tis read in one word, πῶν ὁμοῦ. So also I found it written in the Tellerian Manuscript. Valef.

in relation to this matter, had I not given credit to thy words, (because thou art an holy person, and a Granter of requests,) that [Sira] should not in future be sensible of the Custom of Women. From hence I understood the \*Virtue of the Vision, and the truth of what was predicted by thee. I have therefore forthwith transmitted the Cross it self, and its value, to your Venerable house, with order, that of its price one Basin and one Cup be made, to be used at the holy Mysteries: moreover, that a Cross be made, which is to be fixed upon the † Sacred Table, and a Censer, all of Gold: † Or, Pretious, and Earthen, an Hunnic Veil adorned with Gold. And, [our order is,] that the remaining Milliarefians of the price [shall belong to] thine holy house; that by thy Genius (Holy Man!) thou wouldest give assistance in all things to me and Sira, but especially in relation to this Request; and, that what hath hapned to us from thine intercession, by the mercy of thy Goodness may arrive at perfection, agreeable to the will of Me and Sira. To the end they may place our hope in thy power, and in future believe in Thee. These are the expressions [contained] in the Sacred Presents [transmitted] by Chofroes, which disagree in nothing from Balaam's Prophecy; the compassionate God having wisely disposed [all things in such a manner,] that the tongues of Gentiles should [some times] utter salu- tary words.

\* Or.  
Power.

† Or, Pretious, and Earthen, an Hunnic Veil adorned with Gold. And, [our order is,] that the remaining Milliarefians of the price [shall belong to] thine holy house; that by thy Genius (Holy Man!) thou wouldest give assistance in all things to me and Sira, but especially in relation to this Request; and, that what hath hapned to us from thine intercession, by the mercy of thy Goodness may arrive at perfection, agreeable to the will of Me and Sira. To the end they may place our hope in thy power, and in future believe in Thee. These are the expressions [contained] in the Sacred Presents [transmitted] by Chofroes, which disagree in nothing from Balaam's Prophecy; the compassionate God having wisely disposed [all things in such a manner,] that the tongues of Gentiles should [some times] utter salu- tary words.

Nicephorus's Translation, has retained the Greek word, thus: & Am- phiternum Hunnicum. And by adding a Scholion, has explained this term thus: Judicio meo carceres, five cancelli sunt, &c. In my judg- ment, they are the Bars or Rails, either surrounding the more Sacred Table of the Altar, or keeping the people from it; in each part where there is a door, and a passage leading to it, of Hunnic Work. But, by the favour of that Learned man, he has not bit the signification of this word. The Greeks termed Veils or Curtains which hung before doors, ἀμπίδευς. So Chrysostome in his 84th Homily on St. Matthew, speaking concerning Zacharias, who entertained our Lord at a Banquet, εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ ἀνέβη ὁ ἁγίος, πῶς αὐτὸν εὐφραν- θῆναι. & ὁ ἁγίος πῶς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀμπίδευς αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου. &c. [Consider.] when Christ was about to enter into his house, how he adorned it: for he ran not to his neighbours, to borrow their Curtains and Chairs, &c. So, in the Churches of the Christians, there were Curtains before the doors, as Epiphanius attests in an Epistle which Saint Jerome has done into Latine. And, that we may come nearer to the business, at the very Altar there were Cur- tains, wherewith the doors of the Altar or Cloire were covered. And when the Priest was about to celebrate the Eucharist, those Curtains were wont to be drawn, that the people might behold the Mysteries a far off. This is attested by St. Chrysostome, in his 134th Homily on the Epistle to the Ephesians, in these words: ὅταν δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκπορεύετο εἰς τὴν θύραν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὅταν αὖτις ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὅταν ἴδης ἀνελθόντα πρὸς ἀμπίδευς, &c. &c. so also here, when the sacrifice is offered, and Christ is sacrificed, when you shall hear [these words] Let us all pray together, when you see the Curtains drawn, then think that heaven is opened from above, &c. Where you see, that the word ἀμπίδευς is taken for the Curtains which were placed at the doors of the Altar. There is also mention of this Veil or Curtains, in an old paper of the Donation of the Constantinian Church, which was first published by Johannes Saresbur. Et pro aere vela Transfectoria Alba auroclava 2, vela blatta auroclava paragaudata 2, &c. and afterwards, vela linea paragaudata persica clavauro collemetina prasina 2, vela linea paragaudata persica clavauro leucorodina duo. And again afterwards. Item ante Regni Basilicæ vela linea plamata majora viginti numero erant. Item vela linea pura erant, ante consistorium velum lineum purum quatuor. In prono velum lineum purum unum; & intra Basilicam, pro porticu velum linea rosulata sex. Et ante secretarium vel curricula vela lineasulata persica fenestra habentia ardua 2. Which place I have translated entire, for this reason, that the studious Reader may understand, how manifold the use of Curtains was heretofore in the Church; and that we might know, what was the Hunnic veil or Curtains in this place of Eusegius. For, as this paper of Donatus informs us, that the Persian Curtains were heretofore highly valued, so, the Hunnic Curtains were also chiefly commended. Further, the Persian Curtains are mentioned by Aristophanes's Scholiast at Remas: ὁ ἀριστοφάνης τοῦ ἀντιόχου τοῦ ὑπομνήτου βίβλος, ὁ βασιλεὺς. For these Curtains were termed Chuddege, because they were hung before doors, as I have said. Gulistan Bibliothecarius in the life of Stephanus Decius has this passage: Consult in eadem Basilica Apostolorum corinam lineam unam, veloribrya serica eria in circuitu altaris. Whence it appears, that Chuddege and ἀμπίδευς signifie the same thing. Valef.

## CHAP. XXI.

### Concerning Naamanes the Saracen.

AT the same time, Naamanes also, the Chief of a Tribe of those Saracens that were Enemies, a Pagan so wicked and abominable, that with his own hand he sacrificed men to his Demons, came to Holy Baptism; and having melted down a [Statue of] Venus, which was nothing else but a real Mass of Gold, he distributed it amongst the poor, and brought over all those persons about him to [the worship of] God. But Gregory, after Chofroes's Crosses had been presented, by the Emperor's order went a Circuit to the Solitudes of those termed The Limits, wherein Severus's Tenets \* were highly prevalent; [in which places] he set forth the Ecclesiastick Dogmata, and brought over vast Numbers to the Church of God many Castles, Villages, Monasteries, and whole Tribes.

these words wanting, κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὅταν αὖτις ἀνέβη πρὸς τὸν λαόν, ὅταν ἴδης ἀνελθόντα πρὸς ἀμπίδευς, &c. [in which place] he set forth the Ecclesiastick Dogmata, or, Opinions, which we have inferred from Robert Steben's Edition. Valefius has exprest them in his Latine Version, and so have all the other Translators.

*Concerning the Death of Saint Symeon Junior  
the Stylite.*

**B**UT in the interim, Saint Symeones fell sick of a distemper whereof he died; and, upon my giving *Gregorius* notice thereof, he made all the haile he could to him, to pay him his last Salutes. But *Gregorius* obtained not what he desired. Further, this *Symeones* for Virtue far excelled all persons of his own time; having from his tender years lead an

'Ais ʒi naŋ bəfərus dərən di-  
 nəsəŋ. Nīcephorus has explained  
 this place incomparably well, by  
 inferring one word, thus: ʒi  
 ʒi naŋ bəfərus ʒi naŋ bəfərus  
 bəfərus ʒi naŋ bəfərus ʒi naŋ  
 bəfərus. That is, as *Langus* re-  
 renders it *peribetrisano primos den-  
 tes in fulmine statione mutasse*,  
 'in indeed reported, that he changed  
 his first teeth in his Station  
 on his Pillar. In the excellent  
*Flavienne and Tollerian Manuscripts*, 'tis written *naŋ*, not *də*,  
 where the word *was* is used  
 instead of *was*, there. Valef.  
 \* Keelz ʒi, behaving himself  
 like a child.

the Beast who † forgot his natural ferity, and brought him to his own Monastery. Which when *Symeones's* Instructor, (a person who kept his Station upon a Pillar) beheld, he asked the Boy what that was. *Symeones* made answer, that it was an *Akurus*, which they usually term a Cat. From hence [his Instructor] conjectured how eminent a person *Symeones* would prove [in the Study of] Virtue, and therefore carried him up into a Pillar. In which Pillar, and in another that stood upon the very top of the Mountain, he spent Sixty eight years, being vouchsafed all manner of Grace; both as to the casting out of Devils, as to the curing every disease and all manner of languishing distempers, and in relation to the foregoing things future as if they had been present. He forthd *Gregorius*, that he should not see him die; but [said,] that he was ignorant of what would happen after his own death. And when I my self was troubled with various thoughts at the loss of my children, and doubted within my own mind, why the same [troubles] befall not the *Pagans* who had many children; although I had now opened my mind to any person whatever, yet he wrote to me, to abstain from such thoughts as those. <sup>b</sup> In regard they

1 Or,  
Distracted  
etc.

<sup>b</sup> Ὡς ἐκ ἀνάγκης τῶν στοιχείων.  
The Rules of Grammar require,  
that we should write ἀνάγκης  
τῶν. For ἐκ στοιχείων τῶν pre-  
cedes. *Kalef*

\* Or, One of those who wrote under me.

† Or, *fixed*.

minent danger; [the same Symeon] put his hand upon her husband's right hand, and ordered him to lay it upon the breasts of his wife: which when he had done, immediately the milk sprang out as 'twere from a fountain, in such a manner that it wetted the garment of the woman. Further, a child having been left upon the Road in the dead of the night, through the forgetfulness of those who travelled with him, a Lyon laid it on his back, and brought

it to [Symeon's] Monastery, and by Symeon's order, those who ministered to him went out, and brought in the child, which had been preserved by the Lyon. The same person performed many other things \* highly memorable, which require an eloquent tongue, much time, and a peculiar Trearise; [all which actions of his] are celebrated by the tongues of men. For, persons of almost all Nations of the Earth, not only Romans, but Barbarians, came frequently to him, and obtained their requests of him. Certain branches of a shrub which grew on that mountain, \* were made use of by him in stead of all sorts of meat and drink.

*Concerning the Death of Gregorius Bishop of Antioch, and the Restauration of Anathasius.*

NOT long after <sup>2</sup> dyed *Gregorius* also, after <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* per, wherewith he was much troubled, and <sup>2</sup> dead place had drank a potion [made of the herb] <sup>2</sup> the death of *Grego-* *terius* <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* med <sup>2</sup> *Hermodactylus*, which was administered to him by a Physician. He ended his life, at <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* such time as *Gregorius* was Bishop of the <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* *Antioch* <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* *Refraura-* *Elder Rome*, who had succeeded *Pelagius*, <sup>2</sup> *Baronius* *tion of A-*

*Sinaita* on the year of Christ 594. But *Baronius* doubts at the same place, whether it ought not to be placed on the year following; especially in regard *Gregorius Magnus*, in his *Register of the Letters of the thirteenth Indiction*, congratulating *Anastafius*, because he had been reforested to the See of *Antioch*. But the *Autograph* of *Isidore* in the *Chronicle*, (who lived almost in the same times with *Gregorian Chronicle*), places *Gregorius's* death in the tenth year of the Empire of *Marcellinus*, on the tenth *Indiction*; his words are these: *Ind. l. x. Tercio Tercio Anathasius*, &c.; In the tenth *Indiction*; on this year *Anastafius* Patriarch of *Antioch* returned to *Antioch*; after the death of *Gregorius* who had been Patriarch, who had also before succeeded the same *Anastafius*. Where you may note that *Anastafius* is called Patriarch even before his Restoration; because, having been deposed illegally and by force, he had always retained the title of Patriarch. Tis certain *Pope Gregory*, in the three Letters he wrote to him at the beginning of his Episcopate, does always acknowledge *Anastafius* to be a Patriarch. But, he is never found to have accounted *Gregorius* (who had illegally taken possession of *Anastafius's* Chair whilst he was yet alive,) amongst the number of Patriarchs. *Vale!*

*Hermodactylus* was a plant unknown to the Ancients. 'Tis certain, neither *Aspidogale*, nor *Galen* have made any mention of it. But, the *Arabians* under *Serapion*, confounded it with *Colicicum* and *Aspidogale*. Whom our *Apollonius* have followed, and in their *Schools* substitute *Colicicum* instead of *Hermodactylus*. But *Andreas Mattiæus* (in his comments on the fourth book of Dioscorides,) hath long since taken notice of this mistake; and after him others, who have written concerning plants. When *Mattiæus* published the Former Edition of his Comments, he himself did not then fully know what *Hermodactylus* was. But afterwards, when he had procured that plant from the illustrious personage *Augerius Bubequius*, who had brought it him at his return from an Embassy at Constantinople he gave us the Type or Citty of that plant at pag. 1109 of his Latter Edition. The Roots of this plant represent the likeness of fingers, with the addition of nails also. Whence the plant had its name. For *Hermodactylus* signifies the finger of Mercury. Further, the root here was heretofore given to those that were troubled with the Gout in the joints or fingers, at such time as the humours issued out of it, of itself, and by a decoction of it, it has a purgative quality, as *Paulus Aegineta* relates in his seventh book. But now, says *Hieronymus*, *Hermodactylus* is given to those who are troubled with the Gout in the feet, not at that time when the humours issue forth, but rather when the disease is grown strong and come to its height. For, when Modern Physicians in the approach or augmentation of the disease, they corrected the practice of the Ancient Physicians in this particular; as the most famous and most Learned *Tollomæus de Fontaine Doctor of Physick and Regius Professor in the University of Paris* informed me, a person to whom I profess my self highly obliged, for his singular kindness towards me, and for his care and diligence in curing my distemper.

Find

and whilst *Johannes* [presided over the Church of *Alexandria*, and *Erelogius* over that of *Constantinople*, (persons whom I have mentioned before,) and during *Anastafius*'s presidency over the *Antiochian* Church, who had been restored to his own Chair after three and twenty years. *Johannes*; [was then Bishop] of *Jerusalem*; who died soon after, and as yet no body has undertaken the Government of that Church. And here shall my History be closed, namely, on the twelfth year of *Mauricius Tiberius*'s Government of the *Roman* Empire; the following [affairs of the Church] being left to be collected and written by such as are desirous [of employing themselves that way.] If any thing be either omitted, or not accurately set forth by us; let no person ascribe it to us as a fault; but let him consider with himself, that we have Collected into one Body \* a dispersed and scattered History, and have made it our business [to consult] the advantage of men, in favour of whom we have † undertaken so many and such vast Labours. Another Volume has likewise been composed by us, which contains Relations, Letters, Decrees, Orations, Disputations, and some other things. The foresaid Relations contained in this Volume were all written in the Name of by these words, but that *Anastafius* had been restored to his own See after *Gregorius*'s death. Valef.

\* *Anastafius* had been deposed on the year of Christ 570, as I have observed above, in my notes on book 3. chap. 5. From this year to the tenth of *Mauricius*'s Empire, (whereon he was restored to his See, as the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* informs us,) that is to the year of Christ 592, there are three and twenty years. Valef.

† From these words some one might perhaps conjecture that which *Baronius* has also supposed, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* dyed on the twelfth year of the Emperor *Mauricius*. For why should *Evagrius* say, that he had closed his History on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire, unless he had related some thing before, which had been done on the twelfth year of the same *Mauricius*? Notwithstanding, after a more diligent inspection into the thing, *Evagrius* seems not in my judgement, to have designed to mean that by these words. For *Evagrius* says, that *Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch* had ended his life, at such time as *Gregorius* Governed the *Roman*, and *Eulogius* the *Alexandrian* Church; and whilst *Johannes* presided over the Church at *Jerusalem*. Which *Johannes* having ended his life not long after, *Evagrius* saith no body was as yet put into his place. *Evagrius* therefore closed not his History with the death of *Gregorius*, in regard he relates, that after *Gregorius*'s death, *Johannes* Bishop of *Jerusalem* dyed; and that after his death no person was yet put into his See, at that time when he wrote these things. Wherefore *Evagrius* by these words means only this, that he wrote these things on the twelfth year of *Mauricius*'s Empire. Valef.

*Gregorius* Bishop of *Antioch*. By reason whereof we have obtained two dignities; [the one] from *Tiberius Constantinus*, who invested us with the [Dignity] of *Quaestorius*, [the other] from *Mauricius Tiberius* who sent us the *Codicills* of a *Præfecture*, on account of that [Oration] we had composed, at such time as the *Rending* (having wiped away the reproach of the Empire,) of him brought into the light [his Son] *Theodosius*, who gave a beginning of all manner of felicity, both to [Mauricius] himself, and to the State.

of the *Præfecture* was conferred upon our *Evagrius* by *Tiberius*. But *Evagrius* does not say, that he had the dignity of *Quaestorius* given him but only the *Præfecture*. Now, there is a great difference between *Quaestor* and *Præfectus*. For he is *Quaestor*, who bears the Office of *Quaestor*. But, *Quaestorius* is he who has already borne that Office. In regard therefore *Evagrius* says, that he had the honour *Ex-Præfecture* given him, he means that the *Codicills Ex-Præfecture* were conferred on him by the Emperor; although in the same manner, wherein (as he adds immediately,) the *Codicills Ex-Præfectus* were bestowed on him by the Emperor *Mauricius*. Further, such persons as by their deserts had procured these *Codicills*, enjoyed all those privileges, which belonged to the *Honorati* who had borne those dignities, to wit, of the *Præfecture* and of the *Præfecture*. But, in my opinion the reading at this place ought to be, *in nomine* (the term *in nomine* being understood,) the [dignity] of *Quaestorius*. Valef.

\* *Evagrius* saith *ὡς ἔστιν ἡμεῖς*. Translators understood not this place. For *Musculus* renders it thus; *unde ista composuimus, cum ille imperii ignominiam ablatus, Theodosium in lucem produxit, whence we composed these things, when he, about to take away the ignominy of the Empire, brought Theodosius into the light.* *Christopherson* translates it in this manner: *Quo regnante eas Relationes composuimus; idque eo ipso tempore quo Theodosium in lucem edidit, durante Regni Regis composuimus quo Theodosius; and that at that very time wherein he brought to light Theodosius.* *Christopherson* was of opinion, that the reading here ought to be, *ἐν τῷ*. But this emendation is not to be endured. For *Evagrius* had not composed that *Work of Relations* during the Reign of *Mauricius*, but whilst *Tiberius Constantinus* was Emperor, as he himself affirms a little above. Therefore, I had rather retain the common reading here, by understanding the word *ὡς ἔστιν* Relation, or *ὡς ἔστιν* Discourse. For when the Emperor *Mauricius*'s Son *Theodosius* was born, *Evagrius* wrote an Oration to the Emperor *Mauricius*, wherein he congratulated with him on account of the Birth of his Son; and foretold the highest felicity both to *Mauricius* and the *Roman* State, because *Mauricius* had abolished the old Reproach of the *Roman* Empire, and had at length begotten a Male-child. For, none of the *Roman* Emperors, who had Reigned in the Eastern parts even from the times of *Theodosius Junior*, had begotten Male-children. *Evagrius* therefore says, that on account of this Oration, he had been rewarded by *Mauricius* with the *Codicills* of a most ample *Præfecture*. Valef.

† The most noble *Theodosius* was born in purple on the third year of *Mauricius*'s Empire on the twenty sixth of the month September, and therefore on the fourth Indiction, which had begun from the Calends of the September of this year. The same *Theodosius* was afterwards Crowned Augustus by his Father *Mauricius*, in the eighth Indiction, on the twenty sixth of the month March, when he was four years and an half old, as *Theophanes* relates in his *Chronicon*, pag. 225. Valef.

## Six Books of Ecclesiastical History of Evagrius Scholasticus Epiphaniensis and [one] of the Ex-Præfects.

THE END.

THE

THE  
L I F E  
OF  
CONSTANTINE,  
IN FOUR BOOKS,

Written in GREEK, by *Eusebius Pamphilus* Bishop of *Cesarea* in *Palestine*; done into ENGLISH from that Edition set forth by *Valesius*, and Printed at PARIS in the Year 1659.

Together with

VALESIUS'S Annotations on the said LIFE, which are made ENGLISH, and set at their proper places in the Margin.

Here is also annext the Emperour CONSTANTINE'S ORATION to the CONVENTION of the SAINTS, and EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S SPEECH Concerning the PRAISES of CONSTANTINE, Spoken at his TRICENNALIA.

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The Second Edition.

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L O N D O N,  
Printed for A. and J. Churchill, in the Year 1709.

## V A L E S I U S ' s   A d v e r t i s e m e n t   t o   t h e   R E A D E R .

**I**N My Annotations on Eusebius's Ecclesiastick History, I have remarked, that the Titles or Contents of the Chapters, which are prefixt before each Book, were compos'd by Eusebius himself. And this, in my judgment, I have proved by most evident Arguments. But, in these Books concerning the Life of Constantine, the matter is otherwise. For the Contents of these Books were not made by Eusebius himself, but by some other more modern Author. Now, I make this conjecture from hence, both because the Contents of these Chapters, are for the most part uncouth, insipid, and barbarous; and also in regard they always speak of Eusebius in the third Person; whereas, in the Contents of the Chapters of his Ecclesiastick History, Eusebius always names himself in the first person. Besides, the distinctions of the Chapters are too thick, and occur too often; and one Letter and Constitution of the Emperor, is divided, and torn asunder as 'twere, into many Chapters. Which thing is wont often to beget a loathing and nauseousness in the Reader. I forbear mentioning the barbarous words and terms, which occur frequently in these Contents. For, in them you diverse times meet with *μαλιστα, ναισιν, πορευομεν, and δυοισιν*. All which considerations make me of this opinion, that I should believe any one else, rather than Eusebius, to have been the Author of these Contents. Nevertheless, whoever the person was, he was ancient, and lived not at any great distance from the Age of Our Eusebius. And this is chiefly Collected from the Contents of the Fourth Book; wherein you may read some passages, which could not have been known, but by a Writer Contemporary with those times, of which sort is that concerning Marianus the Tribune, and Notary, in the Contents of Chapter 44. Book 4. the name of which Notary we might at this day have been ignorant of, had not that Author of the Contents, and after him Sozomen, given us information thereof. I have sometimes conjectured, that Acacius, (he, who succeeded Our Eusebius in the Chair of the Church of Cæsarea, in regard he publish'd these Books of his Master after his Death,) Compos'd these Contents. But, this is but a meer conjecture, which any one that will, may follow. Lastly, the Reader is to be Advertised, that in all our Manuscript Copies, the Titles of these Chapters are written without the \* Numeral Notes. And in The Old Sheets belonging to the King's Library, they occur prefixt before each Book. But in the Fuketian Manuscript, they are not only set before each Book; but are also added to every Chapter, in the Body of each 30th, &c. Book.

\* That is, without setting forth what Chapter it is, viz. the 20th, 30th, &c. Book.

THE  
FIRST BOOK  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS  
CONCERNING  
THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
BLESSED EMPEROR  
CONSTANTINE<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Εὐς τὸν βίον τοῦ μαρτυροῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ. So *Grecians* are wont to inscribe their Books written concerning any one's Life: *Philostrophus* gave his Books concerning the Life of *Apolonius Tyanens* this Title, οὐλοστροφὺς εἰς τὸν ἀπολόνιον τὸν τυανῶνα βίον λέγει ἢ *Philostrophus* his eight Books concerning the Life of *Apolonius Tyanens*. So also *Marcus Antoninus* entitled the Books concerning his own Life, ἐπὶ εἰς αὐτὸν βίος ἑαυτοῦ ἑαυτοῦ, twelve Books of [Remarks] upon himself. 'Tis further to be noted, that although these Books have this Title, concerning the Life of the Emperor *Constantine*, yet all things are not contained therein, which were performed by that Emperor, but those matters only are described, which relate to true piety, and the Glory of the Christian Religion. Whereof *Eusebius* gives an Express advertisement in the beginning of this book, chap. 11. *Valef*.

<sup>b</sup> At this place *Robert Stephens* has added these words λέγει πάντα, five Books; what Copies he followed, I know not. For these words occur not, either in the *King's Copy*, or in the *Old Sheets*. Neither are these words to be found in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. 'Tis certain, this Work concerning the Life of the Emperor *Constantine* consists only of four Books; which is also attested by *Photinus*. But, because *Eusebius* had added three small Pieces, to wit, the Emperor *Constantine's* Oration to the Convention of the *Saints*, the description of the Church at *Jerusalem* together with the Sacred Presents their Dedicated by *Constantine*, and a Panegyrick spoken at *Constantine's* Tricennalia; hence it came to pass, that this Appendix was by some taken for a Fifth Book. Indeed the Index of the Chapters which is prefixed before *Constantine's* Oration to the *Saints*, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this Title, καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγει, the Chapters of the Fifth Book. But in the *King's Copy*, the Indices of the Chapters are omitted, and this Title is written at the side, though in a more modern hand, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου the beginning of the Fifth Book. *Valef*.

### The Preface.

Concerning the Death of Constantine.

**A**L. L. Mankind have not long since celebrated the recurring periods of our great Emperor's compleated \* *Vicennalia* and *Tricennalia*, with Festivities and publick Banquets. We our selves also, <sup>a</sup> by a Panegyrick spoken in his *Vicennalia*, have lately venerated the same Glorious Conqueror envi-

tion spoken by *Eusebius* in *Constantine's* *Vicennalia* is not now extant. We can only assure this of it, that it was spoken in the *Nicene Synod*, in the presence of the Emperor *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* attests in the following words: but he tells us this very thing much more plainly in book 3. chap. 11. *Valef*.

roned with a Synod of God's Sacred Ministers. Moreover, <sup>b</sup> we have platted him Crowns of *Tricennalian* Orations, wherewith we lately encircled his Sacred Head within his own Imperial Palace. Τριανον τριανον τριανον

Εὐρεως ἑαυτοῦ, we have platted him *Tricennalian* Crowns of Orations. He means the *Tricennalian* Oration concerning the praises of *Constantine*, which *Eusebius* had annexed at the close of his Books concerning the Life of *Constantine*, as he himself attests book 4. chap. 45. Nevertheless, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* this Oration is prefixed before *Eusebius's* Books of the Life of the Emperor *Constantine*. Which is very right indeed, if we respect the time wherein this Oration was spoken; but 'tis Contrary to the opinion of the Writer himself, who ordered that Oration to be placed at the close of these Books. *Valef*.

Α α α α

But

\* Διὰ τὸν  
ἀπὸ τοῦ  
πρὸς αὐτὸν  
βίου, Se-  
cond and  
Third De-  
cade of

years. 'Twas usual with Emperors to celebrate solemn Feasts and Pa-  
lisses for joy they were arrived at the 10<sup>th</sup>, 20<sup>th</sup>, 30<sup>th</sup>, year of their  
Reign; the Feasts for their centh year were termed *Decennalia*; those  
for their 20<sup>th</sup>, *Vicennalia*; and them for their 30<sup>th</sup>, *Tricennalia*.

<sup>a</sup> Εὐρεως ἑαυτοῦ, with *Vicennalian* Hymns. This Ora-





ved in their minds an hope of no other thing that was good. But God, God [I say] the Common Saviour of all things, who hath treasured up with himself greater Goods than Man can have a conception of, for the Lovers of Piety, gives as a foregoing pledge even in this life, the First fruits of future Rewards, and in a manner represents and confirms immortal hopes to mortal eyes. The ancient Oracles of the Prophets, which are committed to writing, do plainly foretell these things. The Lives of persons dear to God, who heretofore have shined with all manner of Virtues, whose [Lives] are as yet celebrated by posterity, do give attestation hereto. The same is clearly evinced to be true by the Testimony of this our present Age, wherein *Constantine*, the only person of all those who ever yet Governed the *Roman* Empire, having been made the friend of God the supreme King, is proposed to all Men as a powerful and illustrious instance of a Religious life.

*That God honoured Constantine's*

**L**Astly, God himself, whom *Constantine* wor-  
shipped, confirmed this with effectual suf-

<sup>a</sup> Ἀὐτῇ  
 δεξιᾷ  
 ὡς ἑστῆς.  
 I read αὐ.  
 πρὸ δεξιᾷ  
 ὡς ἑστῆς.  
 And a little  
 after,  
 instead of  
 διὰ δεξα-  
 λῶν, it  
 must be  
 written, εἰς  
 διὰ δεξα-  
 λῶν, for  
 . Valef.

*That he Reigned upwards of Thirty years, and lived above Sixty.*

**H**E honoured the Time of his Reign with three completed periods of Ten Years, \* something more; but he circumfcrib'd the whole Life he lead amongst Men, with a space of time double as much. Further, because † He would propose him as the † God. portraiture of his own Monarchical power, † He made him the Conquerour of the whole Tyrannick Brood, and the Destroyer of the \* Impious Giants: who, [instigated] by a desperation and madness of mind, took up Arms of Impiety against God himself the supreme King. But having made their appearance \* even during a shorter time than is required to speak, they were extinguished. But God, who is one and the sole God, when he had fortified his Servant, one opposed to many, with divine Armour †, and by his means had cleared the World of the multitude of impious Persons, constituted him the Teacher of his own Worship to all Nations: who in the \* hearing of all Men attested with a loud voice, that he acknowledged the True God, but abominated the Error of false Deities.

months. Further, at the beginning of this period, the reading must be, *χρόνον αὐτοῦ βασιλείας*, the time of his Reign; not as the common reading is, *χρόνον*. *Vale!*

is *Nonny aim'd'eige*. Write *nonny aim'd'eige*, He made him the Con-  
querour; as I found it mended in the Margin of the *Moræus Copy*,  
which reading *Christophor* has followed. The same reading occurs  
in the *old Sheets*, in the *Savilian*, and in the *Fukesian Manuscripts*,  
Vale.

"Ὅσοι εἰσὶν." Christopherson renders it *prope dixerim*, I had almost said; as if it had been written εἰς εἰρήνην. I doubt not that *Eusebius* meant another thing. For, being desirous to show how short a time the Tyrants flourished, he says they were visible a shorter time than is required to speak. 'Tis the same which *Græcians* term ἀσπίδωρον, in the twinkling of an eye; a sort of *Hyperbole* familiar with *Græcians*. Valef.

a *ἡσυχία πᾶσι*. The one of these words is redundant, and therefore we have left it out in our Version. The former of them seems to me to be a *Scholion*! in the *Fukesian Manuscript*, the latter is wanting. A little after, instead of *ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς ἐστὶν*, &c. the reading must be *ὁ αὐτὸς*, &c. by his means, &c. as 'tis in the *King's Sheets*, and in the *Savilian* and *Fukerian Manuscripts*. Further, in the *Fukerian Manuscript* 'tis *ἐστὶν ἐστὶν*. Vale!

*This motto deprecis, in the virtues of all. It must be made  
diversis, in the bearing, &c. which Christophorus perceived not.  
In the old Sheets 'tis over written ἀναδύς in the same hand. Also,  
Instead of μαρτυροῦσθαι, I write μαρτυροῦσθαι; as 'tis in the Foketian  
Manuscript. Valc.*



Wherefore, \* 'tis certainly incumbent, † The King's and Puke-  
son, to us, rather than on any other per-  
son, to give a full Narrative of all the good  
things we have heard, to those whose minds, by an  
example of good works, are de-  
raised to a Love and de-  
sire of God. Now, † those  
Authors (who have put in  
to writing the lives of Men  
in no wise grave and sober,  
and [have Recorded] Af-  
fairs wholly unuseful for the  
improvement of manners, ei-  
ther out of favour or hatred  
to some persons, or else  
to make a show of their  
own Learning;) † with a magnifick furni-  
ture of words have; otherwise than was fit-  
tine w<sup>o</sup>ld, *the*

ting, enlarged the Relations of most reproachful Villainies, and thereby have rendered themselves the Teachers of vile Actions, and such as deserved to be buried in perpetual oblivion and darkness, to those who by Gods favour and impulse have had no hand in mischief. But, our Style, though it is weak and altogether unfit \* for the greatness and significance of what we are to set forth, seems nevertheless to be polished and illustrated even by the bare

\* Or, For the greatness of the Emphasis of what, &c.

† Εὐσεβία. The other reading, which I found in the old Sheets pleases me better, namely εὐσεβία, Relation. And so to the reading is in the Eusebian and Savilian Manuscripts. Valef.

\* Or, Reading.

α βασιλικὴ διαγνώμη. In the old Sheets 'twas interlined εὐσεβία, Seratagem, which I like not. For Eusebius does here oppose Constantine's βασιλικὴ διαγνώμη, Imperial Action, to his works that were pious and acceptable to God. And he says, that he does designedly omit his Imperial Actions: which he divides into two sorts, namely, his warlike ones, and those of peace. But, he proposes to himself to set forth only those Actions of his, which bear a relation to Religion. Further, in the Kings Sheets, after those words, and whatever Triumphs he leads, there are added in the Margin, ἡ δὲ καὶ ἐκείνη ἀποδοῦναι τὴν τὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνων, ὅτις ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλικὴ διαγνώμη, &c. Moreover, the constitutions made by him, in the times of peace, for the regulation of the publick, and condempne, &c. which words seem to me to be of good note. Valef.

† Εὐμενείας. The passage which occurs at Ecclesiasticus 41. 28. Judge none blessed before his death: for a man shall be known in his children. Valef.

\* Relation of good Actions. Nor, is the commemoration of Works acceptable to God, unuseful, but it affords a very advantageous Lesson to those who shall have a mind rightly fitted and prepared. [Not to mention] therefore very many of this Thrice blessed person's Imperial Actions, his Battles and Military Engagements, his deeds of Valour, Victories, and Triumphs [raised] against his Enemies, and what ever Triumphs he Lead; moreover, the Constitutions made by him, conducive to the utility of every person; the Laws also he composed for

† Or, Of the Government of his Subjects. In fine, many other of his Labours and Imperial Constitutions, which are kept in memory by all persons; [all these particulars, I say] I think fit to omit; in regard the Scope and Design of the Work under

my hand admonishes me to declare and write those matters only which bear a reference to a Pious and Blessed course of life. Further, whereas even these particulars are almost infinite, out of those matters which have come to my knowledge I will choose such passages only as are most suitable and seasonable, and worthiest of being consigned to the Memory of Posterity, and will give a Narrative of them with all possible brevity. In regard the time it self doth henceforward allow us this Liberty, that we may extol this Thrice-blessed Emperor with all manner of Commendatory Expressions. For, a power of doing this was not permitted before now, because it has been advised, that we should not pronounce any Person blessed before his Death, by reason of the uncertain Turns and Changes of Life. Wherefore, I call God to be my Assistant, and his Celestial Word to cooperate with, and inspire me: and, [taking my beginning] from this Emperor's tender Years, I will enter upon my Relation in this manner.

## CHAP. XII.

That Constantine, like Moses, was educated in the House of Tyrants.

A Ncient History relates, that a Cruel Brood of Tyrants did heretofore oppress the People of the Hebrews: but, that God, shewing himself propitious to the oppressed, made provision, that the Prophet Moses, who at that time was but an Infant, should be educated in the very Houses and Bosoms of the Tyrants, and should be instructed in all the wisdom amongst them. But afterwards, when in process of time he arrived at Man's Estate, and Divine Justice, the usual Defender of the injured, had taken a resolution to prosecute the Oppressors: then this Prophet of God departed out of the Tyrants Houses, and exhibited himself a Minister of the Divine Will. He † abominated, as well in reality as words, the Tyrants by whom he had been educated: but those, who in very deed were his own Brethren and Relatives, he declared to be his Friends and Familiars. After this, God constituted him the Leader of that whole Nation, and freed the Hebrews indeed from that Servitude [they were oppressed with] by their Enemies; but by his means was revenged on that Tyrannick Brood, by inflicting on them punishments sent from Heaven. This Ancient Story [I say,] which hath been delivered to many Persons under the notion of a Fable, has filled the ears of all Mortals. But now, the same God, who is also our God, hath granted us a power of viewing with our own eyes such Miracles as far surpass all Fables; which manner of Sight is accounted by those who of late have beheld it, to be truer than all sorts of Report or Hear-say. For the Tyrants in our Age, resolving upon waging a War against the Supreme God, have forely oppressed his Church. But Constantine, a Person that not long after became the Tyrant-slayer, whilst he was a Child, youthful, and beautified with the Juvenile Down upon his Chin, was in the midst of them, like that Servant of God [Moses,] and made his Residence within the very Houses of the Tyrants. Nevertheless, though very young, he communicated not with the impious in the same Morals and way of living. For, at that very Age, a good disposition [improved] by the Divine Spirit, incited him to a Life that was pious and highly acceptable to God. Moreover, a studious Emulation of his Father added strength thereto, and invited the Son to an imitation of Virtues and good Actions. For, he had for his Father Constantius, (whose Memory 'tis fit we should at this opportunity give a Resurrection to,) the Noblest of the Emperours in our Age. Concerning whom 'tis necessary to relate some passages briefly, which bear a reference to the commendation of his Son.

that εὐσεβία has the same import with εὐμενείας, even then, as εὐσεβία, from that very time. And so Musculus renders it. Valef. † εὐσεβία. Doubtless it must be written, εὐσεβία, which has the same import with εὐσεβία, concerning whom. And so the reading is in the Kings Sheets and in the Savilian Manuscripts. In the Eusebian Manuscripts 'tis εὐσεβία, which is no ill reading. Valef.

## CHAP. XIII.

Concerning his Father Constantius, who refused to persecute the Christians, in such manner as Dioclesianus, Maximianus and Maxentius did.

\* **W**Hilst the Roman Empire was Governed by Four *Augusti*, † He was the only person who embraced a course of Life different from his Colleagues, and entered into a friendship with the supreme God. For they, by a Siege as 'twere, ruined the Churches of God, and demolished them to the ground, and utterly destroyed the Oratories to their very foundations. But he kept his hands undefiled and clean from their nefarious impiety, nor would he in any wise render himself like to them. They defiled the Provinces Subject to them with the intestine Murders of men and women who were worshippers of God. He preserved his own mind from being polluted with \* such detestable wickedness. They, by a confusion of the mischiefs of a † detestable Idolatry, in the first place enslaved themselves, and then all their Subjects, in the frauds and errors of most impious *Dæmons*. He being the Author and Preserver

\* **O**r, To of a most profound Peace \* within the Limits of his own Empire, permitted his Subjects to prosecute their Worship and Service to God without any the least trouble or molestation. [Lastly,] they imposed the heaviest sorts of exactions upon all men, and thereby made Life comfortable to them, and far more unpleasant than [any sort of] Death. But *Constantius* was the only person, who rendered his Government inoffensive, calm, and easy to his Subjects, and gave them an assistance from himself in nothing inferior to a paternal care and sollicitude. Further, because innumerable other Virtues of this person are celebrated amongst all men, I will only commemorate one or two of his brave Actions, from which a conjecture may be made of those that are left unmentioned, and so pass to the proposed scope and design of my Writing.

*degenere in bonos; cuius pater inter Ceteros Imperatores persecutionem non exercuit: Et hoc sceleris immunis est Gallia. Valef.*

\* *Constantius* *quædæ*. The term *ægyptiſtiſis* is wanting, or some other such like word. Nor is the conjecture of that Learned man to be omitted, which I found written at the margin of the *Moræus* Copy; to wit that in his judgment the reading ought to be, *διὰ τὰς τῶν ἀδελφικῶν ἐκείνων φωνῶν*. But *Turnebus* at the margin of his Copy hath mended it *ἐκείνων φωνῶν*, as hath likewise Sir Henry Savile. In the *Kings* Sheets, over the word *φωνῶν* 'tis mended *ᾠδῶν*; which emendation I prefer before the rest. I write thus therefore, *ἐκείνων φωνῶν* *ᾠδῶν* *ἐκείνων*, &c.; and have inserted it accordingly. In the *Eusebian* Manuscripts the reading is *ἐκείνων φωνῶν*. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XIV.

How Constantius Father [to Constantine] being reproach'd with poverty by Dioclesian, filled his Treasuries, and afterwards restored the money to [the owners thereof] who had brought it in.

**W**Hen a great Report was spread abroad concerning this Emperour, that he was mild and calm, that he was a most excellent per-

sonage, that he was a superlative lover of God, and that, by reason of his transcendent clemency and indulgence towards his Subjects, he had hoarded up no money in his Treasuries: that

\* Emperour who then filled the highest Station in the Empire, sent to him, and blamed his negligence in managing the publick affairs; and he reproach'd him with poverty, alledging this as an argument in confirmation of what he said, that he was posselt of nothing laid up in his Treasuries. But *Constantius* entreated those persons who came to him from the Emperour, to stay some little time with him: then he call'd together those men that were posselt of the greatest quantity of riches, who lived within all those Provinces under his Empire, and signified to them, that he wanted money, and that this was a fit opportunity wherein every one of them ought voluntarily to give a demonstration of their kindness and benevolence towards their Emperour. When they heard that, \* as if they had long since made this their desire, that an occasion might be offered them of shewing him their readiness of affection, [† 'tis said,] that with all imaginable haste and diligence they filled his Treasuries with Gold, Silver, and other Riches; contending earnestly amongst themselves, that in giving they might out-vie one another: and this they performed with countenances full of joy and pleasantness. When this was done, *Constantius* gave order, that those persons sent from the † *Senior Augustus* should be Eye-witnesses of his Treasuries. Then he commanded them [at their return] to give attestation to what they had seen; [and added,] that at present he had drawn together this Treasure and taken it into his own custody; but, that it had long before been kept for him by the owners of the money, deposited as 'twere with such † *Guards* as are usually appointed to have the custody of Treasure. The

Messengers were surprized with the strangeness of this thing: but Report says, that the most Benign Emperour, after their departure, sent for the owners of the money; and having highly commended them for their obedience and good affection towards him, ordered them to take back all their money, and return home. This is one Act of the forementioned Emperour's, which has rendered this place righter, in this manner: *Hic auditis, nisi de illa sparsa voce jamdudum susceperunt ut id eveniret, quò se probare possent, &c.* Further, after the word *ægyptiſtiſis*, readinists of affection, the verb *quod*, it's said, must be inserted. *Valef.*

\* *Παρ' αὐτῶν Κασιχίως*. I read *ἐκ τῶν μυστῶν Κασιχίως*, as I found it mended in the Copies of *Moræus*, *Turnebus*, Sir Henry Savile, and *Fukerius*. Further, I have rendered *μυστῶν Κασιχίως* the *Senior Augustus*. For so *Dioclesian* is called in the Old *Panegyricks* and in *Inscriptions*. *Valef.*

\* *Τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποστῆναι*. In the *Kings* Sheets these words are added in the margin; *ἀποστῆναι διακρινέντες τὴν πῆλιν αὐτῶν κατὰ μυστῶν*. *ἐκείνων τῶν λόγων*, τὴν μὲν ἀπὸ τῶν καὶ δ' ἔξ ἀλλήλων πλοῦσις ἢ ἀποδοξαζομένη. Which words some Learned men hath added by conjecture, as 'tis sufficiently apparent. I think there is only one word wanting here, *παρῆσαν*, to give. I word it thus therefore, *εἰς τὴν ἐκείνων κατὰ μυστῶν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀποστῆναι*. Then be commanded, &c. Which sort of explication is usual with *Eusebius*. *Valef.*

\* *Οἱ δὲ δαμασκίαις ἀπεδοξαζομένη*. At the margin of *Moræus*'s Copy 'tis mended thus, *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν*. But this emendation is needless. For, amongst the Ancients, money was deposited in Temples, on account of securing it, and there kept by Guards or Watches of Souldiers, as *Juvenal's* Old Scholiast remarks and *Lupinus* in his book de *Magnitudine Romanæ*. To those Souldiers therefore *Eusebius* alludes. By the term *ἀποστῆναι*, the *Palatini* may also be meant here, who guarded the Sacred Treasury. In the *Kings* Sheets, 'tis over written in the same hand, *ὡς πῆλιν*, by *Εὐσεβίου*, which displeases not. In the *Eusebian* Manuscripts 'tis *οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν*. *Valef.*

which

which gives a demonstration of his Humanity and good Nature. This other Action of his [which follows,] contains an evident Testi-

\* Τὸς πολλοῖς many of \* his piety towards God.

ἀσείας Doubtless the reading must be *σείας*, *piety*, as I found it intended in the margin of *Turnebus's Copy*. Vale!

## CHAP. XV.

Concerning the Persecution [raised] by the  
other [Emperours.]

**B**y the Command of the Emperours, the Governours of Provinces in all places persecuted the worshippers of God. And such as were the first of all the pious Martyrs, came out of the very Imperial Palaces themselves, underwent Conflicts in defence of their Religion, and with all imaginable alacrity endured Fire, Sword, the Depths of the Sea, and all sorts of death whatever. In so much that, within a very short space of time, the Imperial Palaces in all places were emptied of God's Worshippers. From whence chiefly it came to pass, that the Authors of this wickedness remained deprived of the divine inspection and assistance. For whilst they persecuted the Worshippers of God, by the same means they banished those supplications usually put up for themselves.

<sup>a</sup> Ἐὰν παν-  
ταχὲς ὡς  
σὺλῃται.  
The Ad-  
verb παν-  
ταχὲς not  
without  
reason  
troubled  
both the  
Transla-

rooms, as may be gathered from their Renditions. But they ought to be considered, that *Palatium*, a *Palace*, is taken in a twofold sense. For, sometimes it imports the *Court of a Prince*. In which sense there were at that time only Four *Palaces*, to wit answerable to the number of the Emperours. But sometimes every *House wherein an Emperor dwells* is termed a *Palace*. And in this sense there were very many *Palaces* in the *Roman* Empire. For there was fenced a City which had not a *Palace*. Such *Palaces*, or Imperial Houses, as these, were under the dispose of certain Officers, who were termed *Cura Palationum*; concerning whom there is mention in the *Notitia Imperii Romani*. *Ægæstius* therefore means these *Palaces*. I am of opinion that the *Publick* or *Royal Villa* are likewise meant, which the *Cæsarini* look'd alter. *Vale!*

## CHAP. XVI.

*How Constantius Father [to Constantine,] pretending himself a worshipper of Idols, turned out those who were willing to offer Sacrifice: but retained within his own Palace such as chose to profess themselves Christians.*

Or, <sup>a</sup> Only <sup>b</sup> *Constantius* entred upon a \*Prudent  
and Pious Course. And the thing he  
performed was wonderful to be heard, but  
much more admirable as to its performance.  
For, having given all the <sup>c</sup> *Palatines* that be-  
longed to his Court, even as far as the Judges  
that were invested with the supremest powers,

Κίρκη's *Shells*, the term 'Ευσκήες, *Plouis*, is elegantly added in the margin, thus: σκία της ευσκείας ύπερσώης λογιζομένη. *Vale!*

*Phileas* γὰρ καὶ τὸν βασιλικόν. I read *γὰρ αὐτῷ*, as tis in the  
Frigenet, and in Moreus's Copy. That it is all the Palatines who  
before Office under him, and also to the Judges themselves who were  
placed in power. Power is a term properly attributed to the Greater  
Judges, of which sort were the *Præfices Prætorio*. So Eusebius ex-  
presses himself hereafter; and Socrates, book 2. chap. 16; where he  
speaks concerning *Priippus Præficus Prætorio*. Moreover, in the  
*Cyprian* Epistle, *Magistrum Officium*, *Magistrum Officialium*, to the *proudest*, *the*  
*Lysias* thus, *Προφύλαξ* ταυ, &c. *Your power*, &c. See what has been  
remarked above at book 3. chap. 1. of Euseb. Eccles. History  
note (α.) *Euseb.*

a free Liberty of Choice; he proposed this Condition to them, that if they would Sacrifice to *Demons*, they might stay at Court with him, and enjoy their usual Places and Honours; but if they would not do that, they should be excluded from access to him, thrust out, and removed from his knowledge and familiarity. After [His Courtiers] therefore had been hereupon divided into two parties, and some had betaken themselves to this, others to that side, and the Sentiment and purpose of every one of them was laid open: then this admirable Prince discovered his own design, which hitherto he had concealed, and condemned their timidity and Self-love: and to these he gave a kind Reception, on account of their Conscience devoted to God: but then he pronounced those, in regard they were betrayers of God, to be unworthy of their Prince's favour. <sup>c</sup> For how <sup>d</sup> In the [said he] will it be possible they should pre-<sup>e</sup> King's Co-serve a fidelity towards their Emperor, who <sup>f</sup> at the side of have been detected of perfidiousness towards these of God? Wherefore he made an Establishment by <sup>g</sup> words, is a Law, that such persons should be removed <sup>h</sup> from such a far from the Imperial Houses. But he declar-<sup>i</sup> mark a-  
red openly, that those men who by the Testi-<sup>j</sup> this, ap-  
mony of Truth it self were manifested <sup>k</sup> we have taken no-  
to be <sup>l</sup> acceptable to God, would <sup>m</sup> Or, tice of  
render themselves like-minded to-<sup>n</sup> words of, such a  
wards their Emperor, and therefore he made <sup>o</sup> mark a-  
them the *Protectors of his Body*, and the Guards <sup>p</sup> this sume  
of his Empire: and affirmed, that such persons <sup>q</sup> where be-  
as these ought to be made use of and accounted <sup>r</sup> fore: but  
<sup>s</sup> as the chiefest and nearest of friends, and most <sup>t</sup> that Letter  
intimate Relatives; and that they were far <sup>u</sup> set before  
more highly to be esteemed than hoards of the <sup>v</sup> the, it not  
most valuable Riches and Treasures.

closed on all sides. Whence I am rather induced to believe, that this mark is ϕ and γ, and that it signifies *ἐπεὶ οὖν*, that is, *attend, consider*. For this mark is added at places which have something of difficulty. For instance, the newness of this expression, *πῶς ἴδωμαι* *quidēas*, may put the Reader to a stand here, unless he knows that these words, *ἴδωμαι ἐγώ*, are to be understood, *Uolo*.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐν πρώτοις αἰ. In the King's Copy the reading is ἐν πρώτοις πρῶτα, &c. amongst the chiefest and nearest, &c. Those words γένους αἰών, ought to be made use of, are a redundancy of expression frequent with Eusebius: for so he has express'd himself in his *book of History*, as I well remember. *Valef.*

## CHAP. XVII.

*Concerning the same [Constantius's] Love  
and affection towards Christ.*

**W**hat manner of person the Father of <sup>a</sup> We have  
*Constantine* is recorded to have been, <sup>b</sup> division  
 we have in short manifested. Now, what a Con- of a new  
 clusion of Life befall him, chapter  
 who had demonstreated him- here, from the Authority of the  
 self such a person towards *Kings Manuscript*; whereto a-  
 God, and how great a differ- grees the *Fukusan Copy*, and  
 ference was shewn between the *old Sheets*. Valef.

him and his Colleagues in the Empire, by that God  
 whom he honoured, any one will easily discern,  
 who with attention shall apply his mind to con-  
 sider † the thing it self. For, after he had for † Or, The  
 a long-time given illustrious and approved in- Nature of  
 stances of his Royal Vertue, by [avowing] affairs.  
 \* one only Supreme God, and by condemning † Mis-  
 \* their Impiety who pay a wor- 1000 Sols 5  
 ship to more Gods than one, 1000 Sols 5  
 and had on all sides fortified 1000 Sols 5  
 † Or, The Polythe-  
 ism of the Atheists.

\* Or, *The Polytheism of the Atheists.* ἡ ἀποθεωσις τῶν ἀθεῶν  
his ἡ ἀποθεωσις τῶν ἀθεῶν

his own house with the prayers of holy men; he completed the remainder of his Life without any thing of Trouble or disquietude: being made Master of that Felicity, which, as 'tis said, consists in this, *neither to be molested by others, nor to give others trouble.* After this manner therefore [he rendered] the whole time of his Reign even, undisturbed, and pacate; and consecrated his whole Family, his wife namely, and children, and all his servants, to one God the Supreme King. In so much that, that Company which converted together within the walls of his Palace, differed in nothing from a Church of God. Amongst whom were Ministers of God also, who performed uninterrupted Acts of worship to the Deity, in behalf of the Emperor's safety; when as commonly amongst the rest, not so much as the bare name of those sort of men that were Religious, was permitted to be mentioned.

But, that reading which I have produced out of the Kings Sheets, is better. For the term *ἁγῶν* is elegantly opposed to that which follows immediately, to wit, *καταρτίζω*, condemning. In the Fukeian Manuscript 'tis written *ἁγῶν*. Valef.

\*Tis *ὡς* διατρέχει Sir Henry Savil has noted at the margin of his Copy, that perhaps the Verb *ἔτι* is said to be added. But, that emendation is far better, which I found written in the Kings Sheets, at the margin; it is this, *ὡς αὐτὸς ἔτι διατρέχει τὸν ὡς* διατρέχει βίον, which reading we have express'd in our Version. The reading in the Fukeian Manuscript is, *ὡς αὐτὸς ἔτι διατρέχει τὸν ὡς* διατρέχει βίον. Valef.

\* He alludes to that saying of Epicurus concerning God, *τὸ μακρόν, ἔτι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔχει αὐτὸν*, *ἔτι αὐτὸν παύσει*; as Nemesius relates it, chap. 44; Cicero, in his first book de Natura Deorum; and Lælius, pag. 795. Valef.

\*Tis *ὡς* τὸν ὡς. In the Kings Sheets, the last word is undermarked with points, and *ἁγῶν* is written over, which I like better. Further, in the same Sheets, before these words, there are added in the margin, *ἡ ταῦτα ὡς μὲν τὸν ὡς συνέλεξε, and these [Acts of worship] were performed with him only.* They that will, may follow this conjecture of the Learned Antiquary. To me these words seem not necessary. Valef.

## CHAP. XVIII.

That after the Resignation of Dioclesian and Maximian, Constantius was the first Augustus, and was adorned with a Numerous Issue.

Further, in recompence of these things, a reward from God attended him not long after; in so much that he obtained the first and chiefest place of the \* Empire. For those † Augusti who were His Seniors, by what means I know not, divested themselves of their Imperial Dignity: which sudden Change befel them on the first year after the \* demolition of the Churches; from whenceforward, only Constantius was declared the first and † Chiefest Augustus. Who at first was adorned with the Diadem of the Cæsars [together

\* Or, Imperial.  
† Vir. Dioclesian, and Maximian.  
\* Or, Siege.  
This place is highly † Or, A remarkable durable. ble. For, from it is deduced with the Diadem of the Cæsars [together

may be made, that the Persecution began on Dioclesian's eighth, and Maximian's seventh Consulate; and not on the foregoing year, as Bezaus will have it. Concerning which matter I have spent many words in my notes on Euseb. Eccles. History; see book 8, chap. 2, note (c). For, whereas Eusebius affirms, that the Emperours Dioclesian and Maximian divested themselves of their purple on the year after the Persecution was begun; and whereas 'tis manifest, that they did that on the year of Christ 304; what I have said does necessarily follow, to wit, that Dioclesian's Persecution was begun on the year of Christ 303. Valef.

with \* Galerius,] and had obtained precedence: \* See Eubut after [he had given] an Egregious † Spe. sebus; Ec: cimen of his own worth in that dignity of Cæ. ecclesiastical History far, he was invested with the highest honour amongst the Romans, and was styled the First book 9. Augustus of those. Four afterwards proclaimed, note (i;) Moreover, he was the only person that excelled and the all the other Emperours in a numerous issue, Excepta of that mknown Au- being surrouded with a great Quire of Chil- chur pub- dren, as well Males as Females. Lastly, after he had attained to a mature old Age, and, being lifted by ready to pay \* the Common debt. † Or, The close of. of Nature, was at the point of making his departure out of his life: then did God again demonstrate common Marcel- Nature- linnus pag. 471. himself to him the performer of wonderful Works, and by his providence took † Proof, or, care, that Constantine the eldest of his Sons b Sir Henry should be present with him at his Death, in Savil has in order to his taking possession of the Em- noted at pire, the margin of his

Cop, that these four were, Galerius Maximianus, Severus, and Maximianus, but the fourth Maximianus. As to the three former, I assent to Sir Henry Savil. But, I do affirm, that the fourth was not Maximianus, but Constantius himself. For Maximianus seized not the Empire, till after Constantius's death. Valef.

## CHAP. XIX.

Concerning his Son Constantine, who when a young man, came into Palestine together with Dioclesian.

For he convers'd with the Emperours [who were his Father's] Colleagues; and made his Residence amongst them, agreeable to that ancient Prophet of the Lord Moses, as we have already said. \* And ha-

ving newly past over his years of childhood, and arrived at those of his youth, he was vouchsafed the highest honour and esteem amongst the foresaid Emperours. At which Age of his we Our Selves saw him, when he past through the Province of Palestine, in Company with the Senior Augustus. At whose right hand he stood, and appeared a most excellent and glorious person to those who were desirous of seeing him, and such a one as even then gave indications of an Imperial height of mind. For as to the beautiful shape of his body, and his tallness of Stature, there was no other person that might be compared to him. Moreover, he so far excelled his equals in strength and courage, that he was a terror to them. But he was far more illustrious and eminent for the Vertues of his mind, than for his bodily endowments and accomplishments. And in the first place he beautified his mind with modesty; after that, with Polite Literature; and as well an innate prudence, as a wisdom infused from above, adorned him in a most transcendent man-

ner. \* *ἡν δὲ αὖτε τὸ παῖδος.* I think the reading should be, *ἡν δὲ αὖτε τὸν παῖδος, &c;* which we have express'd in our Version. Indeed, in Moræus's Copy the particle *δὲ* is written at the margin. Turnebus, at the margin of his Copy, had mended it, *ἡν δὲ αὖτε παῖδος.* In the Fukeian Manuscript the reading is, *ἡν δὲ αὖτε τὸν παῖδος.* Valef.

read *ἐκπύμων*, adorned, as Eusebius does usually speak. And so 'tis mended in the old Sheets, at the margin. In the Fukeian Manuscript 'tis written thus, *ἐκπύμων*. Valef.



## CHAP. XX.

*The departure of Constantine to his Father, because of Dioclesian's treacherous designs [against him.]*

**F**urther, when the then Emperours perceived,  
that the Young man was Courageous,  
and Great, and \*endewed with an  
height and vigour of mind, they were wound-  
ed with \*fear and envy. They watch'd there-  
fore in expectation of a fit opportunity, where-  
an *Affair*, agreeable to their desire, they might involve  
him in ignominy and disgrace. Which the young  
man being sensible of, (for the treacherous  
there are designs which had been once and twice framed  
against him, by the consent and appointment  
of God were discovered;) He opened a way to his  
own safety by flying; and herein likewise he  
*\* Or, Pre-* furthered the great Prophet *Moses*.  
Further, God gave him his assistance  
in all things, and by his Divine providence  
disposed affairs in such a man-  
ner as

Emperor<sup>1</sup> nor, that he should be present with his Father,  
 Diocletian<sup>2</sup> in order to his succeeding him [in the Em-  
 perial and Gale-pire.]  
 died not only to disgrace *Constantine*, but to destroy him utterly.  
 See the *Excerpta de Gestis Constantini*, which are published at the  
 end of *Anni-Maximiliani*, and what we have remarked there. I  
 was indeed of opinion formerly, that those Greek words which are  
 written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, were not taken out of  
 any Manuscript Copy, but were made from *Christophorini*'s Latine  
 Version. But after I had procured the *Fuketian Manuscript* I evi-  
 dently perceived, that those readings were taken out of Manuscript  
 Copies. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this place writ-  
 ten in this manner: *οτι ουκ εστιν εν αλλοις ομιλιαις κτλ*  
*ουκ εστιν εν αλλοις αυτοις ευαγγελιστοις ευαγγελιστοις, ουκ εστιν εν αλλοις*  
*αυτοις ευαγγελιστοις, ουκ εστιν εν αλλοις αυτοις ευαγγελιστοις*  
 So I found it written also in the Copies of *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry*  
*Saunders*. But this reading, though confirmed by the authority of  
 Manuscript Copies, nevertheless seems not genuine to me; both for  
 that reason I have produced above, and on account also of the ineleg-  
 ancy of the words. *Valf.*

τῆ τοῦ πατρὸς διαθήκῃ. I had rather write *διαθήκη*, *Will*,  
 or, *Testament*. For *Constantius* made his *Will* at that very time  
 when his Son *Constantine* came to him, as *Nicephorus* relates book 7-  
 chap. 18. A little before the reading should be *παρῆναι*, *present*,  
 not *συνῆναι*. Vale.

## CHAPTER XXI.

The Death of Constantius, who left his Son  
Constantine Emperour.

*\* Or, En-  
gines of  
Treachery.*

When therefore he had avoided these  
all \* Treacherous contrivances, he made  
imagineable halt to his Father, into whose  
presence he came, after a long space of time.  
At that instant of his arrival, his Father was  
at the very point of dying. When therefore  
Constantius beheld his Son - present with him,  
whom he did not in the least expect, he leapt  
from his Bed, and cast his arms about him;  
and affirming that the only Grief which trou-  
bled him now ready to conclude his life, to  
wit, the absence of his Son, was wholly re-  
moved out of his mind, he put up a prayer  
of thanks to God; and said, that now he ac-  
counted Death to be better for him than Im-  
mortality. Further, when he had disposed of  
his affairs in a manner agreeable to his own mind,

and <sup>a</sup> had taken leave of his Sons and Daugh- <sup>a</sup> *Trist. 6*  
ters, who like a Quire surrounded him on every <sup>a</sup> *dues 10*  
side: He ended his life in his Palace, lying <sup>a</sup> *dues 11*  
on his Royal Bed, after he had surrendered <sup>a</sup> *our due*  
the <sup>a</sup> Administration of his Empire, <sup>a</sup> *dues 12*  
agreeable to the Law of Nature, <sup>a</sup> *Or, his Christ.*  
into the hands of <sup>b</sup> his eldest <sup>a</sup> *allments*  
Son. <sup>a</sup> *phorion*  
<sup>a</sup> *of the Em-*  
<sup>a</sup> *rendred*  
<sup>a</sup> *pire.* <sup>a</sup> *this place*

orum & filiarum se statim, placing himself in the midst of his sons  
and Daughters. Porphyrius has translated it in this manner, Simul Li-  
beris et commentariis distribuitur. Hereafter, And also distributed be-  
tween his children, as in a Commentary, or Book of Notes.  
Neither of these translations has hit the sense of this word. Eusebius  
uses the same term in book 3, chap. 21; at which place we will at large  
declare what *surtae* does mean, as also the import of *surtae* and *ἀντι-  
σην*. Sir Henry Savile has expounded this word excellently well at the  
margin of his Copy, thus, *Valdecanus, taking leave, or, bidding fare-  
well.* And so *Abraham* expresses himself in the Life of St. Antonius,  
about the end, *ἐν τῷ ἐξελθόντι ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἐν τῷ ἀντισηνῶντι, having taken  
leave of those Monks in the mountain with him.* Vale.  
<sup>b</sup> *τῷ τῷ ἡμῶν ἀποχρῆσιν.* I write τῷ τῷ ἡμῶν, &c. So  
Eusebius has express himself above, at chapter 18, (speaking concern-  
ing Theodoret and Maximian, &c.) ἵ μὲν γὰρ τῷ Χριστῷ ἀποχρῆσιν  
Valif.

## CHAPTER XXII.

How \* after the Death of Constantius, the Army † saluted Constantine Augustus. \* Or, When Constantine had been carried out to Burial. † Or, Styled.

N Or did the State continue deprived of an Emperour. But *Constantine* was adorned with his Fathers Purple; and proceeding forth of his Father's \* House, gave all men a demonstration, that, by a resurrection as 'twere, the Father continued as yet to Reign in him his Son. Then he lead out his Father's Funeral, accompanied with the Friends of his Father \*, some of whom went before, others followed; and with all the splendour imaginable celebrated the Obsequies of that Pious Prince. All persons honoured the Thrice-blessed Emperour with Acclamations and Praises, and agreed in an unanimous consent, that the succession of the Son in the Empire was a Resurrection of the dead Father. And forthwith, even at the first word, they \* Saluted the young Prince Emperour and *Augustus*, with fortunate Acclamations. Which expressions uttered in praise of the Son, were an ornament indeed to the dead Emperour; but they loudly proclaimed the Son Blessed, who was declared the Successour to so great a Father. Moreover, all the Provinces subject to his Empire, were filled with gladness and a joy that was inexpressible, because they had not, during the smallest moment of time, been deprived of the assistance of an Imperial † Providence and inspection. Thus in the Emperour *Constantinus*, God gave a demonstration to all persons of our Age, that such as this is the conclusion of a Pious and Religious life and conversation.

phorson found them in their Copies, nevertheless) seem to me very little necessary. Yet they occur in the *Fuketian Manuscript*.  
Valef.

CHAP. XXIII.

A brief Rehearsal of the Death of the Tyrants.

*\* Or, Con-  
ditions of  
life*  
**B**UT what the \* *Exits* of those other persons were, who by an open War as 'twere made attacks against the Churches of God, I judge in no wise fit to infer into this present Narrative, nor to defile the Memories of the Good by † annexing a mention of the mischievous. Indeed, the ‖ matters themselves are sufficient to repress and keep within the bounds of duty those persons, who by their own eyes and ears have received an account of that [whole Scene of Calamities] which befel each of them.

*† Or, a  
composi-  
tion of the  
contrary.*  
*‖ Or, Ex-  
perience of  
the work.*

CHAP. XXIV.

That Constantine obtained the Empire by the will of God.

*\* Or, By  
himself.*  
**I**N this manner, the supream God himself, who is the Governour of the whole World \* by his own arbitrement designed and constituted Constantine, begotten of such a Father, Prince and Emperor: in so much that, whereas the rest [of the Emperors] obtained this honour by the approbation and votes of others, he was the only person, of whose \* promotion no Mortal might boast.

*\* Hecce  
mors, ac-  
cessio. It  
ought as I think, to be made necessary, that is, promotion; or ac-  
cessio, advancement. And thus Turnebus hath mended it at the  
margin of his Copy, as I afterwards found. Valef.*

CHAP. XXV.

The Victories of Constantine over the Barbarians and Britanni.

*\* Or, For  
his Fa-  
ther's al-  
lertment.*  
*\* Empe-  
rion vñm.*  
*So Eusebi-  
us is wont  
to term the  
Provinces  
of the Ro-  
mans, as  
might easi-  
ly be pro-  
ved from  
many pla-  
ces. Euse-  
bius says  
therefore,  
that Con-  
stantine  
as soon as his  
Empire  
was settled,  
before his  
Eyes the  
other parts  
of the World;  
took a  
progress  
round all  
those Pro-  
vinces that  
had been  
under the  
Empire of  
his Father.*  
**W**HEN therefore he was firmly settled in the Empire, in the first place he began to make provision \* for those parts of the Empire which had been transferred to him from his Father, and with much humanity and tenderness \* visited all those Provinces that had heretofore been under his Father's Administration. And, having reduced all those barbarous Nations, (whose habitations were about the River Rhine and the Western Ocean, who had taken the boldness to raise Commotions,) to an obedience to his own Government; from being intractable, he brought them over to a mild and more civilized Temper. But he was satisfied in repressing others, whom like Savage Beasts he frighted from the confines of his Empire; to wit, those whose minds he perceived were incurable, and despair'd of bringing them to a peaceable and quiet course of Life. When \* these things had been performed according to his own mind, he set himself, before his Eyes the other parts of the World; took a progress round all those Provinces that had been under the Empire of his Father. Which Christopherson understood not. Valef.

*\* Ταύτην xpi λέγειν θέλει. At this place xpi λέγειν seems to have the same import with xpi πρὸς, according to his own mind. Which Porfessus perceived also. But Christopherson has rendered this place, and the whole chapter, very unhappily. Valef.*

*\* Or, For  
his Fa-  
ther's al-  
lertment.*  
*\* Empe-  
rion vñm.*  
*So Eusebi-  
us is wont  
to term the  
Provinces  
of the Ro-  
mans, as  
might easi-  
ly be pro-  
ved from  
many pla-  
ces. Euse-  
bius says  
therefore,  
that Con-  
stantine  
as soon as his  
Empire  
was settled,  
before his  
Eyes the  
other parts  
of the World;  
took a  
progress  
round all  
those Pro-  
vinces that  
had been  
under the  
Empire of  
his Father.*

then he made a \* Voyage over to the British Nations, situate within the Ocean it self. Whom when he had subdued, he look'd towards other parts of the World, that he might apply remedies to those [Nations] who wanted his Assistance.

have written any thing. Therefore, the memory of this matter we owe to Eusebius only; who at this place does not obscurely intimate the time also; to wit, a little before Constantine undertook his Expedition against Maximianus. Wherefore, this Voyage of Constantine's into Britain hapned on Maximianus's eighth Consulate, in the year of Christ 311, as Sogonius has rightly remarked in his Second Book de Occidentali Imperio. But Sr. Henry Savil thought Eusebius was mistaken here: For this is his remark at this place; Eusebius ignorasse videtur. &c. Eusebius seems to have been ignorant, that the Father of Constantine dyed at York in Britain. Valef.

*\* Concei-  
ning this  
Voyage of  
Constanti-  
ne into  
Britain,  
none of the  
Ancients*

CHAP. XXVI.

How he took a Resolution of freeing Rome [from the Tyranny] of Maxentius.

**A**FTER this he took into his Consideration the whole \* World, as 'twere some vast Body; and perceiving that the Head of the element of whole Earth, the † Chief City of the Roman world, Empire, was oppressed with a Tyrannick ser. † Or, Invitute; in the first place he gave place to \* them to free it, who had obtained the other \* He portions of the Roman Empire; in regard they means were his Seniors in time. Now when none of them could give it assistance; but those who had resolved upon making tryal, \* had perished by an ignominious death; he profess his Life would be uncomfortable, if he should neglect the Imperial City when so sorely afflicted, and therefore made preparations to suppress the Tyranny.

time, that is, Senior Emperors. For although Maximianus was scarce declared Augustus as yet, nevertheless, because he had been made Caesar some years before Constantine, therefore he may be accounted amongst the Emperors that were Seniors to Constantine. Valef.

*\* Αὐγὺςτος ὀνομαζόμενος. A twofold sense may be brought of these words. For you may either render them with Porfessus and Christopherson, sedum rei eventum nulli sunt, had procured a shameful event of the affair; or else, as I have translated them, curpi exitu perierunt, had perished by an ignominious death. The former has relation to Galerius Maximianus. The latter interpretation is to be understood of Severus Caesar: who being sent by Galerius with an Army against Maxentius, when he would have made preparations to lay Siege to Rome, he was deserted by his own Forces, (whom Maxentius had brought off to his own side by the hope of rewards,) and fled to Ravenna: in which City he was besieged by Maxentius, and being soon imposed upon by the fraud and perjuries of Maximianus Herculius, and carried to Rome in the habit of a Captive he was quickly after killed; as 'tis related in the Gestā Constantini. See the following chapter, where Eusebius relates this matter more at large. Valef.*

CHAP. XXVII.

That [Constantine] weighing in his mind the deaths of those who had worshipped Idols, chose rather the [profession of] Christianity.

**B**UT having well considered with himself, that he wanted some better assistance than his Military Forces, because of the evil Arts and Magick Impostures studiously followed by the Tyrant; he sought for a God to be his Assistant; and accounted his furniture of Arms

B b b and

† Or, *In* and Military Companies † as secondary helps on the second ly; but [persuaded himself,] that the assistance of a Deity was invincible and inextinguishable.

\* Or, *This* \* these thoughts arose in his mind: that of  
*thought.* those many who had arrived at the Empire

ὁ ἑστὸς became <sup>b</sup> a cheap and easy sacrifice of death. Having, I say, muffled up all these thoughts within his own mind, and considered them well, he judged  
 \* O, Folly, it the highest pitch of † madness to  
 trifle about [the worship of †] those  
 Gods which are nothing, and, after so clear a  
 conviction, still to run on in blind error: but  
 his Sentiment was, that he ought only to wor-  
 ship the God of his Father.  
 thus; *Tuquam superuacuae mortis accessio factus est, was made as*  
*twere the superfluous accession of death.* *Or, Porcius, before him,*  
*had rendered it facti accessionem, the accession, or, purchase of Fate.* But  
 I understand not, why Severus should be filled the wantage of death,  
 when he only of all his Army perished. I had therefore rather render  
*παύσιον, οὐκ ἐπιβόητον, a cheap and easy Sacrifice.* For vile persons  
 are rightly termed *δωδεῖς παύσιον.* Also *tribus* ever happens *without*  
*Labour and amiss* *spore as twere,* is rightly termed *παύσιον.* So  
 the death of Severus Caesar may rightly be filled *παύσιον,* in regard he  
 was taken, and slain so easily, as if he had had no Soldiers about  
 him. And perhaps it should be written *παύσιον ἐξ ὅτου παύσιον.*  
 Indeed, *Gelasius* *Cyzrenius's* words (book 1. chap. 3.) are these;  
*κλῆς ἔξ τῶ τῆς κερῆς τῶ ὅπου νῦν αὐτοῦ βασιλεως οὐλα, παύσιον*  
*τῆς μάχης πρὸς τὸ κρον συγχρησίζω;* where the Translator  
 has rendered it the *Accession of the War*, which I like not. I had  
 rather translate it in *Gelasius* thus, *his velut belli praeludis ad bellum*  
*spium usus, having used these p. ludes of war as twere in order to the*  
*war is self.* So also *Eusebius* expresses himself hereafter at book 2.  
 chap. 52. Further, at this place there is a figure which *Grecians* term  
*ὁσιν σπένδω.* For the overthrow of Severus Caesar preceded that  
 ignominious flight of *Galerius.* Valef.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*That whilst he was praying to God, He shewed him a Vision; to wit, a Cross of Light in the \* Heavens, (it being then mid-day,) and \* Or, an Inscription thereon, which admonished him. that by That he should Conquer.*

HE called upon this God therefore in his prayers, entreating and beseeching him, that who ever he was, he would manifest himself to him, and reach out his right hand [to his assistance] in his present affairs. Whilst the Emperor was putting up these Prayers and earnest Supplications, a most wonderful sign sent from God appeared. Which [sign,] had any other person given a Relation of it, would not easily have been \* received as true. But since the † Victorious Emperor himself told it to us who write this History, a long while after, namely at such time as we were vouchsafed his knowledge and converse; and confirmed his Relation with an || oath; who will hereafter doubt of giving credit to his Narrative? Especially, when the succeeding \* Times gave an evident attestation to this Relation. † About the Meridian hours of the Sun when the day was declining, he said he saw with his own Eyes the Trophy of the Cross in the † Heavens, placed over the Sun, made up of Light, and an Inscription annexed to it containing these words, BY THIS CONQUER. And, that at the sight thereof, an amazement seized both him and all his Military Forces, which followed him as he was making a Journey some whither, and were spectators of the Miracle.

b Ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἡλίου ὥρας ὥδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπολήσκει. *Nicephorus* (book 7, chap. 29.) has expounded this place thus: ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ἡλίου σημαίνει τὴν ἡμέραν ἑσπέρην, τὴν ἡλίου ὥραν ἀνατολῆς. For being about noon on the march thither his Army about him, the Sun verging towards the West, &c. So also Porphyrius has rendered Eusebius's words: Sub meridieum (lays he) inclinatio jam die, about noon, the day now declining. But perhaps the whole clause is to be continued in one breath, and the words of Eusebius to be construed in this manner, τῆς ἡμέρας ἀπολήσκει ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὥρας, when the day was now verging towards noon. Which interpretation is favoured by Zonaras, who giving an account of this Vision in the *Gesta of Constantine*, says it appeared ὡς ἡμέρας, at mid-day. Indeed, in the *King's* and *Fiskeian Manuscripts*, there is no *Comma* after the word ὥρας, but only after the word ἀπολήσκει a *Comma* is set. And yet in *Socrates* (book 1, chap. 2) who wrote out these words of Eusebius, after the word ὥρας, is set a *Comma*. Therefore *Christopherson* at both places renders it thus *ciriter meridieum, die jam in pomeridianum tempus aliquantulum inclinante*, about noon, the day now declining somewhat towards the afternoon. Which to me seems foolish. For ἀπολήσκει ἡμέρας cannot be said, but when the day declines towards the Evening, that is, after the ninth hour of the day, as *Nicephorus* rightly took it. But how can that agree with the preceding words ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας, &c? For is the same as if you should say, about noon towards the evening. Some one will perhaps say, that by these last words ἀπολήσκει ἡμέρας Eusebius would mean, that that Vision was shewn to *Constantine* a little after noon. For the Sun going from the *Meridian Point*, afterwards by degrees verges into the West. But if Eusebius thought so, what need was there of so many words? For he might have expressed himself with more brevity, thus μεσσηνίᾳ ἔπειτα ἡμέρας, i.e. being now mid-day. Besides, Eusebius has said it in the plural number, ἀπὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας ὥρας, that it might appear that he meant not the sixth hour, but that whole space of hours which is ascribed to noon, to wit from the fifth hour to the ninth. Wherefore, I am induced to be of this opinion, that that Vision was prelofted to *Constantine* about the ninth hour of the day, whilst he was making a journey in company with his Army. And this is plainly confirmed by the following words. For Eusebius adds that *Constantine* being amazed after the Vision, whilst he was making many things within his own mind, might come on. Whence it appears, that that Vision appeared to *Constantine* and his Soldiers

not long before night. In the Eleventh Book of the Historia Miscellanea where this passage of Eusebius is produced, this rendition of it occurs, circa meridiem, declinante jam sole, about noon, the Sun now declining. Valef.

CHAP. XXIX.

That God's Christ appeared to him in his sleep, and ordered him to make use of a Standard made in the form of a Cross, in his Wars.

Moreover, he began to doubt with himself, as he said, what the meaning of this Apparition should be. But whilst he was revolving it in his mind, and very intent in his thoughts upon it, on a sudden night came on. At which time [as he said,] the Christ of God appeared to him when asleep, with that sign which had been shown him in the Heavens; and ordered him to get a Standard made in imitation of that he had seen in the Heaven which he should use as a salutary defence in his Engagements with his Enemies.

CHAP XXX.

The making of that Standard framed in the fashion of a Cross.

As soon as it was day he arose, and declared the whole secret to his friends. Then he called together the Workers in Gold and precious Stones, in the midst of whom he himself sat, and by discourse gave them a description of that \* Standard, and ordered them to express its likeness in Gold and precious Stones. Which [Standard] we our selves also \* hapned sometime to have a sight of.

\* Or, Sign.  
\* Ὁρθεύσαι ποτὶ παραλαβὴν. The verb ὠρθεύειν is to be added, which I found written at the margin of Moreau's Copy. In the King's Sheets this place is supplied at the margin in this manner; αὐτὸς βασιλεὺς, οὗ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν χειρομίδιον, ἡβλῶντος, the Emperor himself, God having bestowed that also, vouchsafed [us a sight of it.] And so Sr Henry Savil and Christopherfon read. In the Fukeian Manuscript this place is written thus, ὁ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὀρθολογίαι ποτὶ σωθῆναι παραλαβὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς, &c. as above. But, the one of these expressions is superfluous. For either the verb ὠρθεύειν must be expunged; or else those words αὐτοῦ βασιλεὺς, &c. must be left out. Unless you will read as Sr Henry Savil did, αὐτὸς δὲ βασιλεὺς, &c. For the Emperor himself, God having bestowed that also, vouchsafed us a sight of it. Valef.

CHAP. XXXI.

A description of the Standard made in fashion of a Cross, which the Romans do now term The Labarum.

It was made in this form. A very long Spear overlaid with Gold, \* had a piece like a Sail-yard laid overthwart it, framed in fashion of a Cross. Above, on the very top of the

\* Κίρας ἑξαρ-  
zen. Len-  
gus, Porte-  
fion of a Cross. Above, on the very top of the  
Christopherfon have rendered it Cornu, a Horn; whereas they ought to have translated it antennam, i. e. a cross piece like that whereon a Sail is fixed, or, the Sail-yard. Valef.

Spear, was fixt a Crown, made up of precious Stones and Gold. In this Crown was the Symbol of the Salutary Appellation, to wit, two Letters representing the name of Christ, [which they] denoted by the first Characters, the letter Rho being cut thorow in its middle part. Which two letters the Emperor was wont to wear in his Helmet, though [he embraced that usage] in the times which succeeded these matters. Further, from the Cross-piece fixed athwart the Spear, was hung a kind of a \* Flag, to wit, a \* Or, purple cloth, covered with a variety of precious Sail. Stones joyned one with another, which dazzled mens eyes with the Rays of their Light; and being interwoven with much Gold, presented those that viewed it with an inexpressible kind of Beauty. This Flag, hung at the Cross-piece, \* had a length exactly equal to its breadth. But, the upright Staff of the Spear, \* from its lowest part was extended to a very great length, and in its upper part, under mended it the Trophy of the Cross, at the very top of the \* Flag embroidered with a variety of colours, it bore a Golden Picture of the Pious Emperor, as far as his breast, and [a representation] likewise of his children. This salutary Standard the Emperor always made use of as a defence against the opposed Forces of all Enemies whatever; and he gave order, that other Standards made like to this should be carried at the head of all his Armies.

after, the same Copy and Turnebus read παρὰ τῆς, not παρὰ τοῦ. Valef.  
\* Σύνθεσις ὡς καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν. By these words Eusebius shews, that that Flag or Sail was square. For an equal measure of length and breadth, does necessarily make a square figure. Indeed, in the old Copy of Constantine and the following Princes, this Flag is to be seen in that figure I have mentioned. Christopherfon therefore has rendered this place ill, in this manner. Istud igitur velamen ad cornu affixum, longitudo sine latitudine crucis mensuram penitus exaequavit. Valef.  
\* The meaning is, that that Spear from its base to the Antenna, or Cross-piece fixed athwart it, was far longer, than from the Antenna, to its very top. And this also may be discerned in the Copy. This place may likewise have another meaning, viz. that that Spear was of a very great length from its bottom to the top. Valef.  
\* Τὸ διαγέγραπτον ὡς ἐν τῷ δεξιῷ. It must be written τὸ διαγέγραπτον, that is Painted or Embroidered with a variety of Colours. For, that purple Flag which hung at the Antenna, was adorned with Gold and various sorts of Stones. But, I can't imagine what Christopherfon meant who has rendered these words of Eusebius in this manner, ad texture discurrunt fimbriae: unless he read διατέχνητο: instead of διαγέγραπτο. Valef.

CHAP. XXXII.

That Constantine becoming a Catechumen, read the Sacred Scriptures.

BUT these things [were done] a little afterwards. But being then amazed at that wonderful Vision, after he had taken a resolution of worshipping \* no other God but him whom he had seen, he sent for \* those persons that were skilled in the Mysteries of His Doctrine; and enquired of them what that God was, and \* what the Vision of that Sign meant.

or ἄλλα θεῶν, no other. Sr Henry Savil at the margin of his Copy hath mended it ἰδὲ θεῶν διδόν: the Fukeian Manuscript has it ἰδὲ θεῶν διδόν.  
\* Τὸ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μύσας. At this place Eusebius seems to have made use of μύσας instead of μυστηριώδεις. For there is no doubt but he means the Bishops: because a little after he adds these words, καὶ ἰδὲ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον μυστήριον αὐτῶν πνευματικῶν, &c. and having made those Prelates of God his Assistants, &c. Valef.  
\* Or, What was the meaning of that Sign of the Vision which appeared.



## C H A P. XXXVI.

Maxentius's Magick Arts against Constantine; and the scarcity of Provisions at Rome.

**A**T length, as the Complement of his Impieties, the Tyrant proceeded to [execute] the delusions of *Magick Arts*; sometimes ripping up Women great with Child; otherwhiles searching into the Bowels of new-born Infants: He also † killed Lyons, and performed some other Horrid Rites, to call forth the Demons, and repel the approaching War. For he hoped, that by these performances, he should obtain Victory. Whilst he Tyrannized therefore in this manner at Rome, 'tis impossible to relate what mischievous facts he perpetrated, and [how miserably] he enslaved his Subjects: In so much that, they were reduced to such extreme penury and want of necessary sustenance, \* as (Tis recorded by those of our times,) never happened at Rome, nor any where else.

† Or, Sacrificed.

\* Or, As those of our age do record never to have happened at Rome, or any where else.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

The overthrow of Maxentius's Armies in Italy.

**B**UT Constantine, moved with compassion at all these [calamities of the Romans,] furnished himself with all manner of Military provisions against the Tyranny. And when he had procured the supreme God to be his Patron, and invoked His [Son] Christ to be his Saviour and Assistant; and had set up the Victorious Trophy, to wit, the salutary Standard, before his Soldiers and Guards, he began his march with his whole Army, that by his intervention he might restore to the Romans the Liberties they had received from their Ancestors. Now Maxentius, confiding more in his Magick \* Impostures, than in the Love and Affection of his Subjects, durst not so much as stir out of the City Gates; but with a multitude of Soldiers, and with innumerable Bodies of Men laid in Ambushes, had fortified every place, Region, and City, which were under the pressures of his Tyranny. But the Emperor [Constantine] depended upon Divine assistance, and having attacked the Tyrant's first, second, and third Body, and with ease routed them all at the very first charge, he opened himself a passage into the greatest part of the Country of Italy.

\* Or, Drivens.

## C H A P. XXXVIII.

Maxentius's Death on the Bridge of the River Tiber.

**A**ND he had now made his approaches very near to Rome it self. But least he should be constrained to assault all the Romans for the Tyrant's sake only, God himself drew the Tyrant, (as it were with Cords) a great way out of the Gates: and effectually confirmed the

truth of those Miracles (Recorded in the everlasting Monuments of the Sacred Scriptures, which though they are accounted fabulous by many Persons, and are not credited, are nevertheless believed by the Faithful,) he had wrote in times past against the wicked, to all in general. Believers as well as Infidels, who with their own eyes saw this Miracle were about to relate: For, as heretofore in the days of Moses and the old religious Nation of the Jews, God cast the Chariots of Pharaoh and his Army into the Sea, and drowned his Chosen Captains in the Red-Sea: after the same manner Maxentius with the Soldiers and Guards that were about him, were cast into the deep like a stone; at such time as, having been put to flight by that Divine power which gave assistance to Constantine's Arms, he would have past the River that was in the way before him. Over which he having laid a Bridge of Boats well fastened together, had thereby framed an Engine of destruction against himself, being in hopes that the [Emperour] beloved by God might have been caught in this snare: but the God whom he worshipped was present with, and gave him his assistance. But the wretched Maxentius,

deprived of his aid, framed these secret machines against himself. On which account these words may be pertinently spoken of him; wherefore, \* He bath graven and <sup>Psalm 7.</sup> 16, 17. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 3. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 4. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 5. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 6. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 7. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 8. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 9. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 10. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 11. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 12. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 13. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 14. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 15. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 16. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 17. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 18. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 19. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 20. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 21. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 22. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 23. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 24. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 25. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 26. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 27. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 28. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 29. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 30. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 31. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 32. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 33. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 34. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 35. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 36. 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124.</sup> 483. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 484. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 485. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 486. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 487. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 488. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 489. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 490. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 491. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 492. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 493. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 494. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 495. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 496. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 497. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 498. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 499. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 500. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 501. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 502. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 503. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 504. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 505. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 506. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 507. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 508. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 509. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 510. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 511. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 512. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 513. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 514. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 515. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 516. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 517. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 518. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 519. <sup>Psalm 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124.</sup> 557. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 558. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 559. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 560. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 561. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 562. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 563. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 564. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 565. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 566. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 567. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 568. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 569. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 570. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 571. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 572. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 573. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 574. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 575. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 576. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 577. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 578. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 579. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 580. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 581. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 582. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 583. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 584. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 585. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 586. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 587. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 588. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 589. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 590. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 591. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 592. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 593. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 594. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 595. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 596. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 597. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 598. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 599. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 600. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 601. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 602. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 603. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 604. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 605. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 606. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 607. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 608. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 609. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 610. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 611. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 612. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 613. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 614. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 615. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 616. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 617. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 618. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 619. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 620. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 621. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 622. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 623. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 624. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 625. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 626. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 627. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 628. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 629. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 630. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 631. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 632. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 633. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 634. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 635. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 636. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 637. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 638. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 639. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 640. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 641. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 642. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 643. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 644. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 645. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 646. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 647. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 648. <sup>Psalm 124.</sup> 649.

## CHAPTER XXIX

Constantine's *Entry into Rome.*

**A**fter *Constantine*, who at that time imitated that Great servant of God *Moses*, had in reality sung these and other such like Hymns as these, in praise of God the Governour of all things, and the Authour of Victory, he made his entry into the Imperial City in Triumph. And immediately all Persons, as well those of the *Senatorian* as them of the *Equeſtrian Order* in that City, being freed from the confinement of a Prison as 'twere, together with the whole *Roman* Populace, received him with a joy in their \* Countenances that proceeded from their very Souls, with acclamations and a gladness insatiable. And the Men, together with the Women, Children, and infinite numbers of Servants, stiled him a Redeemer, a Saviour, and a Benefactor, with Voices that could not be silenced. But he, posselt of a Piety towards God naturally implanted in him, was neither swelled with pride at these Shouts, nor elevated at these commendations. But being sensible of that assistance which God had given him, he forthwith rendered a Thanksgiving to the Authour of his Victory.

## CHAP. XL.

*Concerning the Statue of Constantine which held a Cross; and concerning its Inscription.*

AND with a Loud Voice and by Inſcriptions  
He made known to all Men the Salutary  
Standard by erecting this Great Trophy a-  
gainſt his Enemies in the miſt of the Imperial  
City, and plainly Engraving this Salutary  
Standard, which is the preſervative of the Ro-  
man Government and of the Empire of the  
whole World, with indelible Characters. He  
iſſued out therefore an immediate order, that  
an high Spear made in the form of a Croſs,  
ſhould be placed under the hand of his own  
likenefs expreſt in a Statue ſet up in the moſt  
publick and frequented place of the City Rome,  
and that this very inſcription in the Latine  
Tongue ſhould be cut upon it: [thus Engliſhed;]

ment is to be preferred. Further, at these words I began a new chapter, following the Authority of the *King's* and *Fuketan Manuscripts*; to which agree the *old Sheets*. Vale!

<sup>b</sup> Διαρρίψας ὅ. The reading is truer in the *Panegyric*, διαρρίψας τὴν, and by plainly Engraving, &c. A little after this, the *Foketian* and *Savilian Manuscripts* add a word in this manner, συλακτεῖται ἀπὸ τῆς *Force*, which he hath demonstrated to be the preterative, &c. Vol. 2.

BY THIS SALUTARY SIGN  
 || Or, True WHICH IS THE || COGNIZANCE  
 OF TRUE VALOUR, I HAVE  
 DELIVERED AND FREED  
 YOUR CITY FROM THE  
 SLAVISH YOAK OF THE  
 TYRANT. AND HAVE SET  
 AT LIBERTY THE SENATE  
 AND PEOPLE OF ROME AND  
 RESTORED THEM TO THEIR  
 ANCIENT SPLENDOUR AND  
 DIGNITY.

## CHAP. XLII.

*The rejoycings over the Provinces, and Constantine's Acts of Grace.*

THE Pious Emperour having in this manner adorned himself with the Confession of the Victorious Croſs, with all imaginable freedom of Speech made known the Son of God to the *Romans*. And all Persons inhabiting the City, as well the Senate as the People, in regard they had been eased of a bitter and Tyrannick Government, seemed in their own judgments to enjoy purer Rays of light, and to \* enter upon \* Or, Par. a certain new life as 'twere. All those Nations also which are bounded with the Western Ocean, freed from those mischiefs wherewith they had been before oppressed, celebrated Festivals with the greatest cheerfulness, and continued to applaud [*Constantine*, and give him the Titles of] *Virtour, Pious*, and *The Common Benefactor*. And with one voice and one mouth, all Persons acknowledged he was a Common Good: \* bestowed on Men by God's favour \* Or, and benignity. Moreover, the Emperour's *Shown to* Letters were fix'd up in all places, which al- \* Or, *Edict* lowed an enjoyment of their own Estates: to *was*. those who had had their Goods taken from them, and recalled to their own Houses such as had undergone an unjust Exile. And those Persons were freed from Bonds, all manner of danger, and fear, who by a Tyrannick Cruelty had lain under these sufferings.

## CHAP. XLII.

*The Honours conferred on the Bishops, and the Building of the Churches.*

**M**oreover, the Emperour personally invited God's Ministers to himself, and vouchsafed them the highest <sup>a</sup> Veneration and Honour; to whom he gave a kind and courteous Reception; as well by deeds as words, in regard they were Persons consecrated to his God. There were admitted therefore to his own Table, Men who as to their outward <sup>b</sup> Garb indeed and Dreß seemed despicable; <sup>c</sup> but they were not accounted such by him: For he was not for viewing the outside of a Man, which is visible to the eyes, <sup>d</sup> but was pleased to look upon God himself.

<sup>a</sup> Respect  
<sup>b</sup> outward  
<sup>c</sup> dress  
<sup>d</sup> I think it must be made, respecting to his generation and honour.  
Turnebis in the margin of his Copy had  
mended it, *ἡσυχίας καὶ ταπεινότητος*, &c. and so 'tis written in the *Fukien Manuscripts*. In the *King's Sheets* the adverb *eis* is blotted out, and in its place *ἐναντι ἐκείνου* is written above. *Vale!*

ἡ Τῆς οὐραίας Θεογονίας ἐκείνης. At this place *οὐραία* signifies not the *condemnation and form*, as *Christophorjon* thought, but the *Garb and Drefs*. Wherefore I have exprest both in my Rendition; which I afterwards found had been done by *Portefius* also. The Garb and Dreß of Prelates was at that time very mean, as *Amm. Marcellinus* tells us in his 27th Book, where he speaks concerning *Damasus* and *Ursinus*. *Gregory Nazianzen* also, in the *Funeral Oration* he wrote concerning the *praises of Basiliius*, says that he, whilst he was *Bishop of Caesarea*, was clad in a mean Cloak, which he terms *παῖον*. *Vatell.*

\* Τὸν Στάδ δὲ ἀντιθέλει βέλκεν. In the King's Sheers this place is  
 supplied in the Margin, in this manner, τὸν δὲ ἐν ἑαυτῷ μακάριον  
 ἀντιθέλει βέλκεν Στάδ, but was pleased to behold God honoured in each  
 person. But the reading is shorter in the Rukian and Savil. Ma-  
 nuscripts thus, τὸν δὲ Στάδ ἀντιθέλει βέλκεν αὐτόν, but was pleased, or,  
 thought good to look upon God himself. Valef.

And these Persons he carried a long with him, which way so ever he made a journey; being fully perswaded, that that God whom they worshipped, would for this very reason be propitious to him. Moreover, he gave very \* large and plentiful † Benefactions to the Churches of God out of his own Treasury; partly enlarging the Oratories, and raising them to an height; and partly adorning the august † Sacraments of the Churches with many consecrated Gifts.

Or, Chapels, or, Vestries of the Church.

C H A P. XLIII.

Concerning Constantine's Beneficence towards the Poor.

HE likewise made various distributions of Money to the indigent. Besides, he shewed himself humane and beneficent even to Extraneous Persons who made their addresses to him. And to those Wretches and Subjects, who begd in the Forum, he [gave] not only Money, and necessary food; but provided them decent garments also to cover their Bodies. But, on those, who had heretofore

\* Or, Life. lived well, and by a change of \* Fortune had afterwards fallen into great Calamities, he bestowed larger and more plentiful allowances. And with a mind truly Royal, conferred on such Persons as these, magnificent Benefactions; to some of whom he gave possessions of Lands; and honoured others of them with various dignities. He took a care, nothing inferior to that of a Father, of those fallen into

the calamities of † Orphanry: and relieved the destitute and forlorn condition of Widows; by cherishing them with his own patronage and protection. Moreover, he match'd young Virgins made Orphans by the loss of their Parents, to rich Men and such as were known to himself. And this he did, when he had before-hand bestowed on the Virgins \* marrying, whatever it was fitting they should bring to such Persons as took them to Wife. [In fine,] \* as the Sun, when it rises upon the earth, does liberally impart the Rays of its Light to all Men: in the very same manner Constantine, going out of his Imperial Palace early in the Morning, † and rising as 'twere together with that celestial Luminary, imparted the Rays of Light of his own \* Beneficence to all those who approach'd his presence. Nor did ever any Person come near to him, who gained not something of good: neither were they ever frustrated of their good hope, who had expected to receive assistance from him.

\* That is, *Christophoros* renders it ill, *married*; for, not those that are married, but them who are marrying bring a Portion to their Husbands. The same *Christophoros* has committed the like mistake, in turning the word *τὸν νεκρὸν* dead, as we have noted at *Euseb. Eccl. Hist. Book 10. Chap. 8. Note (c.)* Valef.

† *Ὁμοῦ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ τῆς γὰρ ἀγαθῆς χάριτος*; which words *Valesius* renders thus, *ex eum celestis solis fulgore quodammodo exoritur*, and rising in a manner with a celestial beam of the Sun.

‡ In the King's *Ἀναγίστη*, at the side of these words, this mark is set, *εἰ*, which mark seems to me to denote, *ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ* seu *τῆς*, an elegant expression, or, place. Valef.

\* *καλοῦμαι*. *Euseb. Hist.* uses this term to signify benignity or beneficence. So he has also used this word in the tenth book of his *Hist.* Valef.

C H A P. XLIV.

How he was present at the Synods of Bishops.

SUCH was his behaviour towards all Persons in general. But his care of the Church of God was signal and eminent: [For] when some Persons in several Provinces differed one with another; like some Common Bishop constituted by God, he convened Synods of God's Ministers: Nor disdain'd he to be present and sit with them in the midst of their Congress; but made himself an Associate in reference to the matters inquired into, and ministr'd to all Persons those things which have relation to the peace of God. Further, he sat in the midst of them, as one amongst many; and would send off his *Protektors*, his Armed Men, and all the Guards of his Body; but he was covered with the fear of God, and surrounded with the dearest affection of his \* Faithful friends. And when he perceived any Persons inclinable to acquiesce in an opinion that was sounder and better, and disposed to a quiet and agreeing temper of Mind; he approved highly of such Men, and shewed himself extraordinarily pleased at the unanimous consent of all. But he had an aversion for those that were opinionative and not to be perswaded.

towards the Emperor, as the Translators thought: but he styles the *Christianus* for *For Constantine*, in regard he was a most Religious Emperor, when ever he was present at the Councils of Bishops, went to send off all his Guards, and took with him only those of his Courtiers, who had been instructed in the mysteries of the Christian Faith. Valef.

C H A P. XLV.

In what manner he bore with the \* Mad-men. \* That is, The Donatists.

MOREOVER, he patiently bore with some Persons who were exasperated \* against him; commanding such Men in expressions that were sedate and mild, to behave themselves with prudence and modesty, and not to raise Seditions. Some of these People, revering his admonitions, desisted [from being obstinate and perverse.] But he let alone others of them, who were incurable in reference to their being brought to a soundness of mind, and committed against them to God; having at no time designed any thing of severity against any one of them. Hence reading it it happened, (as 'tis probable,) that \* those who had raised a Sedition in the Region of the *Africans*, proceeded to such an height of wickedness, that they attempted some audacious facts; \* the Devil (as 'tis likely,) envying that plenty of the present blessings, and inciting I found those Men to absurd practices, that he might widen the mind of the Emperor against them. (so in *Morru's* *Comment.*)

¶ In the old Sheets likewise 'tis mended in the same hand. Valef.

¶ He means the Donatists, of whose boldness and insolence many passages occur in *Opeanus* and *Augustinus*. Concerning the beginning and progress of which Schism throughout Africa, we have made many remarks not taken notice of by others, and have designedly placed them at the close of these notes. Valef. See *Valesius's* notes on *Eusebius* pag. 289, &c.

¶ In the King's Sheets, this place is thus supplied in the Margin, *τὸν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τὸν δολοφονῆσαν*; some wicked devil (as 'tis likely) which is more elegant. Valef.



But he reapt no advantage by his envy; In regard the Emperor accounted what was done to be <sup>a</sup> ridiculous, and affirmed that he acknowledged it the incitation of the Devil. For [the said] that those were not the actions of [such] Persons, but of such as were either altogether Mad-Men, or stimulated, by the wickedest of Devils: which sort of People ought to be pitied, rather than punished. [For it would not be done by such an height of justice to be incited] <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

C H A P. XLVI.

*His Victories over the Barbarians.*

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

C H A P. XLVII.

*The Death of Maximin and others, whose Plots Constantine discovered, God making them known to him.*

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

*Constantine*; and, being discovered, ended his *culpa*. For life by a most ignominious death. And <sup>a</sup> this he had obtained the first Person, whose Pictures, Statues, and what ever other Monuments are usually erected in honour of the Emperours, were defaced and thrown down in all parts of the World, in regard he was an impious and wicked bad friend wretch. After this Man, other Persons also related to him, who were contriving secret Plots against *Constantine*, were detected: God being himself in a most miraculous manner being the discoverer of all their designs to his Servant, ended his life with his own presence, the Divine Likeness appearing to him in a most wonderful manner, and suggesting to him all manner of foreknowledge words, in relation to future affairs. Indeed, the Miracles [shown him] by Divine Grace, are inexplicable; nor is it possible for a Narrative to comprehend, what great blessings God himself vouchsafed to afford his Servant. With which he was surrounded, and spent the residue of his life in Repose and Safety; highly pleased at the benevolence and good affection of his Subjects, rejoicing because he saw all those under his Government leading peaceable *Maximian* and cheerful lives; but above all, extraordinarily delighted with the splendour and flourishing condition of God's Churches.

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

C H A P. XLVIII.

*The Celebration of Constantine's Decennalia.*

<sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct. <sup>a</sup> *Eusebius* makes use of too soft a term. For those things which were then done by such an height of justice to be incited <sup>a</sup> against the fury of Mad-Men, as 'tis a transcendency of Humanity to compassionate their conduct.

## CHAP. XLIX.

*In what manner Licinius afflicted the East.*

\* At these words a chapter is begun in the *Fukerian Manuscript*, and in the old *Sheets*. Valef.

FOR, a certain Savage Beast, he was told, had better both the Church of God there, and the rest of the Provincials also; the most impure Devil, enraged with emulation as 'twere, striving to do the quite contrary to those things performed by the pious Emperour. In so much that, the *Roman Empire*, divided into two parts, seemed to all men to be like the night and the day. For, a darkness involved the Inhabitants of the East: but a most bright day enlightened those who dwelt in the \* Western parts. Whose enjoyment of those innumerable Blessings procured them by God, was an intolerable spectacle to the Envy of the Devil that hater of good: nor did the Tyrant, who oppressed the other part of the world, think that fit to be born with. Who seeing the affairs of his Empire succeeding prosperously, and being vouchsafed an affinity by marriage to so great an Emperour as *Constantine* was, relinquished the imitation of that pious Prince, and strove to embrace the instructions and wicked Morals of the Impious. And he made it his business, rather to follow their advices, whose calamitous end he had been an eye-witness of, than to continue in a friendship and amity with him that was his Better.

\* This place must be made up from chapter 8 book 10. of his *Eccl'es. History*; whence also the following chapter is to be mended. Valef.

## CHAP. L.

*In what manner Licinius attempted to frame Treacheries against Constantine.*

\* Or, Traitor.

HE raises therefore an \* irreconcilable War against his Benefactor; without calling to mind the Laws of friendship; not considering his Oaths, his affinity, or the Leagues [that were between them.] For, the most Benigne [*Constantine*,] that he might give him the forest evidence of his sincere Benevolence and affection, made him partaker of his own paternal Lineage, and of that Imperial blood he drew from his Ancestours, by matching his Sister to him; and permitted him to enjoy the Collegue-ship of the whole *Roman Empire*. But *Licinius*'s thoughts were contrary hereto, being taken up in contriving Machinations and ill-designs against his Better; inventing various sorts of \* Treacheries successively, that with mischiefs he might reward his Benefactor. And at the beginning he pretended friendship, and performed all things with deceit and fraud; hoping that his audacious designs might be kept concealed. But God discovered those Treacheries of his, hatch'd in darkness, to his Servant [*Constantine*,] Whereupon *Licinius*, because detected in his first attempts, betook himself to second frauds; sometimes pretending friendship; at others, procuring himself belief [by the Religion] of Oaths and Leagues: then on a sudden he would violate what he had agreed to; and again, would crave pardon by an Embassy; after which he would render himself infamous by Lyes. But at

\* Or, Menaces.

length he proclaimed open War; and, infligated by a desperate madness of mind, took a resolution in future to bear Arms against God himself, of whom he well knew the Emperour [*Constantine*] was a Worshipper.

## CHAP. LI.

*Licinius's Treacheries against the Bishops, and his prohibitions of Synods.*

AND in the first place, with great closeness and subtlety he made strict inquiry into those Ministers of God that lived under his Dominions, who had never committed any Crime against his Government; by hunting out Various Calumnies against them. And when he could not furnish himself with any the least offence of theirs, nor had [any pretext] wherewith he might blame these men; he issued forth a Law, whereby he commanded, that the Bishops should in no wise \* confer one with another in any place whatever, nor should it be Lawful for any one of them to go into the Church of his neighbour; nor to convene Synods, nor Councils; or to consult about matters that were useful and advantageous. Now, this gave him an occasion of vexing and disquieting us. For, if those of our Religion transgress that Law of his, they were obliged to undergo punishment; but, if they paid an obedience to this his Order, of necessity they must enervate the Laws of the Church. For, 'tis impossible that the more momentous † Controversies should by any other means be composed and rectified, than by Synods. And of confidence thus this [Tyrant] highly odious to God, because he studied in all things to contradict the pious Emperour, issued out such Orders as these [in reference to us *Christians*,] For *Constantine* called together God's Priests, in a honour to those consecrated persons, and for the promoting of mutual Peace and Concord. But *Licinius*, attempting to abrogate whatever was well constituted, endeavoured to disturb the harmonious agreement [of the Churches.]

¶ Disspate, or, tear in sunder.

And this reading I found in *Morav's* Copy also. But I had rather write, *αρε τῶ ὁῦ ἱερουργῶν τῶν, in honour to those consecrated persons.* For *Eusebius* gives reasons, why the Emperour *Constantine* would ever and anon convene Synods of Bishops. The first reason, says he, was, that he might give honour to Gods Priests when assembled together. Secondly, that he might establish Peace and Concord amongst them. 'Tis certain, *Eusebius* does usually term *The Priests* *ἱερουργῶν*, as it frequently occurs in these books. But if, with *Turnebus*, we would rather read *αρε τῶν ἱερουργῶν*, then it must be made *τῶν τῶν*, that the discourse may agree with what follows; and *ἱερουργῶν* must be taken for Religion in self; which is more uncouth. For I had rather express it thus, *τῶν τῶν ἱερουργῶν*, in honour to the sacred Law. Valef.

## CHAP. LII.

*The Banishments and Proscriptions of the Christians.*

AND because *Constantine*, who was God's friend, vouchsafed the servants of God admission into his Imperial Palaces; the Enemy

of God Licinius, whose Sentiments were quite contrary hereto, \* drove all God's Worshipers, who lived under his Dominions, from his Imperial Palaces; and sent into Banishment those persons in his Court that were faithfullest and best-affected to him. And such persons as for their former brave actions had received from him honour and dignities, them he ordered to serve others, and to perform servile Offices. And when he had seized upon the Goods of every one of them, as if they had been some unhop'd-for Gain; at last he threatened [to punish] those with death, who refused to themselves the salutary name [of Christians.] \* Further, whereas he himself posset a mind that was incontinent and lustful, and committed infinite Adulteries, and the most infamous Acts of obscenity; c it was his Sentiment that no man could be chaste and continent; \* and thus, from his own distemper he past an ill judgement upon the Nature of mankind in general.

\* Or, He Himself making use of himself as the Brand and Reproach of Nature.

the eighth year of Constantine's Empire. For there were two Civil Wars between Constantine and Licinius. The first War, wherein Licinius was vanquished at *Cibalir* in Pannonia, hapned on the year of Christ 314. The reasons of which War are Recorded by no other Writer, that I know of, but the *Author of the Excepcæ de Gefis Constantini*; see pag. 473. But the latter War was that, wherein Licinius was routed near *Hadrinople*, and at length compelled to a furender of himself on the year of Christ 324. *Eusebius* has made no mention of the former War; for this reason perhaps, because Licinius as yet had not raised Persecution against the *Christians*. For Licinius undertook to persecute the *Christians* long after that first War, to wit on the fourteenth year of Constantine's Empire, as 'tis Recorded in *Scribler's* and *Mitrov's* Edition of *Eusebius's* *Constitution*, that is on the year of Christ 338. The same year occurs in *Georgius's* *Chronica*. But *Baronius* relates, that Licinius raised Persecution against the *Christians* on the year of Christ 316. But in *Baronius's* *Annals*, the History of both the Wars against Licinius is very much confused, and must be amended, partly from *Idatius's* *Epist.* and partly from the *Gesta Constantini* heretofore published by me. 'Tis certain, *Sozomen* (book 1. chap. 7.) attests in express words, that Licinius undertook to persecute the *Christians* after the *Cibalensis* War. Valef.

From these words a new Chapter ought to have been begun. For these words belong to *Licinius's second Law*. Further, the expression *ἐκκλησίαν*, which occurs in the Contents of Chap. 53, seems to be faulty, and put instead of *ἐκκλησίαν, in the Church*. And yet its place, that both in the *King's Manuscript*, and in the *old Sheets*, the reading is constantly, *ἐκκλησίαν συναξίδος*. Although in the *old Sheets* it is mended in the same hand, *ἐκκλησίαν καὶ συναξίδος*. But in the *Fulgentian Manuscript* it is excellently written thus, *ἐκκλησίαν ἀνδρῶν καὶ καὶ συναξίδος*, *Would not meet in the Churches together with the men.* Vale!

Or, He despaired of finding the Ornament of Chastity amongst men. *Falsus* thinks it should be written and pointed thus, *ὁ τῶ ἀνδρῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου*; He despaired of the nature of men, making use of an ill argument.

## CHAP. LIII.

[Licinius's] *Edict, that Women should not meet in the Churches together with the Men.*

Wherefore, he made a second Law, wherein he gave Command, that the men should not be present at prayers [in the Church] of God together with the women: nor should womankind frequent the Venerable Schools of Virtue: Lastly, that the Bishops should not deliver the Divine Precepts of Religion to women; but, that women should be made choice of, to be the Teachers of women. But whereas these things seemed Ridiculous to all

persons, he invented another device for the subversion of the Churches. For, he ordered that the solemn Assemblies of the people should be held without the Gates, in the open fields; affirming, that the fresh air without the Gates was far more commodious for crowds, than the Oratories situate within the City.

## CHAP. LIV.

*That he Cashiered from the Militia those who refused to Sacrifice; and forbid, that such as were shut up in Prisons should have any nourishment given them.*

BUT when he perceived they would not obey him even in this, in future [he went to work] *bare-fac'd* [as we say,] and gave order, that the *Civil Milice* should be removed from their attendance upon the *Præsidial Office*, unless they were willing to sacrifice to *Demons*. \* See note (b) The *Offices* therefore of Magistrates throughout every Province, were emptied of pious and religious persons. And he himself, who made this Law, was deprived of the prayers of holy men, which he had bereaved himself of. What need we, besides these things, make mention, in what manner he gave order, that no person should show compassion to those afflicted in Prisons, by ministering food to them; nor, that any one should take commiseration of such as perished with Famine in their Bonds: (that is, that not so much as one good man should exist;) nor, that those who by nature it self are drawn to a compassion of their neighbours, should do any thing of good? Indeed, this was clearly the most impudent and unjust of Laws, and far out-did the utmost ferity of Nature. To which Law there was a penalty also annext, that they who shewed compassion should suffer the same Inflictions with those to whom they shewed it; and that such as performed Offices of Humanity, should be liable to punishment.

Esse is placed a *Commua*. *Τάξεις* or *τάξις* are Offices of Magistrats. For each Magistrat had his Office or Attendants. This Office was a certain Body of Officials or Soldiers, who attended on the Judge, it may be seen in the *Notitia* of the Roman Empire. These Offices the Greeks termed *τάξεις*, as I have long since remarked at the 26th book of *Amm. Marcellinus*, pag. 318 of my notes. The Old Glosses therefore are right, in explaining *τάξεις* *apparii* & *officium*, *apparii*. So *Joann. Crisostome* in his first Homily on the Epistle to the Corinthians; *οἱ δὲ τὸν τὰ τάξεις, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ὀφείλουσι τὰν ποταμὸν ἑστῆναι*, &c. Don't you see children, how when at play they make a company of Apparours or Attendants, and Officials, &c. *Valis*.

c. *Τὸν ἐκτὸς παραφρασεύει.* Johannes Morinus, a Learned person who  
 has rendered these Books into French, thought that by *ἐξ* *ἐκτός*  
 here, the Gentiles or Heathens were meant; as if *Eusebius* had said,  
*What need we make mention of the Heathens.* See chap. 43. note (b).  
 But *Christopherson* renders *ἐκ* *ἐκτός* *præterea*, besides; as if it  
 'twere the same with *τὸν ἐκτὸς*, in which manner *Eusebius* expresses  
 himself at chap. 43. *Vales.* *Valesius* renders it in the same manner  
 with *Christopherson*.

## CHAP. LV.

*Concerning Licinius's Improbity and Avarice.*

Such were *Licinius's* Constitutions. But, what need we reckon up his Innovations concerning Marriages? Or his new Laws in relation

Or, Re-  
mains  
ing.

† The pu-  
nishment  
allotted  
him was  
as we  
are  
told, to  
starve in  
the midst  
of plenty.

† The pu-  
nishment  
allotted  
him was  
as we  
are  
told, to  
starve in  
the midst  
of plenty.

to chap. 8. in this manner; τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς διωκομένοις ἀποφυγεῖν, de-  
clining from the way of sober reason. In the Fulk. Turneb. and Savil.  
Copies, the reading is τὸ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποφυγεῖν. Valef.

† He means Galerius Maximianus, who was the first Author and  
Ringleader of the Christians Persecution, as Eusebius relates in book 8.  
of his Ecclesiastical History. Cedrenus writes, that on the eighteenth year of  
Dioclesian, Maximianus had raised a Persecution against the Christians.  
by the persecution of one Theoctetus an Impostour. Who having  
forged Acts of Pilate thrust with impiety against Christ, Galerius made  
an establishment by an Edict, that Masters should give them to their  
Scholars to be learned by heart. But any one may perceive, that Ce-  
drenus is out here, who attributes that to Galerius Maximianus, which  
was performed long after by Maximianus. This is an usual mistake a-  
mongst the Greeks, to confound Maximianus with Maximinus. Valef.

CHAP. LVII.

That Maximianus having been afflicted with  
a Fistulous Ulcer that bred worms, wrote  
[a Law] in favour of the Christians.

For; whereas he had begun a Siege of the  
Churches, and was the first that had desil'd  
his own soul with the blood of just and religious  
persons; a punishment sent from God seized  
him: which, having made its beginning in his  
very flesh, proceeded even to his soul. For on  
a sudden an impostume arose upon him about the  
middle of the privy parts of his Body; after that  
a Fistula in ano; and both these diseases spread  
incurably, and did eat into his inmost bowels.  
From them bred an unspeakable multitude of  
worms, and a most noysom stench proceeded. Or,  
therefrom. For, the whole mass of flesh upon  
his body, by reason of that abundance of food  
he devoured, was grown to an immense fatness:  
which being then petrified, became (as said)  
an intolerable and most horrid spectacle to those  
that approach'd him. Whilst therefore he was  
struggling under these many and great afflictions,  
at length, though late, he began to be sensible  
of the Villanies he had audaciously committed  
against the Church. After which, having made  
his confession to God, he stops the Persecution  
against the Christians; and by Laws and Imperial  
Edicts orders that their Churches should with  
all expedition be built: and commanded that the  
Christians themselves should perform their usual  
Solemnities, and make Supplications [to  
God] for him.

CHAP. LVI.

That at length he undertook the raising a Perse-  
cution [against the Christians.]

IN fine, he proceeded to that height of mad-  
ness, that he armed himself against the  
Churches; and sets upon the Bishops, whom  
he accounted to be his chiefest Adversaries;  
and look'd upon them as Enemies, who were  
friends to the Pious and Great Emperour. On  
which account he sharpened his fury most espe-  
cially against them, having forsaken the way of  
sober and right reason. Nor did he take into  
consideration the memory of them, who had Perse-  
cuted the Christians before him, nor of those,  
whose Destroyer and Punisher he himself had  
been appointed, because of the height of those im-  
pieties at which they had arrived. Neither [did  
he reflect upon] what he had been an eye-  
witness of; then, when with his own eyes he  
beheld the chief Author of [our] mischiefs,  
whosoever he was, smitten with a scourge sent  
from Heaven.

CHAP. LVIII.

That Maximinus being a Persecutor of the  
Christians, fled away in a servile habit and  
hid himself.

Such was the punishment, which the Beginner  
of the Persecution underwent. But this  
[Licinius,] concerning whom we now speak,  
who had been an eye-witness of these things,  
and by experience had had an accurate know-  
ledge thereof; nevertheless, on a sudden forgot  
all; neither did he call to mind the punishment  
inflicted on the Former, nor the revenging judgment [di-  
vine justice executed] on the Latter. Who, because  
he strove with the greatest  
earnestness imaginable, to out-do the Former in  
a Combat of mischiefs as 'twere, gloried in his  
invention of new punishments against us. For  
he was not satisfied with Fire, Sword, and the  
fastnings with Nails; nor with the wild-  
beast and depth of the Sea. But besides all  
these, he himself contrived a certain new sort  
of punishment, and by a Law gave order, that  
those members, whereby we perceive the light,  
should be destroyed. Immediately therefore, vast  
numbers, not only of men, but of children and  
women also, having had the Sights of their right  
eyes, and the junctures of their feet rendered useless,  
partly by Iron, and partly by † Cauteries, were  
thrust into the Mines, there to be afflicted with  
daily Labour. On which account, the just judg-  
ment

\* Οὗτοι τῶν ἐν τῷ δ' ἑστίῃ  
πυρρῇ δ' αὖν. The Proposition  
must be expunged. Further, this  
person termed the Latter is Maxi-  
minus Tyrant of the East. Valef.

\* Περὶ  
αὐτῶν.

ment of God not long after seized this person also; at such time as, putting his trust in *Demons*, whom he thought to be Gods, and confiding in innumerable *Myriads* of Armed men, he began an Engagement. For, being at that time deprived of the divine † assistance, he devoted

† Or, Hope.

himself of the Imperial Habit, which in no wise became him; and having in a cowardly and most unmanly manner shrowded himself in the common crowd, \* purchased his own safety by flight: after this, he absconded in the Fields and Country Villages [cloathed] in a servile habit, and supposed he might have kept himself concealed. But he could not thus avoid

\* Or, Invented,

† Or, Of universal providence.

the great Eye † of Providence which inspects all things. For when he hoped his life was now in safety, being struck with God's fiery dart, he fell prostrate on the ground; and his whole body was in such a manner consumed by a blow given him from Heaven, that the entire

\* Or, Figure.

\* shew of its Pristine beauty vanished; and only his parch'd bones, turned into a perfect Skeleton, like some Ghost, were left remaining to him.

# CHAP. LIX.

That Maximine, blinded by [the acuteness of] his Disease, \* issued out a Law in favour of the Christians. \* Or, Wrote.

Further, when this Disease, wherewith God had afflicted him, was arrived at a greater degree of acuteness and vehemency, \* his eyes leap'd out; and falling from their proper place, left him blind: thus, by a most just sentence he underwent the same punishments, which he had been the first Inventor of against God's Martyrs. Breathing nevertheless still after these so calamitous miseries, at length, though late, he also made an open confession to the God of the *Christians*, and declared his own oppositions of the Deity. He likewise composed a Retraction, in such manner as the former person had done, and by Laws and Edicts in writing confess his own error in reference to those whom he thought to be Gods; attesting, that by experience it self he had found, the *Christians* God to be the only true God. Notwithstanding *Licinius* knew all this, not by the information he received from others, but from the very facts themselves, yet wrapping up his mind within some thick darkness as 'twere, he † resolved upon a performance of the very same things they had done.

\* See Euseb. Eccles. Hist. book 9. chap. 10. note (a.)

† Or, Advised to, or, elided with those very Actions, or, persons.

THE  
SECOND BOOK  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS  
CONCERNING  
THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
BLESSED EMPEROR  
CONSTANTINE.

CHAP. I.

Licinius's *Clandestine Persecution*, and his  
*Murder of the Bishops at Amasia* [a City]  
of Pontus.

**I**N this manner the fore mentioned [Licinius] plunged himself into the Pit of the \* impious. And, imitating their example to his own destruction, whose ruins by reason of their Impiety he had beheld with his own Eyes, he re-kindled the Persecution against the *Christians*, like some raging fire long since extinguished; and blew up the flame of Impiety to a greater fierceness than his predecessors had done. Moreover, (like some outrageous Wild-beast, or crooked Serpent rolled together about himself,) breathing forth Rage and Hostile Menaces against God, he durst not as yet commence an open War against the Churches of God within his own Dominions, because of his Fear of *Constantine*: but concealing the venom of his Malice, he contrived secret Plots, and those in some particular Places only, against the Bishops; and † by Calumnies framed by his Governours of Provinces, destroyed the eminentest and most approved amongst them. And the manner of murdering them was new, such as never was known before. \* Indeed, the Facts perpetrated at *Amasia* [a City] of Pontus, far exceeded the most superlative Cruelty.

pages occur almost word for word. Further, 'tis strange that *Eusebius* should have made no mention, either in his *Ecclesiastical History*, or in these books, of *Basilus* Bishop of the *Amaseni*: which Prelate nevertheless, as all the Greek Writers do agree, was slain by *Licinius's* order. But *Philostorgius*, in the first book of his *Ecclesiastical History*, writes in express words, that *Basilus* Bishop of *Amasia* in Pontus, was present at the *Nicene Council*. Further, the *Nicene Council*, as 'tis manifest amongst all Men, was convened the year after *Licinius's* deposition. Besides, *Athanasius* in his first *Oration against the Arians*, (where he makes mention of the eminent Bishops who were either present with him at the *Nicene Council*, or had approved of his opinion;) together with others, names *Basilus* Bishop of Pontus. Nor does he style him Martyr, although he there terms *Hosius* Confessor. The Acts also of *Basilus*, which are extant in *Metaphrastes*, seem to me foolish and fabulous. And most of the passages which occur at the beginning of them, are word for word taken out of *Eusebius*. But, that little Story concerning the *Virgin Glaphyra* was, in my judgment framed by some idle People. *Valer.*

CHAP. II.

*The Demolishments of the Churches; and Butcheries of the Bishops;*

**W**HERE some of the Churches, after that former \* Demolishment of them, were \* Or, thrown down to the Ground from their vast Height; others were shut up by the Governours in their several districts, least any one of those Persons who usually frequented them, should meet there, or least they \* might render a \* *Amos* *Andronicus*, in the *Fok. Manuscript*, and in *St. Henry's* *Scivil's* Copy, 'tis written *Andronicus* in book 10. chap. 8. of his *Ecclesiastical History* 'tis *Andronicus*. *Valer.* C & c

\* Or, By the tree, *Chrysostom* in each Province. \* *Andronicus* in the *Andronicus* he made of 500, from book 10. chap. 8. of his *Ecclesiastical History* where these pas-

a due worship to God. For that Person who issued out these orders, was of opinion, that Prayers were not made there for him, being induced to entertain such thoughts as these from a consciousness of his own impieties. But he had perswaded himself, that all we did was in behalf of *Constantine*; and to render God propitious [to him.] Now, those [Presidents] who were his flatterers and soothed him up, being fully perswaded they should do what would be grateful to the impious [Tyrant;] subjected the eminentest Prelates of the Churches to capital punishments. Therefore, harmless and innocent Persons were haled away, and without any the least cause punished as if they had been Murderers. But some of them underwent a new sort of death, having their bodies cut with a sword (as Butchers do meat) into a great many pieces: and after this barbarous spectacle far more horrid than any Tragical representation, they were thrown into the depths of the Sea to be made food for Fishes. After this therefore, Persons that were worshippers of God began to fly again, in such manner as they had done a little before. And the Fields and Solitudes were again become the Receptacles of God's Servants. When the Tyrant had succeeded thus prosperously in these his attempts, he afterwards entertained thoughts of raising a general Persecution against the *Christians*. And he had undoubtedly been master of his desire, nor could there have been any obstacle which might in future have hindered him from effecting it, had not [God] the defender of his own [servants,] (that he might prevent what would have ensued,) caused his Servant *Constantine* to appear like some great Light in darkness and in a most obscure Night, and led him by the hand as 'twere into these parts.

### CHAP. III.

*In what manner Constantine was moved in behalf of the Christians, when [Licinius] made preparations to persecute them.*

\* **WHO** perceiving, that the † complaint he had received of the forefaid proceedings was not any longer to be endured, musters up a soberness and prudence of mind; and having mix'd an austerity of disposition with his own innate clemency, hastened to the assistance of the oppressed; judging, that that ought to be accounted a pious and holy Action, when by the taking off of one Person, the greatest part of mankind is preserved. For [thus he thought with himself,] if he should

self, without any dilatoriness resolved to stretch forth a salutary right hand to those who had fallen into the bitterest of calamities. He made therefore a \* vast provision of Military Forces; and his whole Army, as well Troops of Horse as Companies of Foot, were drawn together. † Or, The But before them all were carried † the *Insignia*, or Mark of his good hope in God lybte, &c.

### CHAP. IV.

*That Constantine made provision for the War with Prayers; but Licinius, with Divinations and Prophecies.*

**AND** well knowing, that, if ever before, he now stood in need of Prayers, he carried God's \* Prelates along with him: it being his \* Or. Sentiment, that these Persons \* like some good Priests, Guards of his Soul, ought to be always present and conversant with him. Whereupon, when he that Headed the Tyranny was informed, that *Constantine* obtained Victories over his Enemies by no other means than by God's assistance; and, that the forefaid Persons were always present and conversant with him; also, that the Symbol of the Salutary passion went before himself and his whole Army: he judged of these things to be deservedly ridiculous; and at the same time mock'd *Constantine*, and reviled him with opprobrious expressions. <sup>b</sup> But he himself got the Diviners and Soothsayers of the *Egyptians* about him, the Sorcerers and Impostors, the Sacrificers and Prophets of such as he look'd upon as Gods. And when he had with sacrifices appeased those \* whom he thought to be Gods, he enquired of them, what manner of end he was like to have of the War. They made him some answer with one consent, that \* without controul, verſie he would be the Conquerour of his Enemies, and should get the better in the War; the Oracles every where promising him this in long

time. Further, after the Verb ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς must be placed a point, from the *King's* and *Eusebian* Manuscripts; which *Christophorus* perceived not. But, in the *Eusebian*, *Turneb.* and *Savil.* Copies, 'tis truer written ἐπεὶ αὐτὸς, he carried along with him. A little after, in the *Eusebian* Manuscript the reading is, πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐχθρὸν νίκας καὶ αὐτὸν, ἢ τὸ δὴν συμπεπληρωθῇ. <sup>c</sup> *mei* *zede*, was informed, that *Constantine*, &c. which is truer in my judgment, *Valef.* The reading in *Robert Stephens* is, πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἐχθρὸν νίκας καὶ αὐτὸν ἢ τὸ δὴν, &c.

<sup>b</sup> *Αὐτοῦ* † *διωκτῶν*. It must be αὐτοῦ δὲ, But he himself. Although our Manuscript Copies have no alteration here; save that instead of *διωκτῶν*, in the *Eusebian* Manuscript 'tis *διωκτῶν*; but in the old *flores*, *διωκτῶν*. *Valef.*

<sup>c</sup> *Οὗ* δὲν δέλο δὲδ. It must, I think, be, ἢ δὲ δὲ, or rather in one word, ἢ δὲ δὲ δὲ, whom he thought, &c. *Valef.*

<sup>d</sup> *Αὐτοῦ* δὲν. In the *King's* Manuscript 'tis αὐτοῦ δὲν. I write αὐτοῦ, that is, without contravention. In the *Eusebian*, *Savil.* and *Turneb.* Copies 'tis αὐτοῦ δὲν, without contradiction. *Valef.*

<sup>e</sup> It must, as it seems, be written, καὶ πάλιν κρατῆσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν συμμάχους αὐτῶν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐκείνῃ καλλιστομένην ἢ αὐτὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ συμμάχους. So this whole place is to be restored. In the *Eusebian* Manuscript 'tis thus written, καὶ πάλιν κρατῆσαι συμμάχους αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν καλλιστομένην ἢ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ γὰρ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ: which is the best reading, and we have therefore followed it in our Version. *Valef.*

\* *Constantine*.  
† *Or*.  
*Account.*

|| *Or*, *De*.  
*seu*.

<sup>a</sup> *Προβ.* In book 10. chap. 9. whence this passage is transcribed, instead of πρὸς αὐτὸν, the reading is αὐτὸν, clemency only; which seems truer. I had also rather write αὐτὸν γὰρ αὐτὸν; unless the *Discreet* case may be taken for the *Ablative* put *absolute*. *Valef.*

against his Subjects: nor could there be any hopes of Safety in future remaining to those persons who had been afflicted by him. The Emperour having considered these things with him-

and elegant Verses. Moreover, <sup>1</sup> the Interpreters of Dreams predicted, that success was portended to him by the flying of Birds; and the <sup>2</sup> *Auspices* affirmed the like was signified by the motion of Entrails. Elevated therefore by the fallacious promises of these Persons with great confidence he proceeded forth <sup>3</sup> to the Camp, and made preparations for an Engagement.

αἰσθησις. ὁ δὲ Ζήντας, are wanting in the *King's Manuscript*, and are added in the margin in a very modern hand. If I may have leave to conjecture, I think it should be written thus, *ἑνεργημάτων αἰσθησις Ζήντας* ὁ γινώσκων, &c. The *Interpreters of Dreams and Aruspices* [or, *Sacrificers*] I assumed the like was, &c. Turnebus in his *Coppy* had mended it *νεωτεροῦντες τὰς Ἀνγύρας*. In the *Falconer and Savil Copies* 'tis written *ἑνεργημάτων αἰσθησις*, &c. Moreover the *Interpreters of Dreams* predit<sup>r</sup>, &c. *Vale!*

ἡ τοῦ πατριάρχου. In the Fukezian Manuscript this place is written thus: σὺν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀρχιερεῖς τῆς πατριαρχίας ἐν τῇ πύλῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ. He proceeded forth with great confidence; pitching his Camp as well as it was possible. [While reading and punctuation duplicates not; τῆς πατριαρχίας πρυτανείης signifies *castrametari*, to pitch a Camp, or lodge an Army. Valef.]

## CHAP. V.

*What Licinius spake concerning the Idols and concerning Christ, whilst he was sacrificing in a Grove.*

<sup>a</sup> Or, *The War*. **B**UT when he was about beginning <sup>a</sup> a fight, he called together the choicest of his *Protectors*: that were about Him, and those of his Friends for whom he had an higher value, into a certain place which by them was accounted sacred. It was a well-watered and shady Grove; but in it were erected various Statues, carved out of stone, of those whom he thought to be Gods. To whom after he had <sup>a</sup> lighted Tapers, and offered the usual Sacrifices; <sup>b</sup> 'Tis reported, that he made this Speech [*to those that stood by him*].

light Ta-  
pers before the Statues of their Gods, as may be observed from the 22  
book of *Amm-Marcellinus*, pag. 226. of *Valesius's Edition*.

Friends and Fellow Soldiers! These whom we Honour, whose Adoration hath been banded down to us from our Remoteſt Anceſtors, are our Country Gods. But he who leads the Army oppoſed againſt us, having violated the Uſages and Inſtitutions of his Fore-fathers, has made choice of their impious Opinion who believe no God; and hath croneſomely embraced a certain ſtrange God [procured] from I know not whence: And with his moſt filthy ſign ̄ disgraces his own Army. In whom having put his confidence, He comes forth and takes up Arms not ſo much againſt us, as againſt thoſe very Gods whom he bath

\* On, Time, abused. This present \* day therefore  
will evidently shew, which of Us two  
have erred in Opinion, and will give a Judgment  
concerning those Gods who are worshipped by us,  
and of them [honoured] by the other side. For,  
either it will declare us Conquerors, and so most just-  
ly demonstrate our Gods to be the Saviours and  
true Assistants. Or else, if this one God of Constan-  
tine's who comes from I know not whence, shall  
get the better of our Gods, which are many, and  
but much at a present do exceed in number; no body in  
rather  
takes up Arms against those very Gods, &c. Which reading is true,  
if I mistake not. Vale.

ὁ καὶ πῶς τῷ πλήθει παρομοιάσαν. Chrysostomus omitted the word πῶς at present; in which term lies the whole force of the sentence. For Lactantius shews, that his Gods exceed in number at present; but in a short time will be superior in force and power. Johanneus Porfessus, otherwise a silly Translator, has not omitted the rendition of this word. For he translates it thus, *Numero quidem adde potiores, ac res excedit in numero*. A little before, I read ἐς τὸν θεόν, this one God; as Turnebus has mended it at the margin of his copy, *Valef*.

future will be in doubt, which God he ought to worship; but will betake himself to the more powerful God, and attribute to him the Rewards of Victory. And, if this strange God, who is <sup>now</sup> a Ridicule to us, shall appear to be the Victor, it will beboze us also to acknowledge and adore him, and to bid a long farewell to those, to whom we fight Tapers in vain. But, if our Gods shall get the better, which no person can entertain a doubt of; after the Victory obtained in this Place, we will proceed to bring a War upon those impious contemners of the Gods.

These are the words *Licinius* spake a little *yesterday* before the Engagement, to those Persons who *for the day* stood round him. Which very Speech of his *before* *The* was not long after imparted to us who have *the* *impious* been called to this History, by those who have *Licinius* *decides* been Ear-witnesses of his very Expressions. *Constantine's* After therefore he had made this Speech, he com- *our's* *God,* *because he* *was a* manded his Forces to begin the Fight.

new God. For amongst the Gods, some were accounted *patrii*, Gods of the Country, others *peregrini*, *strange* Gods. The *dii patrii* were commended for the ancientness of their worship. But the *peregrini* were new Gods, in regard they were lately procured or chosen. Cicero's words in his 2d book *De Legibus*, are these: *Novas vero deos, & in his celestibus nocturnum prærogationibus, sic Aristophanes facit fingens potius veteris comædiæ vocat, ut apud eum Sabazius & alii quidam dii peregrini iudicatis ad civitate ejiciantur*; But the new Gods, and the teachings all night long in the worship of them have in such a manner been disquieted by Aristophanes the pleasantest Poet of Old Comedy, that Sabazius and some other Gods having by him been judged strange, are ejected out of the City. The passage of Aristophanes, which Cicero means, was extant in his *Comædia Lemniis*, as *Suidas* informs in *αὐτῷ τῷ Ἰσημῶν Παύλῳ*. There was indeed at Athens a vast multitude of new and strange Gods, whom they termed *ἑσπερὸν* or *ἑσπερίους* *ἄνθρωποι*. *Aristophanes* the Poet had put together their Names and Series in his *Comædibus*, as *Hesychius* attests in *ζῳτῷ ἑσπερίῳ*. *Menander Rhetor* or rather *Alexander in methodo generis demonstrativi* pag. 162. observes; that some Gods were termed *ancienter*, others more modern, *αἱ δὲ ἑσπερίαι* *ἄνθρωποι*, *οἱ δὲ παλαιότεροι* *ἄνθρωποι* *λέγονται τῶν θῶν*. But *Porellius* and *Christophorus* who has followed him, have rendered this place ill; their mistake arose from hence, because they perceived not, that the *Adverb* *ἑσπερίαι* sometimes signify the same with *super*, *largely*, as I have noted at book 4. of the *Eccelesiastical History* chap. 8. note (d.) These remarks I had made here formerly, having followed the Geneva Edition, and afterwards I understood, that in Robert Stephen's Edition and in the Manuscript Copies the reading was, *οἱ γὰρ παλαιότεροι*, who is now a *Ridicule* to us. Which reading the Translators have followed, and therefore are in no wise to be blamed. *Valeat*.

τῶν ταυρίων καλεσθῆναι τῶν γενομένων, to us who have been called to  
 this History; in *Moræus* at the margin it is mended ταυρίων  
 ἡμῶν ἱστορίᾳ; in which manner *Eusebius* expresses himself at chap. 8.  
 A little before, in the same Copy of *Moræus* it is well mended  
 καλεσθῆναι τῶν ἐμῶν and to bid a long farewell to *Isidorus* [In  
*Robert Stephens* it is mended γενομένων, &c.]. In the *Fukstein Manuscript*  
 I found it written, ἡμῶν δὲ τῶν ταυρίων καλεσθῆναι τῶν  
 γενομένων, to us who have been called to this History; which reading  
 is right. *Vale!*

## CHAPTER VI.

*The Apparitions seen in the Cities under Licinius's Government, of Constantine's Soldiers pursuing the Forces of Licinius.*

While these things were doing, a most wonderful Apparition (’tis said) was seen in the Cities subject to the Tyrant. For they thought they saw various Companies of *Constantine’s* Soldiers, passing at noon day thorough the Cities, as if they had obtained the Victory. And these things were seen, when in reality no Body appeared; but the Divine and Superior power, by that Vision shown to the Eyes of Men, foretold that which was ready to happen. Further, after the Armies had made ready to engage, he that had broken the League of Friendship, began the Fight first. Then *Constantine* having called upon God the Supreme



Saviour, and given this Signal to the Army about him; got the better in the <sup>a</sup> first Engagement. Not long after, he was Superior in a <sup>b</sup> second Fight, and obtained a far greater Victory; in regard the Salutary Trophy was carried before his Army.

<sup>a</sup> The first Battle between Constantine and Licinius was in Pannonia, at Cibale; which Zosimus describes excellently well in his Second Book, as also the Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini, pag. 473. This fight happened when Volusianus the second time and Anianus were Consul; on the eighth of the Ides of October, as is recorded in Idarian's Fasti. To whom agrees Sigonius in his third Book de Occidentali Imperio. In Eusebius's Chronicle the Cibalenus Battel is ill placed on the seventh year of Constantine, in regard that Action happened on the eighth Year of his Empire. Yea, if you compute the matter exactly, it was now the ninth year of Constantine's Empire. For, his ninth year began on the eighth of the Calends of August, Volusianus the second time and Anianus being Consul. Aurelius Victor writes thus concerning the Wars between Licinius and Constantine. *Ita potestas orbis Romani duobus quæsitæ. Qui quavis per Flavii Sotorum nuptiam Licinio comexi inter se erant, ob diversos mores tantum auxilium tricenarium congruere quærebant, &c. Tunc the power of the Roman world was gotten by two. Who though by Flavii's Sister married to Licinius they had been joined together, yet because of their different dispositions, for three years space they could ill agree, &c. Which passage does manifestly confirm Idarian's Fasti: Otherwise from the opinion of the Eusebian Chronicle it ought to be said, Bientium, for two years space. A passage in Eutropius's Tenth Book must also be corrected, which is commonly Printed thus. *Ac primo cum in Pannonia, Secundo ingenti apparatu bellum apud Cibalas instrumentum, repetitum oppressit.* &c. Doubtless, the word Secundo must be expunged, which was added by some unskilful Transcriber. For, first, Constantine's first Battel against Licinius was at Cibale, as we have shewn above. Then, it would be ridiculous to say, that the first Battel was in Pannonia, the Second at Cibale; in regard Cibale is a City of Pannonia. Moreover, Pannius who rendered Eutropius into Greek, acknowledges not that word Secundo, as appears from his Rendition. Yet Osius (as also the Author of the Historia Miscella.) hath followed the vulgar reading in Eutropius. For his words are these; *Constantinus Licinium Sotoris sue varum in Pannonia primum vicit, deinde apud Cibalas oppressit.* Valef.*

<sup>b</sup> This second Fight of Constantine against Licinius, hapned in Thracia as Zosimus informs us. But Zosimus mentions not the very place: but the Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini pag. 474. says; 'was fought in the Campus Martius': which place is equally unknown to us. Further, this Battel hapned on the same year with that at Cibale, as is concluded from the Relation of Zosimus, and of that unknown Author. Which may also be demonstrated by this argument. After this Battel a Peace being made up between Constantine and Licinius, on the year following Constantine and Licinius were made Consul; and in the West that year is inscribed, *Constantine the fourth and Licinius the fourth time Consul*; but in the Eastern parts Licinius's name is set first, in this manner, *Licinius Augustus the fourth and Constantine the fourth time being Coss*: as it occurs in the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini. Valef.

## CHAP. VII.

*That in the Battels, where ever the Standard, made in the form of Cross, was, there a Victory was obtained.*

I Ndeed, where ever that [Standard] appeared, happened a Rout of the Enemies, and a pursuit [was made] by those who had gotten the better. Which when the Emperor perceived, in what ever place he saw any party of his Army prest hard upon, thither he ordered the Salutary Trophy to be carried, as some most efficacious \* Amulet to procure a Victory. After the doing whereof, a Victory followed immediately; in regard Strength and Courage was by a Divine Act of Providence infused into those who fought.

## CHAP. VIII.

*That Fifty Persons were made choice of, to carry the Cross.*

W Herefore, out of the Protectors that were about him, he made choice of such Persons as excelled for strength of Body, courage of Mind, and exemplariness of Piety; on whom he imposed only this of Duty, that they should take an assiduous care of this Standard. <sup>a</sup> These Persons were in number no less than Fifty: on whom nothing else was incumbent, but to surround, defend, and guard the Standard; which each of them by turns carried on his Shoulders. These things the Emperor himself related to us who compose this History, whilst he was in Peace and Repose, a long time after [the Transaction] of these Affairs; and to his Relation he added a matter highly worthy to be recorded.

same with those who in the Theodosian Code are termed the *Protectors Laborum*, that is, ὡς λασίγοι. For the Greeks termed it λασίγοι, because it was an assistance to the Labouring Companies, as Sequent attests. Valef.

## CHAP. IX.

*That one of the Cross-bearers who fled, was killed, but he that by Faith stood his Ground, was preserved.*

F OR he said that a dismal Noise and sudden Disturbance having one time put the Army into a Confédération during the very heat of an Engagement, he who bore the Standard on his Shoulders, was in an agony by reason of his Fear; whereupon he deliver'd the Standard to another, to the end he might make his escape out of the Fight. That other Person had no sooner taken it, <sup>a</sup> but he who slept away, <sup>b</sup> 'O' d' being got without the protection of the Standard, was stuck into the Belly by a Dart cast at him, and was deprived of his Life. Thus this Man underwent the Punishment of his cowardice and infidelity, and lay dead upon the very Spot. But the Salutary Trophy became the preservative of his Life who bore it. In so much that, though Darts were frequently cast at him who bore the Standard, yet he was preserved <sup>c</sup> unhurt: but the Spear of the [Salutary] Trophy received the Darts. And this was a thing which far surpassed every Miracle, [to see] in what manner the Enemies Darts fell upon the smallest circumference of the Spear, whereon they were fixt and stuck fast; but the Standard-bearer was preserved from Death: yea, none of those employed in this Office did ever receive a wound. This is not our Relation, but the Emperor's own, who amongst other Matters declared this also to us. Who, when by the Power of God he had obtained the former Victories, afterwards marched forward, and moved his Army in a Military order.

\* Or, Remedy, or help.

CHAP. X.

Various Fights, and the Victories of Constantine.

**B**UT the Van<sup>a</sup> of the adverse party, not able to stand his first Attack, cast away their Arms with both their hands, and fell prostrate at the Emperor's feet. He saved them all, being one that was highly pleased with the preservation of Men. But others of them, who continued in Arms, prepared themselves for an Engagement. To whom when the Emperor had proposed overtures, and had treated them with expressions of kindness and friendship; perceiving they were not to be persuaded, he sent his Army against them. They turned their backs immediately, and betook themselves to flight. And some of them, taken in the pursuit, were slain by the Law of Arms: || Or, War. but others ran one against another, and so were cut off by their own swords.

I think it must be written, *οὐκ ἔστιν ἀποδείκνυσθαι*, that is, *blatantissimi verbis eos compellit, treating them with kind and friendly words.* Further, what Eusebius relates in this chapter, seems to belong to the first Battle in the field of Cybale, whereof I have spoken before. And this is confirmed by what follows.

CHAP. XI.

Licinius's Flight, and Inchantments.

**A**FTER this, when their Prince saw himself deprived of an assistance<sup>a</sup> from his servants, and that the vast numbers as well of Soldiers as Auxiliaries which he had gotten together, were vanished; and was experimentally convinced that the hope he had placed in those whom he thought to be Gods, was vain; he forthwith betook himself to a most inglorious flight. And in this manner he made his escape, and secured himself from danger; because the most pious Emperor ordered his own Men not to make a close pursuit after him, to the end by flying he might obtain safety. For 'twas his hope, that Licinius, made sensible of the unhappy posture of his own affairs, might at length desist from his mad boldness, and would change his opinion for thoughts that were sound and better. These were Constantine's thoughts, suggested to him from that transcendancy of Humanity, wherewith he was endow'd; and he took a resolution patiently to bear injuries, and to give Him pardon who deserved it not. But so far was Licinius from abstaining from his pristine improbity; that he heap'd mischiefs upon mischiefs, and attempted more nefarious and audacious Facts. Moreover, he betook himself again to the evil Arts and practises of Conjurers, and was more insolently emboldened. But, that saying might have truly

<sup>a</sup> Or, *In like manner.*

been applied to him, which was spoken of that old Tyrant, to wit, *God had hardened his heart.*

CHAP. XII.

In what manner Constantine, praying in a Tabernacle, obtained the Victory.

**L**icinius having therefore involved himself in such [impieties] as these, was thrust headlong into the pit of destruction. But the Emperor, when he saw there was a necessity of a second Battle, diligently applied himself to [the worship of] his Saviour. And pitch'd a Tabernacle of the Cross without [his Camp]; and at a good distance from it: where he lived chastly and purely, and poured forth his Prayers to God; agreeable to the practise of that old Prophet of God; concerning whom the divine Oracles give this attestation, that

*\* He pitch'd the Tabernacle without the Camp.* Exod. 32: 7. Some few Persons, of whose Faith, Piety and Benevolence he had the most assured proofs, were continually present with him. And this he was always wont to do, as often as he was about to begin a fight. For he was slow; because he would be secure: and 'twas his constant usage to act all things by the advice of God. Further, when with great earnestness he made Supplications to his God, he was always, vouchsafed the Divine presence. After which, moved as 'twere by a more Divine inspiration, he was wont to leap out of the Tabernacle, and would forthwith give order for the immediate march of his Army; and that without delay, yea even in that very hour, they should draw their Swords. His Men would fall on pell-mell, and cut down all before them without any distinction of age; till such time as (having gotten a Victory within a very short space,) they had crested Victorious Trophies against their Enemies.

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius writes in book 1. chap. 8. *\* Or, Made use of a chaff and pure diet.*

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius writes in book 1. chap. 8. *\* Or, Made use of a chaff and pure diet.*

*Copy 'tis to be seen. I write to you within a very short moment of an hour; so I found it mended in Marcian's Copy, and in the Fiskeian Manuscript. A little before, instead of 'tis to be seen, I read 'tis to be seen, till such time as; in which manner Eusebius does usually express himself. Valef.*

CHAP. XIII.

His Humanity towards the Soldiers that were taken Prisoners.

**I**N this manner was the Emperor long before wont, both to behave himself, and to order his Army, before they engaged in a Battle: for he always preferred God before his own Life; and studied to perform all things by his advices; and used all imaginable caution to prevent the slaughter of many Men. On which account, he consulted the safety of the Enemies no less, than

that of his own Soldiers. Wherefore, he admonished his own Men, when they had been Victors in a Battle, to shew compassion to the vanquished: and, that being Men themselves, they ought not to forget the same Nature which they were of. But if at any time he perceived, that the minds of his Soldiers were greedy of slaughter, he repressed them by a Largess of Gold; giving order, that whoever took one of the Enemy alive, \* should have a certain weight of Gold bestowed on him. And this inticement for the preservation of Mens lives, was found out by the Emperours prudence. In-somuch that, very many even of the Barbarians themselves were saved, the Emperour's Gold being the Ransom of their Lives.

\* Or, Should be honoured with, &c.

# CHAP. XIV.

Again concerning his Prayers in the Tabernacle.

These, and infinite other such like actions as these, the Emperour was wont at other times frequently to perform. But at that present, before he joynd Battle, he retired alone into the Tabernacle, where, as his usage was, he was earnest in Prayers to God; abstaining from all manner of diversion, and delicious food; and \* macerating himself with fastings, and † bodily austerities. And in this manner he appeased God with Supplications and Prayers, that he might have him for his benign and propitious Assistant, and might perform those things which God had suggested to his mind. Moreover, ‡ his care in behalf of the Republick was watchful and diligent; and he poured forth Prayers, not more for the safety of his own Forces, than for that of his Enemies.

\* Or, Afflicting  
† Or, Penitential of body.

‡ Constantine's

# CHAP. XV.

Licinius's \* dissembled Friendship, and his Worship of Idols.

BUT because Licinius (who had fled a little before,) practised dissimulation, and entreated, that an amicable League might be again renewed; [the Emperour] supposing a Peace would be of use [to the Government,] and advantageous to Mankind in general, vouchsafed to grant him even this, upon certain \* Terms and Conditions. Licinius speciously pretended a ready compliance with the Terms offered him, and with Oaths confirmed his \* adherence thereto. But he secretly got together another † Army of Men, and resolved to renew the War, and begin a Fight. He also called in the Barbarians to be his Auxiliaries; and went up and down in quest of other Gods, because he had been deceived by the former. He did not in the least remember, what he himself had said a little before, in his Speech concerning the Gods. Nor would he acknowledge that God who had been Constantine's Defender: but in a most Ridiculous manner began to enquire out for himself, more and those newer Gods.

\* The conditions of Peace were these, that Licinius should continue possessor of the East, Asia, Thrace, Pontus, Macedonia, Macedonia, Pannonia, Moesia, and Dacia should be added to the Dominions of Constantine: this Information we have from Eusebius, Sozomenus, and the Author of the Excerpta de Gestis Constantini. Valel.

\* Or, Faith.  
† Or, Provision of Forces.

# CHAP. XVI.

In what manner Licinius Commanded his Soldiers, not to make an Attack against the [Standard of the] Cross.

AFTER this, knowing for certain, that there was a certain divine and secret power in the Salutary Trophy, by which power (he understood) Constantine's Army obtained Victory; he warned his Soldiers, that they should by no means engage against it, nor by chance or \* rashly cast their eyes upon it. For, that Standard (he said,) was of a force incredible, and an Enemy and Adversary to him in particular; wherefore they were to use great Caution, not to begin a Fight against it. Having given out these Orders, he prepared for an Engagement with \* Him, who by reason of his † innate Clemency made delays, and deferred that Ruine which hung over him. The † Licinians, placing their confidence in a Multitude of Gods, marched forth with vast numbers of Forces, carrying before them, as their Army, defence, Images of dead Persons, and inanimate Statues. But Constantine, surrounded with the \* Armour of Piety, against the multitude of \* his Enemies opposed the Salutary and Vivifying Standard of the Cross, as some affrightning spectacle and potent preservative against mischief. And at first he † made an Alt; in † which interim he forbore the use of his Arms, Step'd that he might not begin the Fight first; which thing he did, on account of the League he had made.

\* Accusations. In the Kings Sheets the reading is ἀντιπαρθεῖς, inconsiderately; in which manner 'tis mended in Turnebus's Copy at the Margin. And to the Reading is in the Eusebian Manuscript. Valel.

\* Confantine. † Or, Humility. † Or, Licinius. \* Or, Coat of Mail. † Or, Step'd.

# CHAP. XVII.

Constantine's Victory.

BUT when he saw the Enemy persisting in an obstinacy of mind, and perceived that they drew their Swords; moved with indignation, \* with one Shout and in a moment he Routed all the Forces of the Enemy, and obtained a Victory at the same time, both over his Enemies, and over the Demons.

‡ forth, with one Shout and in a moment. And so 'tis in the Eusebian and Savil. Copies. Further, this signal Victory of Constantine's happened in Crispus's and Constantine's third Consulate, on the fifth of the Nones of July, near Hadrianople, as 'tis recorded in Idatius's Fasti. But Baronius places this Hadrianopolitan Battle on the year of Christ 318, whereon Licinius was the fifth time, and Crispus were Consuls. Whole opinion we overthrow by these arguments and Testimonies of the best Writers. The first is Idatius, who in his Fasti writes thus; Crispo III. & Constantino III. Coss. &c. Crispus and Constantine being Consuls the third time, the Hadrianopolitan Battle (happened) on the fifth of the Nones of July, and the Chalcedonensis Battle on the fourteenth of the Calends of October. The same words occur in the Alexandrian Chronicle; but they are erroneously ascribed to the year following, when Paulinus and Julianus were Consuls. With Idatius agrees Aretinus Victor, who writes thus concerning the Fight between Constantine and Licinius: Quo sand variis praeiis pulsus, &c. Who having indeed been beaten in many Battles; in regard it would have seemed dangerous wholly to crush him; on account of Affinity; the Children of them both being received into a Colleague ship, and elected to the Empire of Cæsar; Crispus and Constantine begotten by Flavius Licinius by Licinius. Which [Colleague ship] was scarce lasting, nor proved it happy to those who were assumed into it, being published in that same month on a day defiled with an Eclipse of the Sun. Therefore

\* Deit. vi. I think it should be both vi. and xvi.

Ccc 4 throughout

throughout each Province, what was useful and of advantage to them; and assigned to the Churches of God those things that were congruous and convenient. And first of all, \* they recalled home those Persons, who, because they would not sacrifice to Idols, had been banished by the Governors of Provinces, and compelled to remove out of their own Country. Then, they freed from publick Functions, those who for the same reason had been \* adjudged to the *Curie*: and ordered, that such as had been deprived of their Goods, should have them restored to them again. Besides, they who during the time of Persecution, [having been strengthened] by God, had given a signal proof of their fortitude and constancy of mind; and were either condemned to the Mines, there to be tortured with daily Labour; or adjudged to a Deportation into the Islands; or had been forced to a slavery in the *Publick Works*; these Persons, freed on a sudden from all these disquietudes and troubles, enjoyed their Liberty. Further, such as, by reason of their egregious recluseness in retaining their Religion, had been deprived of the honour of the *Militia*, were recalled from this ignominy by the Emperor's Munificence: who gave them a free Liberty of choice, either of recovering their proper Offices, and of flourishing in their Pristine dignities; or, if they were in love with a quiet and retired Life, of continuing in future exempt from the troubles of all publick Functions. Lastly, whatever Persons in order to their being reproach'd and disgrac'd, had been condemned to a slavery in the \* *Gymecia*, them [the Emperor] set at Liberty as well as the rest.

\* The Laws.

\* The *Basiliensis* *isacris* *Christophorus* understood not this place; but *Porcellus* has rendered it not unhappily, in this manner: *Quidem de causa translati erant ad Curias, who for the same reason had been removed to the Curie.* Valf.

The *Curie* were the Offices of Corporations, the bearing whereof was generally very chargeable and burthenfome; the Persons who bore these Offices were termed *Curiales*.

\* *Δικαστήριον ἔργων*. *Christophorus* renders this place ill, thus, *ad publica imperii opera obseunda vi compelli, by force compelled to undergo the publick Works of the Empire.* Eusebius terms the Mines, publick *Bath-houses*, *Work-houses* wherein they *Work*, and *Gymecia*; *δυστάσια ἔργα*: to which works who ever had been condemned by a sentence of the Judge, lost their Liberty. For this was termed a servitude of punishment. Now, 'twas usual to condemn the *Christians* to such works as these, because of their confession of Christ's name. And, as to the Mines, the matter is notorious. But, of a condemnation to the publick *Bath-houses*, we have an instance in the *Acts of the Passion of Pope Marcellus*. Valf.

\* *Ἐπιθυμία*. Two words seem to have grown into one, which are, thus to be disjoined, *ἐπ' ἑκστάς*. A little after, where the reading is, *τὰς δίκας ἀνακαλέσθαι*, of recovering their Houses; I think it must be, *τὰς δίκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἀνακαλέσθαι*, of recovering their proper Offices. For they had not been deprived of their Houses, but of their Employments in the *Militia*. Valf.

\* *Γυμνασία δ' ἔργων*. Concerning the *Gymecia* there is frequent mention, as well in both the *Codes*, as in the *Notitia of the Roman Empire*. See *Brissinius's Lexicon*. Further, Persons condemned to the *Gymecia*, were clothed in a short Coat made of Linen, which was a servitude. We learn this from the *Passion of Romanus the Martyr*, which is published by *Mombritius*, and occurs in the *Museo-acensian Copy*. *Eadem vero die Maximianus jussit, &c.* But on the same day Maximianus commanded, that the *Christians* who were in the Palace should be ungirt. Maximianus therefore took notice to himself of many passing by, whilst they were losing their Girdles: and he saw litius of Blessed Memory; and being in a rage, called him to him, and strip'd him of the garments whereunto he was clothed, and clothed him in a Linen short coat, and put him into the *Gymecium* to the *Wool-Workers*, in order to his reproach. Further, the *Fuketian Manuscript* has this place written thus, *ἐπ' ἔργα καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀκατέστῳ* *καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀκατέστῳ* *καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἀκατέστῳ*, which is the true reading no doubt, and we have followed it in our Version. Valf. The *Gymecium* or *Gymnasium* (*ὁ γυμνασιον* in his *Work de Verbo*. *Significat* book 7. fol. 254, Edit. Paris. 1596.) signifies the Weaving-House appointed for making the Garments of the Emperor. The Emperours had Slaves of both Sexes employed in their *Gymecia*. They had likewise Weaving-Houses for Linen Garments, termed *λινεα Linophaia*, which we find mentioned in *Chap. 34. of this Second Book*.

# C H A P. XXI.

How [he made Laws] concerning the *Martyrs*, and concerning the Estates of the Churches.

AND these were the Establishments which the Emperor made in written Laws, concerning such Persons as had undergone those sufferings. But in relation to their goods, a most full and ample provision was made by a Law of the Emperor's. For he commanded, that the Goods and Estates of God's holy Martyrs, who had ended their lives in their Confession, should be enjoyed by their nearest Relatives. But, if no Relation of theirs could be found, then the Churches were to have their Estates. And, the [Imperial] Letter of Indulgence ordered, that the Goods which had been heretofore transferred to others, out of the Treasury, either by a Sale, or by donation; and which remained still in the Treasury, should be returned back to their Owners. Such were the favours which the Emperor's benignity conferred upon the Church of God, by his Laws transmitted into all the Provinces.

# C H A P. XXII.

In what manner he refreshed and cherish'd the People also.

BUT, his Imperial Munificence bestowed \* *Διαιτα* more, and far greater Favours than these, *τὰς δίκας* It upon the People that were strangers to our Re- *δυστάσι* miltion, and upon all the Pro- *But, &c.* and from these words the twenty second chapter is to be begun, as 'tis in the *Fuketian Manuscript* and the Old *Steen*. Valf. *Ὅσα τὰ πάλαι*. I mend it, *ὅσα τὰ πάλαι*, who having before this: which *Christophorus* saw not. I write also, *ὅσα τὰ πάλαι* *τὰ ἐν Σατρίῳ*, received an account of what, &c. Valf. they themselves might at length enjoy the like: beholding these things with their own eyes, \* doubted not of terming themselves blessed \* *Οἱ*, now; and confess, that some new Miracle, and though such a one as no Age under the Rays of the good to Sun had ever beheld before, so great and glorious an Emperour [namely,] had *†* *ἀπαύτω* *Οἱ*, *Sti-* neared to mankind. And these were their *ned upon* sentiments.

# C H A P. XXIII.

That he publickly Proclaimed God the Author of Good; and concerning the Copies of his Laws.

BUT, when the Emperor, by the power of God his Saviour, had reduced all places under a Subjection to himself, he himself made known to all Men that God who had bestowed these Blessings upon him: and attested, that He

treasured



СН АР.



## CHAP. XXXIII.

Concerning the Confessors who have been employed in the Militia.

\* Or, Ap. proved in. **F**urther, to those who have heretofore been adorned with Military dignities, and have lost them upon this cruel and unjust pretence, to wit, because professing the knowledge of God, they preferred that before the dignity they were possessed of; it shall be free to choose, whether they will embrace the Military Employes, and continue in the same figure they were in; or live in freedom with an honourable discharge. For it will be fit and agreeable to reason, that he who hath demonstrated such a greatness of mind and Constancy in undergoing torments inflicted on him, should, upon his according to his own choice, enjoy either Repose, or Honour.   
† Or, Dangers.

Περὶ τούτων. In the Medicean Copy the reading is, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῶν, ὅτι καὶ βέλαντι, they accounted that more valuable than the dignity they had; let it be according to their will.

Ἐλευθερίαν δὲ. From the Medicean Copy it must be written ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸν πόλεως, lead a free Leisure. Which reading Sozomen confirms book 1. chap. 8. where he has epitomized this Law of Constantine. In the Eusebian Manuscript I found it written, ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸν πόλεως, live in freedom honourably. But the Medicean Copy has it written, ἡμῶν ἐλευθερίαν ἀπὸν πόλεως, lead an honourable free Leisure. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXIV.

The setting at Liberty those free persons in the Gymnæce, or them delivered over to Slavery.

\* Καὶ μὴν. **A**lso, whatever persons, by force deprived of their Nobility, have from the Judges received some such like sentence as this, that being thrust into the Gymnæce or Linyphia, they have endured Cruel and miserable Labour, or were accounted Servants of the Treasury, their Pristine splendour of Birth being of no advantage to them: Let such men (rejoicing both at the honours they formerly enjoyed, and at the privilege of their Liberty,) recover their usual dignities, and in future live in all manner of gladness. And let him (who has changed his Liberty for Slavery, by an unjust and inhumane madness of thought a corrupt word, I presently smelt out the true and genuine reading of this place.) I write therefore αἰὲν καὶ ἀβύσσου, an unusual and miserable Labour. For, such servilities in the Gymnæce and Weaving Houses were unusual to free men. The same Copy has πόνον, not πόλεως. Valef.

Ὅσοις αὐτῆς ἡμετέρας. The reading in the Medicean Copy is truer, thus, ὅσοις αὐτῆς, &c. being of no advantage to them. And a little after, from the same Copy I write καὶ αἰὲν ἀβύσσου, rejoicing — at, &c. Valef.

\* Καὶ δὲ δούλους τῆς ἐλευθερίας. The Medicean Copy adds a word, in this manner, καὶ δὲ δούλους τῆς ἐλευθερίας, &c. which is truer, if I mistake not. For the Emperor distinguishes two sorts of men: some of which, being nobly born, were enslaved to the Gymnæce, or made servants of the Fiscal farms, which was a nobler servitude: others of them, whose extraction was meaner, were sold to private men. In the Eusebian Manuscript the reading is, καὶ δὲ δούλους τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀλλὰ καὶ δούλους. Valef.

the \* Seller, and hath often lamented his usual servile offices, perceiving himself on a sudden as 'twere made a servant from being a free man. In the Medicean Copy his former freedom according to this our command, and restore himself to his Parents, and then undergo those Labours that befit a Freeman; having cast out of his memory those misbecoming servilities, which he had before laboured under.

had, deplored a free man of his Liberty, on account of his condition of the true God. In the Kings Sheets I found it written πόνον; the Eusebian Copy has it πόνον. Valef.

\* Αὐτοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. In the Medicean Copy the reading is truer, thus, αὐτοῦ δὲ τῆς ἐλευθερίας. Valef.

\* Ὅτι τῶν ἐλευθερίων. In the Medicean Copy it is more elegantly expressed, ὅτι τῶν ἐλευθερίων, and a little before, ἐλευθερίαν τῶν πόλεως, having cast out of his memory. And the same is the reading in the Kings Sheets and Eusebian Copy. Further, from these words it is sufficiently apparent, that what I have said is true, viz. that in this latter place Constantine speaks of the viler and meaner sort of people, who had been sold by the sentence of the Judge. For, concerning the former sort who were eminent for the splendour of their Birth, Constantine says that they may now recover their Pristine dignity. But he sends away these latter to the Services and Labours usually undergone by Freeman. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXV.

Concerning the succession in inheriting the Goods of Martyrs and Confessors, and of such persons as had been banished, and of them whose Goods had been brought into the Treasury.

**B**UT, we must not omit mentioning those Estates, whereof several persons have been deprived upon various pretences. Wherefore, if any persons, from the undergoing the excruciating and divine Combat of Martyrdom with a fearlessness and confidence of mind, have been deprived of their Goods; or, if any men, made Confessors, have procured themselves the hope of Eternal Goods; also, whatever persons (forced to remove out of their Country, because betraying their Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;) have in like manner been deprived of their Goods: Lastly, if any persons, though not condemned by a Capital sentence, have

αὐτῆς ἀπὸν πόλεως; which we have rendered accordingly. Neither do these words of αἰὲν occur in the King's Sheets. Further, I found the beginning of this period variously written in the old Copies. For in the Medicean Manuscript 'tis read thus, παρὰ τὸν ἡμῶν τὸν πόλεως, &c. In the King's Sheets, παρὰ τὸν ἡμῶν τὸν πόλεως, &c. Turnebus in his Copy had inserted it, παρὰ τὸν. In the Eusebian Copy I found it written, παρὰ τὸν ἡμῶν τὸν πόλεως, &c. The King's Copy has also παρὰ τὸν. Wherefore, I doubt not but this is the true reading, and do wonder why Robert Stephens changed it. Valef.

\* Καὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων. In the Medicean Copy the reading is, ὁμοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων, or, if any men; which, I doubt not, is truer. For, whereas he had before spoken of the Martyrs, he now speaks of the Confessors. A little after, from the same Copy, write thus, καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἐλευθερίων τῶν πόλεως, &c. (Forced —, because by continuing the Faith they would not yield to the Persecutors;) have — been deprived of their Goods; &c. Valef.

Christophorus omitted this Clause, because it seemed nothing else but a superfluous repetition of what went before. But, in regard these words occur in the Medicean Copy also, they are not rashly to be expunged. For, after the Emperor had spoken concerning the Martyrs, concerning the Confessors, and concerning the Exiles, who for fear of a Capital sentence pronounced against them, had left their Country, he now treats of those, who though they had not been condemned by a Capital sentence, had nevertheless been despoiled of their Goods. For these were not in the number of Martyrs, or Confessors; in regard they had not been brought to a Tryal. Nor, had they been Exiles; but staying in their own Country, had by force been deprived of their possessions. 'Tis certain, in this Title or Contents of this Chapter, four sorts of persons are reckoned up. But Christophorus omitted the fourth sort. Nevertheless, in the following chapter, the Emperor recounts three sorts of persons only, these last being wholly omitted. Valef.

nevertheless

Henry Savil have mended it. And so 'tis written in the *Fuketian Manuscript*. A little after, the reading in the *Medicean Copy* is, *ὡς ἐν τῶν προειρημένων τινεῖς*, that, if any of the foresaid Persons Value.

That those who possess such Places, and Gardens, and Houses, shall restore them; but without the \* *Mean-profits*.

**F**urther, that no <sup>a</sup> ambiguity may appear in t<sup>r</sup> Or, this our Precept, <sup>a</sup> but that every one may <sup>Make.</sup> with readings understand what the Law is; let <sup>And E.</sup> all Persons know, that if they are possess<sup>r</sup>, either of <sup>From t<sup>r</sup></sup> a Ground, or of an House, or of a Garden, or of Medicane any thing else of the forementioned Persons Estates, Copy make it will be good and advantageous to themselves, both <sup>And E.</sup> to confest it, and to restore it with all imaginable <sup>From t<sup>r</sup></sup> celerity. <sup>And</sup> And although it may be most mani- <sup>And</sup> festly apparent, that some Persons have received great <sup>And</sup> Profit from those [Estates,] by an unjust Posses- <sup>And</sup> sion; and yet we judge a <sup>And</sup> demand of those Fruits to <sup>And</sup> be in no wise just.

|| Or, *Exaction.*

Copy the reading is, ἐν ᾧ καὶ τὸ μέγιστον παύειν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν τῶν, And al- though, &c. And a little after the same Copy has it, ἐξαρτωντο μὲν, καὶ γινέσθαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἔχοντων, have received——profits—— yet we judge a demand, &c. incomparably well, as I think. For this is the second member of the period. The last member of the period is ὁμοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν &c; Nevertheless, &c; which in the common Editions is ill divided, and removed to the following Chapter. Valef.

In what manner *Supplicatory Libels* ought to be presented in reference to these Persons.

N Evertbeſt, let ſuch Men of themſelves ingenuouſly acknowledge what profits they have gathered, and whence, and let them ſupplicate for a Pardon of their Offence to be granted them from Us; both, that their former Avarice may be cured by ſuch an emendation; and alſo, that they may be diſcreetly rewarded by the Supreme God, receiving this Satisfaction in place of ſupernatural Repentance as there, may be rendered propitiouſ [and remit] their Offences. But, theſe things they have been conſidered Owners of ſuch Eſtates, (if ſuch Men either deſerve, or can have this Title given them,) alledging this in defence of them may ſolve, may peradventure ſay, that it was impoſſible they ſhould abſtain [from thoſe things] then, when a manifold Spectacle of all manner of Miſchiefs was let before their Eyes: when Men were cruel-  
cured. Valef. Kaß. 80

*Symposium.* In the *Medicean Copy* this place is written far otherwise, in this manner : αἰσὺς ἀνδρῶν ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει. ἀποφάναι συμποσίωμον· ἀμειβὰς ἐκρημάζοντο. διμύσαντες δ' ἅν' ἑαυτὸν ἀναγὰν. διέλογον ἀκοῖ-  
ψου τοῦ ὄρους, &c.; and we have rendered it accordingly. Which  
readings, as every one sees, is far truer. For those words καλὴ βίη ὑγι-  
νον are altogether superfluous. A little after, in the same *Copy* the  
reading is, εἰ δὲ τοῖς ταῖσδε διαγελοῦσι λόγους μὲν, &c.: But,  
if any Man do insist upon such discourses as these, &c. So 'tis all  
in the Fekesian Manuscript. Valef.

D d d

That the Church is to be Heir to those who have no Relations; and that the Legacies given by them shall remain firm.

**B**UT, if none of the Kindred be left, who, agreeable to reason, may be Heir to any of the forementioned Persons, to wit, of the Martyrs, or of the Confessors, or of those who have removed out of their Country on such an Occasion as this; we decree, that the Church in every of those places shall always succeed in the Inheritance.

<sup>a</sup> Nor will this in any wife be \* uncaſe  
to the ſunſent, if they ſhall happen to  
have † Her their Heir, on whoſe ac-  
count they have undergone all imagi-

\* Our Israel  
From the  
Medicinal  
Cops make

It is in chap. 35. Also, *καὶ τῶν μετείκων μὲν σοι, τῶν, &c.*

\* Or, Drily \* ejected; incompassionately destroyed; care-  
ven away. Iestly cast forth; when Proscriptions of innocent  
† Or, Per- Persons were frequent; the † fury of Persecutors  
factions insatiable; and sales of Goods [every where vi-  
insatiable. fible.] But, if any Men do insist upon such dis-  
cours- courses as these, and do persist in their insatiable  
own, ad- purposes and intentions; they shall be sensible, that  
monitions. such a practise will not be suffered with an im-  
Icorrupted. punity to themselves; especially, in regard on this  
this place account chiefly we give our Help and Ministry  
by the help of the supreme God. † Whatever things there-  
diseases Co fore a destructive necessity hath heretofore forced  
pr, in which || to be received, 'tis now dangerous to  
|| to be received, 'tis now dangerous to  
written, receive. keep. And besides, 'tis necessary to les-  
sent Lusts not to be satiated, partly by  
con- siderations, and partly by Examples.

\* Or, *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. The Medicæan Copy has it, *ὅτι ἡ ἐκκλησία*,  
Rec. So that, what things a destructive, &c. and a little after,  
corruptible *ἐκκλησία*, it will now be dangerous, &c. Which I rather  
approve of. For this period is to be joyned with the foregoing one.  
Presently, where the reading is *ἀλλὰ* *τὸ* *ἴδιον*, 'tis righter in the  
Medicæan Copy, where the last particle is wanting. Valef.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

That the Exchequer shall restore to the Churches, Grounds, and Gardens, and Houses.

\* *Ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. **N**OR shall the Exchequer, if it be possib<sup>l</sup> of  
any of those things forementioned, be per-  
mitted firmly to retain them. But, as 'twere not  
daring to utter any thing of Obloquie against the  
partic<sup>l</sup> sacred Churches, those things which for a long time  
is it hath unjustly detained, them it shall at length justly  
wanting; restore to the Churches. All things therefore what-  
and a little after, the ever, which \* may rightly appear to appertain to  
same Copy the Churches; whether they be Houses [enjoyed  
the reading as] a Possession; or certain Fields and Gardens;  
is, *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία* or whatever else they be, (no right belonging  
notwithstanding, to the Dominion being diminished, but all  
things continuing firm and entire;) We order to  
be restored.

as 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. Which the Medicæan Manuscripts con-  
firm, wherein the reading is *ἐκκλησία*. In the same Copy, after the  
word Churches, is added *ἀλλὰ*, that is, some words are wanting.  
Valef.

\* *Ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. The reading in the Medicæan Copy is truer,  
thus, *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*, may rightly appear. Valef.

\* *Εἰς* *τὰς* *ἐκκλησίας*. The emendation of this place is  
due to the Medicæan Copy, where we found it plainly written *εἰς* *τὰς* *ἐκκλησίας*, to the dominion; excellently well. For the Emperors  
will it, that all Places and Farms, which had been taken away from the  
Christians, should truly and sincerely be restored to them to-  
gether with their rights. In such a manner that, if service was  
owing to any Farm or Field, to wit, a drove way, passage, or high  
way, it should be restored to the Christians with the same right  
in no part diminished. Therefore, if any one had mortgaged a Farm  
taken from a Christian, or had let it out by Lease to be planted and  
improved, or by a sale of it had encumbered it with any burthen or  
service; all these things are by Constantine's Edict relincd. A little  
after, where the reading is *ἀνδρῶν* *ἐκκλησίας*, from the same Copy  
we have incnded it thus, *ἀνδρῶν* *ἐκκλησίας*, to be restored Yet, the Euse-  
bian, Turnebian, and Savilian Copies have *ἐκκλησίας* to be yielded up;  
which is no ill reading. Valef.

## C H A P. XL.

The \* Martyria and Cæmeteries † are or-  
desed to be yielded up to the Churches.

\* Places,  
where the  
Reliques of  
any Martyr are.

† In the Greek 'tis *οὕτως*.

\* *Καὶ* *τοὺς* *ἐκκλησίας*. **M**oreover, who doubts but those Places, which  
have been honoured with the Bodies of  
saints' Copies  
\* it intended, *καὶ* *τοὺς* *ἐκκλησίας*; which pleases me better. Valef.

the Martyrs, and are the Monuments of their glo-  
rious departure, do belong to the Churches? Yea  
rather, who would not even command that? In  
as much as, there can be no Gift more valuable,  
nor can there be any other Labour pleasanter, and  
which has in it more of advantage, than that, these  
by the impulse of the divine Spirit, a diligent words in  
care be taken about these matters; to the end that the Greek,  
those Places, which with wicked pretexts have been in the Me-  
taken away by unjust and most flagitious Men, Man-  
being justly yielded up, may be restored again to scrip fol-  
[God's] sacred Churches. low these,  
*ἐκκλησίας*

Yea, can there be any other; which words are wanting in the or-  
dinary Editions. Valef.

\* *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*, *τὸν* *ἐκ*  
*τῶν* *ἐκκλησίας* *ἐκκλησίας*, will, a diligent care be taken about such  
matters as these. Also in the Euseb. Turneb. and Savil. Copies the  
reading is *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. Valef. In Robert Stephens, 'tis *ἐκκλησία*, to  
take a diligent, &c.

\* *Μὴ* *ἐκκλησίας*. In the Medicæan Copy 'tis *ἐκκλησίας*, must  
wicked. Valef.

## C H A P. XLI.

That such as have bought things belong-  
ing to the Church, or have received them  
as a gift, must restore them.

\* *Ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. **B**UT, because it appertains to an entire and ab-  
solute \* Providence, that they  
should not be past over in silence, who \* Or, Pro-  
either by a right of Emption have vision. I began  
bought any thing of the Exchequer, or by a Title I also put  
of donation have possib<sup>l</sup> themselves of any thing the Title  
as granted to them, having \* in vain \* extended before it,  
their insatiable desires to such Goods: Let all such which was  
Persons known, that although they have attempted the Em-  
to alienate Our Clemency from themselves, by rea-<sup>l</sup> Edu-  
son of their most notorious audaciousness in making and in the  
such purchases; nevertheless, that our Benignity shall of Robert  
not be wanting to them, so far as 'tis possible and Stephens  
becoming. But let it suffice thus far to have treated par-  
concerning these matters. Which de-  
fect we

made up from the Eusebian Manuscript and the King's Sheet.  
Valef.

\* *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. The Medicæan Copy opened to us the true  
writing of this place; wherein the reading is *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. I write,  
*ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*, either by a right of Emption. Indeed, to style this  
Emption just, is contrary to the mind of Constantine, who terms these  
purchases unjust and nefarious presumptions. Valef.

\* *Μὴ* *ἐκκλησίας*. I had conjectured long since, that  
the particle *ἐκ* was to be expunged; which conjecture of ours the  
Medicæan Copy does plainly confirm. The Emperor speaks concern-  
ing those Men, who had petitioned that these places might be given  
them by the Emperors. Which *Christophorus* perceived not. Pre-  
sently in the same Copy the reading is *ἐκκλησίας* *ἐκ* *ἐκκλησίας*, &c. a  
truer than in the ordinary Editions, *ἐκ* *ἐκκλησίας*. In the Euseb. and Turneb.  
Copies 'tis *ἐκ* *ἐκκλησίας* *ἐκκλησίας*, which is the worst reading of all. Valef.

\* *ἐκκλησίας*. In the Eusebian Copy 'tis *ἐκκλησίας*. Valef.

## C H A P. XLII.

An Earnest Exhortation to worship God.

\* *Ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. **F**urther, whereas it hath been made appa-  
rent by most evident and most perspicuous in the  
demonstrations; partly by the power and might of Medicæan  
Copy tu

\* *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*. If I mistake not, the reading in the Me-  
dicæan Copy is truer, thus, *ὅτι* *ἡ* *ἐκκλησία*, *ἐκ* *ἐκκλησίας*, &c. and we have  
pointed and rendered it accordingly. It should, I think, also be *ἐκ*  
*ἐκκλησίας* *ἐκ* *ἐκκλησίας*, of the omnipotent God. Valef.

\*The Omnipotent God, and partly by the Exhortations and Assistances which He desires should frequently be given by Me; that that calamitous grief and disquietude, which had heretofore seized the whole Complex of humane Affairs, hath now been banished from all places under the Sun: all persons of you in general, and each Person in particular, by most accurate \* inspection do perceive, what and how great that \* Power, what that Grace is, which hath wholly extinguished and destroyed the Seed (as I may so say) of the \* most flagitious and wickedest Men; but hath recalled the gladness of the Good, and abundantly diffused it throughout all Regions: and which hath permitted all imaginable Liberty those who to all Persons, that they should again both pay a meet worship to the divine Law it self with the highest Veneration, and also in a befitting manner reverence those who have consecrated themselves to the service of that Law. Who having risen up out of \* a most profound darkness as \*twere, and received a clear knowledge of \* Affairs, will in future exhibit a due observance, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in our Eastern Parts.

\* Or, Moreover, what and how great that \* Power, what that Grace is, which hath wholly extinguished and destroyed the Seed (as I may so say) of the \* most flagitious and wickedest Men; but hath recalled the gladness of the Good, and abundantly diffused it throughout all Regions: and which hath permitted all imaginable Liberty those who to all Persons, that they should again both pay a meet worship to the divine Law it self with the highest Veneration, and also in a befitting manner reverence those who have consecrated themselves to the service of that Law. Who having risen up out of \* a most profound darkness as \*twere, and received a clear knowledge of \* Affairs, will in future exhibit a due observance, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in our Eastern Parts.

Further, whereas it hath, &c. There is nothing clearer than this reading, nothing more certain. Instead of *καὶ ὑπὲρ μου*, by me, or from me. For Constantine means his own Ministry or service, which he lent God in the offering of these things. Concerning which matter he does, not without reason, boast in the beginning of this Edict. Valef.

\* *ἡ τῶν θεῶν*. In the Medicæan Copy the Article is wanting; and after these words, are added these, *ἡ τῶν θεῶν*, what that Grace is, which words cannot be wanting without a great detriment to the whole Sentence. For, the term *θεῶν* imports that which he has above termed *ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the power of God: but *θεῶν* signifies to: Benefit conferred upon Men by the Assistance and Ministry of Constantine. Valef.

\* *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*. In the Medicæan Manuscript, 'tis *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν* *καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*, of the most flagitious and wickedest. Further, it must be made *ἡ*; as 'tis in the King's Copy in the Eusebian Manuscript, and in the Old Sheets. Valef.

\* *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*. In the Medicæan Copy the reading is *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*. Valef.

\* *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν*. The Medicæan Manuscript has it *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν* of Affairs. I found the same reading in the King's Copy, in the Old Sheets, and in the Eusebian Copy. Away therefore with Robert Stephens's Emendation. Valef. In Stephens 'tis *ἡ τῶν ἀνδρῶν* of Letters.

\* In the Medicæan Copy the close of this Edict runs thus; *ἀναγγεῖλαι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν* *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν* *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*. I.e. Will in future exhibit a due observance, and a pious and agreeable honour to this Law. Let it be published in Our Eastern Parts. And this is the Subscription, which (as Eusebius attests, Chap. 23.) was put to this Edict in Constantine's own hand. For the Emperors were wont, in their own hand to add to the Edicts they sent out, *proferamus*, let it be published; and to give that in Command to the Prefect of Prætoria, as it appears from the Novels of Valentianus and Majorianus. Indeed, even this one word *proferamus*, is a sufficient indication.

Indeed, even this one word *proferamus*, is a sufficient indication that this Subscription was added in Constantine's own hand. For 'tis the Emperor himself that speaks, and who calls the Eastern Parts *his own*. For so the Emperors were wont to express themselves, then especially, when they spoke of any Province lately reduced under their Government. So Constantine in his Letter to Elaphius, and in that to Probianus *Proconsul* of Africa, says *Africanam Nostram* Our Africa; and in the first Law Cod. Theod. de Veteran., and Nicomediam nostram, and in the Nicomediam. So in the only Law Cod. Theod. de i. qui sanguinolentus, &c. Imperator Constantinus Itali suis, Emperor Constantine to his Italians. Lastly, Constantius Caesar in his Letter to Eumenius, which Letter Eumenius records in his Oration pro Eusebio; *Macedoniam Galli nostris*, &c. Our Galli are in service, &c. Further, this Edict of Constantine occurs, in the Medicæan Copy, after the Books of Ecclesiastick History, with this Title, *ἀναγγεῖλαι τῇ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν* *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν* *καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν*. That is, a Copy of the Constitution of the Emperor dear to God, which, (after he had deposed the Tyrants,) he wrote in the Greek Tongue, and transmitted to the Province under him. Valef.

CHAP. XLIII.

That those things which Constantine had established by Laws, were by him really accomplished and performed.

These were the Constitutions contained in the Emperors first Edict sent to us. Immediately therefore the Orders contained in this Law were effectually put into Execution: and all things that the Writer of this History was a Palestini- an. Which I was

therefore willing to remark; because Dionysius Gotsfredus thought, that Eusebius Cæsariensis was not the Author of this Work: which nevertheless 'tis easy to refute, both by innumerable testimonies of ancient Writers, and also from very many passages of this Work; especially from chap. 45. and 46. of this Book. Now, the aforesaid Law of Constantine was issued out to the Palestini-ans in particular, for this reason, Because the persecution had raged most sorely there, and there had been many Confessors and Martyrs in that Province. Notice likewise is to be taken of what Eusebius says, viz. that this first Sanction or Edict of Constantine hath been brought to them. For that Edict concerning the Peace and Liberty of the Christians, which Constantine had sent into the East after his conquest of Maxentius, was by Maximine's fraud suppressed, as Eusebius tells us in the beginning of his ninth Book. Valef.

CHAP. XLIV.

That he preferred Christians to the Government of Provinces; but if [any of the Governors] were Pagans, he forbid them to Sacrifice.

After this, the Emperor \* put his hand seriously to the work. And in the first place, most of those he sent as Governors of the Nations distributed throughout the Provinces, were Persons dedicated to the salutary Faith. But, if any of them seemed addicted to Gentilism, it was forbidden them to Sacrifice. The same Law was imposed also \* upon those, who in dignity preceded the Presidents, as likewise on them that had obtained the highest pitch of Honour and the Power of the Prætorian Prefecture. For either, if they were Christians, he gave them permission, that they should perform what \* as correspondent to their Appellation: or else, if they were otherwise affected, he ordered them not to worship Idols.

For these dignities were far more eminent than those of the Presidents, as every one knows. But Christophorus, according to his usual mistake, translates *ἀρχισυνταγματάρχης* Prefecti; than which nothing is more absurd. Valef.

CHAP. XLV.

Concerning the Laws forbidding Sacrifices, and ordering the Churches to be built.

SOON after, \* two Laws were issued out at once and the same time. The one whereof forbade the detestable Sacrifices to Idols, here- renders it, due Leges in eandem sententiam promulgabantur, two Laws were promulgated to the same effect, or meaning: wherein he seems to have followed Porphyrius, who had rendered it thus; Due postea Leges emissa non ita dissimili argumenta. Two Laws were afterwards issued out of a Subject not unlike. But I thought *ἃ τὰ αὐτὰ* to be the same with simul, uno eodemque tempore, together; as one, and the same time. For so Eusebius does usually express himself. Valef.



red these words right, although he has not hit the sense-

*Constantine's* Edi&ct to the Provinces, concerning the Errour of *Polytheism*. The Preface, concerning Vertue and Vice.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
to the † Provincials of the East.

**A**Ll things what ever that are contained in the most Authentick Laws of Nature, do give all Men sufficient notices of a divine providence over and || Inspection into the administration of all matters. Nor is there any doubt to those, whose minds: are by the right way of knowledge directed to that end, but an accurate comprehension of a sound mind and of the very sight it self, \* by one and the same impulse of true Vertue, may lead to the knowledge of God. Wherefore, no considerate Person can ever be disturbed, when he perceives most Men following \* Courses of Life contrary the one to the other. For, the Beauty of Vertue would be \* unusefull and lie concealed, unless impropriety should on the other hand \* set forth a perverse and depraved way of living. Therefore, a Crown is proposed to Vertue; but the Most high God presides in the Judgment [and punishment of Impropriety.] But, I will attempt, with all possible perspicuity, to discourse to you all, concerning those \* Hopes I have of things future.

ends to the same end, to wit, the knowledge of truth. The  
needs to the truth of things sensible; and the understanding to  
of Intelligibles from the truth it self of things sensible; and  
degrees it ascends to the knowledge of the supreme God. Also  
ἀποφύλαξις ἀληθείας may be termed the *force and virtue* of  
Yet, the following words do assure us, that this place multi-  
concerning Moral Vertue. *Valef. Valgins* renders those Greek  
at the beginning of this note thus, *vera virtutis eadem vir-  
tute inclinatam naturā, the nature of true Vertue verging and  
to the same end.*

©, foolishly or absurd. I read ἀνὴν©- μνησφυ, as 'tis in  
 Manassero, and in Moreus's, and Gruter's Corpore. A  
 I write, διὰ τῶ ἀπὸ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐκείνων, Therefore a  
 to referre to Verine. But these words are very obscure and  
 which I have been at length to Constantine himself, in re-  
 g. I have a person that is attributed to the Greek, but was more  
 expelling himself; and partly to English. I have also  
 who of obscure Latine words made the Greek more obscure.  
 unknown Manassero the reading is ἀνὴν©, and διὰ τῶν  
 ©. excellently well. Vale.

Concerning the Pious Father of *Constantine*;  
and concerning *Dioclesian* and *Maximian*  
the Persecutors.

I Always look<sup>d</sup> upon the former Emperors<sup>s</sup>, by reason of the Ferity of their dispositions, as Persons<sup>s</sup> \* extraneous and foreign. My Father was the only Man, who took in hand works of *Lexity* <sup>\* Ambidexterity</sup> and *Manufact*; and with an admirable Piety imberred: invoked God the Father in all his *Adings*. But the rest [of the Emperors,] not found as to their Intellectualls, made immanity, rather than mildness, their Buiness; and this they nourish'd <sup>†</sup> in a wonderful manner, subverting the true doctrine <sup>†</sup> Or, Providence during their own times. Further, the fury of their improbity was kindled to such a degree, that Civil Wars were raised by them, against all as well Divine as Humane affairs, when in the <sup>†</sup> He terms the greatest repose and tranquility imaginable. <sup>†</sup> Persecu.

the *Christians, Civil Wars*. For there is nothing like a Civil War, than when the *Christians* were put to flight and murdered in all Cities, not by an incursion of Enemies and Barbarians, but of their own Fellow-Citizen. *Vale.*

That by reason of *Apollo's* Oracle, who could not give forth Responses because of *The just Men*, a Persecution was raised.

IT was reported, that at that time Apollo gave  
forbath an Oracle out of a certain Den and dark  
Cavern, not by humane voice; whereby he decla-  
red, that The just Men upon Earth were an hin-  
drance to him, that he could not speak the truth:  
and, that on this account † false Oracles were  
given out from the Tripods: and, that for this  
reason \* his mournful prophetes suffered her long made false  
bar to bang down neglected; and the Art of  
Divination being banish'd, lamented that great  
Evil amongst Men. But Let us see, what man-  
ner of conclusion these things were brought to.

† Or, The  
Oracles of  
the Tri-  
pods were  
made false  
by the  
Tiro-  
sages nam-  
ing. It  
must be  
written,

περσιν (or, if you will, ἑσπερί) κρηπίς; which reading we have followed in our Version. Porphyrio also, and Morinus understood these words concerning the *Pythia* or *Priestess* of *Apollo*. But, in the excellent *Fukerian Manuscript*, this whole place is written thus, *πρὸ τοῦ ἑσπερίου καὶ περσιν ἀδελφὴν παύσασθαι. ἃ μακρίως τ' ἐλπίσιν ἐμνήσθη, &c.* For this reason be [Apollo] suffered his mournful *laments* *hair* *or* *long* *down* *neglected* *be*, [whereas] agrees *Sir Henry Savile's* *Cop.* Preface, in the same *Copias* the reading is *τὴν ἐλπίσιν* *τῶν* *κατὰ* *τὴν* *ἐλπίσιν*, in what manner of end these things terminated: *Val.*

That *Constantine*, when he was a youth, heard that the *just Men* were the *Christians*, from him that had written the [Edicts] concerning the Persecution.

**I** Now † appeal to Thee, Most high God! [Thou knowest,] that being then \* very young I † Or, Call  
heard, how He, who at that time held the chief upon  
<sup>a Kousis</sup>  
209. In the Greek Title of this chapter, 'tis truer written, 'tis a youth,  
For Constanine was not then a Child, when, as an Hostage, he resided  
at Dioclesian's Court. For, he was delivered by his Father, Constantius  
to Dioclesian, on the year of Christ 291; after Constantius had been  
made Caesar by Dioclesian. At which time Constanine was about  
15 years old. For he died on the year of Christ 337, in the 62<sup>d</sup>  
of his age. Vale.

\* Or, Deceived in mind by error.

<sup>b</sup> Βροχθίους ἰσθλῆ. In the Fork and Savil's Manuscript the fore he wrote Edicts of Blood \* with bloody points reading it of Swords (as I may say;) and ordered his judges to a stretch that subtilty implanted in them by nature, to an invention of Acuter punishments in the King's Copy. Valef.

\* Μισοφθῆν ἀνακρίει. He alludes to the point of an instrument to write with. Constantine expresses himself with much of Eloquence, in saying, that those Laws concerning the Persecution of the Christians, were written with the bloody points of Swords. So some of the Ancients tell us, that *Draco's Laws* were written with Blood, not with Ink. Valef.

\* Ἐδίστην τοῦ ἀποδοῦναι. I had rather say *constricere* to stretch; which is an usual expression with Eusebius. Valef.

### CHAP. LII.

How many sorts of Tortures and Punishments were made use of against the Christians.

T<sup>H</sup>en you might, [I say] you might have beheld, with how great a freedom [and \* Or, That Licence] the \* venerable worshippers of God <sup>a</sup>gravity of daily underwent the severest of Contumelies, [east-<sup>b</sup>piety] by a continuedness of Cruelty. For, that modesty, which even none of the Enemies ever affected with any injury, <sup>a</sup> was made the easie <sup>a</sup>Παύσιμος <sup>a</sup>σφοδρῶς and pastime of the contumely of their own selves So enraged Fellow-Citizens. What fire, what man-<sup>b</sup>ner of Torments, what sort of Tortures was not made use of upon every body, and without distinction [applied] <sup>b</sup> to persons of all ages what-<sup>c</sup>ever? Doubtless, at that time the Earth wept; <sup>c</sup>Εὐσεβίου speaking of Severus the Heavens, within whose circumference all <sup>c</sup>Καὶ τὰ οὐρανόθεν things are contained, being defiled with Blood, <sup>c</sup>ἡ δὲ γῆ itself was clouded by the sorrow and horror of <sup>c</sup>ἡ δὲ γῆ became a that prodigy.

cheap and easie sacrifice of death; where see what we have noted concerning that expression. For the Translators perceived nothing here. Valef. In the Greek Text of *Valesius's* Edition, the term *μαρτύριοι* is left out; but it occurs in Robert Stephens.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ ἡλικία πᾶσι. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is ἡλικία πᾶσι. A little after, in the same Copy, and in the King's Sheets it is written, ἡλικία πᾶσι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. <sup>c</sup>Εὐσεβίου speaking of Severus the Heavens, within whose circumference all things are contained, being defiled with Blood, the very [light of the] day it self was clouded by the sorrow and horror of the prodigy.

### CHAP. LIII.

What reception was given to the Christians by the Barbarians.

B<sup>UT</sup> why [do I mention] these things? On account hereof the Barbarians do now boast, they gave reception to the Men of our Country

\* Kept, or, Preserved. that fled at that time, and \* treated the Captives with all imaginable tenderness and humanity. † Or, The rites of their Sanctuary. For, they allowed them not only safety, but permitted them to retain † their religious worship with

security. Therefore the Romans do now bear this perpetual Brand of Infamy, which the Christians, at that time driven out of the Roman World, and flying to the Barbarians, fixed upon them.

### CHAP. LIV.

What manner of Revenge overtook them, who, on account of the Oracle, raised a Persecution.

B<sup>UT</sup>, what need I in many words rehearse those Lamentations, and that common mourning of the whole World? Those Authors of so horrid an impiety, perished afterwards by a most ignominious end, and were thrust down into the pits of Acheron, to an eternal punishment. For, having been \* involved in intestine Wars, they left no \* Or, Mix Remains, either of their Name, or Stock. Which together, doubtless had never happened to them, had not that impious prophecy of the Oracles of Apollo had a false and depraved force.

### CHAP. LV.

Constantine's Glorification of God, and his confession in reference to the sign of the Cross, and his Prayer for the Churches and People.

N<sup>OW</sup>, I beseech Thee, \* Most suprem God! \* Or, Be mild and propitious to Thy Easterns; Greatly Be [merciful] to all thy Provincials, worn out by a lasting Calamity: by me Thy servant, † administer a Remedy. And these things I, † Or, ask of Thee not without Cause, O Thou Lord of Reach all, Holy God! For, by Thy Guidance and Assistance, I have undertaken and perfected Salutary Affairs. Every where carrying before Me Thy Sign, I have lead on my Victorious Army. And as often as the publick necessity requires, following those very Ensigns of thy † Virtue, I, † Or, march out against the Enemy. For these reasons Power: I have dedicated my mind to Thee, purely tempered with love and fear. For I love Thy Name with a sincerity: but I have an awful fear for Thy Power, which Thou hast demonstrated by many indications, and hast thereby rendered my faith firmer. I hasten therefore, to put my shoulders, my own shoulders [I say to the Work], that I may re-edifice thy Most holy \* House; which <sup>a</sup>He means those detestable and most impious [wretches] have <sup>a</sup>the Caesars' Church which is ruined by \* a wicked overbrow.

\* Or, By a wickedness of demolition.

terms the House of Truth. In the sacred Scriptures 'tis called The Pillar and Ground of Truth. A little after, from the Eusebian and Savil Manuscripts, and from the King's Sheets; write, ἡ ἐκκλησία σου, &c. which those detestable, &c. Valef.

### CHAP. LVI.

How he prays that all Persons may be Christians; but forces no body.

I Desire, that thy People may live in Repose, and without Tumult or disturbance, for the common advantage of the World and all Mortals. May

Aday those involved in the Error [of Gentilism] with gladness partake of an enjoyment of the same Peace and Quiet with the Believers. For, this Reparation of mutual society \* will be of great efficacy in leading Men to the true way. Let no Person molest another. \* Let every one do that which his Soul desireth. Yet, it behooves those whose Sentiments are true, to be firmly persuaded, that they only shall live holily and purely, whom Thou callest [to this,] that they should acquiesce in Thy holy Laws. But, let those who withdraw themselves, have their Temples of Lyes, since they desire them. We retain the most splendid House of Thy Truth, || which Thou hast given us according to Nature. We wish this likewise to them, namely, that by a common consent and agreement, they also may reap a delight of deed at a mind.

And we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.  
\* Εὐσεβίου ὁ λόγος ἀποδοῦναι, ὅτι οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ. The meaning is, Let every one follow what religion he has a mind to. By which words Constantine leaves His Subject an entire Liberty of worshipping the Deity according as every one shall have a mind. For, the most Religious Prince earnestly desired indeed, that all Mortals should come to the Faith of Christ: but he never compelled any one to that. He wistd that the Heathens were freed from their Frittle Error: notwithstanding, he prohibited not the Ceremonies and sacrifices of the Temples, as he himself attests hereafter, at chap. 60. Valef.  
|| Οὐ μὴ κτ' ἄλλῃ Νίκῃ. Valesius renders it, quam assequimur nisi donatis, which thou givest us when born. I understand neither the European, nor Valesius's meaning.

C H A P. LVII.

He gives Glory to God, who by his Son has enlightened those that were in Error.

NOR is our Religion new, or of a late date; but, from such time as we believe this beautiful Fabrick of the World to have stood firmly put together, Thou hast instituted this [Religion] with a due observance of Thy Deity. Further, Mankind seduced by various Errors, hath stumbled. But, least this Evil should increase and grow stronger, Thou by Thy Son hast raised up a pure Light, and hast put all Men in mind \* of the worship of Thy Deity.

\* Or, Concerning Thy Self History, and in his book de Evangelicâ Demonstratione.

C H A P. LVIII.

Another Glorification of God, from his \* Government of the World.

THY Works give confirmation to these things. Thy Power makes us innocent and faithful. The Sun and Moon have their stated and prescribed † Road; nor are the Stars moved round the † Axis of the whole World in an irregular manner. The Vicissitudes of Times recur by a certain Law. \* Or, Sea. By Thy word the firm \* site of the Earth hath been established. And the wind makes its motion \* according to a set time. Also, the current and carriage of the Waters † proceeds from the motion of a restless Flux. The Sea is contained within fixt and immovable Bounds:

† Or, Way. I read κτ' ἐπὶ τῇ θάλασσῃ, according to a set time; in Constantinian Manuscripts. And so the reading is in the Eusebian and Sossinian Manuscripts. Valef.  
\* Or, Sea. By Thy word the firm \* site of the Earth hath been established. And the wind makes its motion \* according to a set time. Also, the current and carriage of the Waters † proceeds from the motion of a restless Flux. The Sea is contained within fixt and immovable Bounds:

And what ever is diffused throrow the Earth and Ocean, every such thing is strained for certain admirable and † great Uses. Which unless it were † Or, Use in this manner governed according to the Arbitrary Will, doubtless so great a diversity, and † so manifold a division of power, would have brought destruction upon the whole World and humane affairs. \* For they who have waged War against one another, would doubtless have fought that is, with a greater vehemency against mankind. Which questionless they do, although they are not seen with the Eyes.

Stars, and Elements, concerning which he hath spoken above. For all these, unless they were governed by the Beck and Power of one God, would likewise be Gods. Hence therefore imports a power subject to no dominion; which we commonly term an Impendancy, which is proper to God only. Valef.

\* He means the Gods of the Heathens, as I have said above: to wit, the Sun, Moon, and the rest of the Elements of the World, which Antiquity worshipped for Gods. Presently from the Eusebian Copy write ὁ ἀποδοῦναι ἑαυτοῦ ὡς ὡς as the reading also is in the King's Sheets. Valef.

C H A P. LIX.

He praises God, in regard he always teaches good things.

WE give Thee many thanks, Thou Lord \* Or, of all, Greatest God! For, by how much Studies, the more Humane Nature is known from different † Or, The \* Endeavours; by so much the more the † Discipline † Or, Precepts of the Divine Religion are confirmed in those, confirmed, whose Sentiments are right, and \* who are studious &c. of true Vertue. But, whoever hinders himself from † Or, being cured, † let not him impute that to another. For the Medicine, which † is of strength sufficient to effect the Cure, † Or, Pre- is publicly proposed to all Men. Only † Or, Pre- [this must be taken care of,] that the Cure. No one should violate that Religion, which the Saviour's Co- things themselves do manifest to be pure and in † Or, reading is maculate. Let all us Men therefore make use † Or, of the † atonement of that Good in common com. &c. who ferred on us, that is, the blessing of Peace; to wit, are sin- by separating our Consciences from every thing that is contrary to it.

\* Ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ. That is, whosoever suffers not himself to be cured, or freed from the disease of Idolatry; let him impute it to himself, in regard the Medicine is ready. Christopheron has rendered this place ill, thus, alteri qui sanari vult, non vult veritas, let him not blame another, who has a mind to be cured. I say nothing concerning Porsefus, who wanders from the true sense almost every where. But Musculus has rendered these words not unhappily. Valef.  
|| Or, The common Inheritance of that good given us: Valesius renders it, The fellowship.

C H A P. LX.

An Exhortation at the close of the Edict, that no Person should give trouble or disturbance to another.

BUT, let no Person do harm to another, by that which he hath persuaded himself of, \* and de- \* Or, declared. What one Man hath understood and known, † Or, with that let him assist his Neighbour, if it may be, in the But, if it be impossible, let him omit it. For 'tis one King's Copy written in the same hand, ἀναδιδόναι received. Both readings may be born with. Valef.



thing, voluntarily to undertake the Combat for immortality; another, to be forc'd to it by punishment. These things I have said; & these things I have discoursed of more at large than the scope of Our Manuscripte required, because I would not conceal <sup>b</sup> the true Faith. Especially, in regard some Persons (as I <sup>b</sup> do assert, that the Rites of the Temples the Truth, and the Power of Darkness are wholly abolished. That is, Which I had indeed perswaded all Men to, had the true not the violent <sup>a</sup> Insolency of nefarious Error been immeasurably fix'd on the minds of some Persons, same as to the hurt and damage of the <sup>c</sup> Emendation of the should Mankind.

<sup>d</sup> τὸν ἀληθινὸν καὶ πιστὸν τὴν Τύχην τῆς Πίστης. He expresses himself so again, hereafter. Valef.

<sup>e</sup> These words are taken out of St. Paul's Epist. to the Colos. chap. 1. v. 13. Further, as he here terms Gentilism the power of darkness, so lower (at chap. 67.) he calls Christianity the power and efficacy of Light. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Ἐμμενέω. This term does properly signify Conspiracy and Rebellion: which is most appositely said concerning the worship of Idols For Idolatry is a defection from the true God. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀνάστασιν, of the common Resurrection. It must, as I think, be ἀποδείξις, Emendation or Correction. For the common word seems to have been fetch'd out of the foregoing line. Further, at the end of this Edict, this subscription was doubtless placed (concerning which I have spoken at large above,) ἐπεὶ δὴ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἡγεῖται ἀποδείξις αἰσέται, Let it be published in Our Eastern parts. For this subscription is properly agreeable to this Edict, in regard it was sent to the Provincials of the East. Valef.

## CHAP. LXI.

\* Or, How from the City Alexandria \* Contraverses were raised on account of Arius.

These things the Emperour, like a most loud-speaking Preacher of God, by his own Letter <sup>†</sup> proclaimed to all the Provincials; || diverting his Subjects from Diabolical Error; and exhorting them to the exercise of true Piety. But whilst he was exceedingly joyful on account hereof, news was brought him, concerning a disturbance of no small consequence, which had seized the Churches. At the hearing whereof he was extremely troubled, and began earnestly to consider of a Cure. [The Original of the disturbance] was this. The People of God were in a flourishing condition, and

\* pleased themselves with the exercises of good Actions. There was no fear without, which might give disturbance: in regard, by the grace and favour of God, a splendid and most profound Peace fortified the Church on all sides. But Envy framed treacherous designs against our Blessings. [At first] it crept in privately; but [afterward] it danced in the very midst of the Conventions of the Saints. At length it raised Contention between the Bishops, and <sup>a</sup> cast in discord and wranglings amongst them, under a pretence of the Divine <sup>†</sup> Dogmata. From thence, as 'twere from some small spark, a great fire was kindled. Which began from the

Alexandrian Church, as 'twere from an <sup>||</sup> Eminence; and afterwards over-ran all Egypt, and Libya, and

Further Thebais. Moreover, it ruined the rest of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, of the Provinces and Cities: in so much that, you might have seen not only the Prelates For so Eusebius does usually speak in many places. Valef.

of the Churches fighting one with another with words; but the People also rent into factions; some inclining to this party; others, to that. <sup>b</sup> Further, the spectacle of the things performed proceeded to such an height of absurdity, that even in the very Theatres of the Infidels, the venerableness of the Divine Doctrine <sup>c</sup> was traduced by a most ignominious and reproachful derision.

\* Or, Underwent a most, &c.

like better. This whole place therefore is thus to be written; οἱ ἡγεῖται ἀποδείξις αἰσέται, &c. and we have rendered it accordingly. In the Fuckerian Copy the reading is οἱ τοῦτοῦ. Valef.

## CHAP. LXII.

Concerning Arius and the Melitians.

These Persons therefore at Alexandria in a childish manner strove about the Sublimest [Points.] But <sup>a</sup> others all over Egypt and the <sup>b</sup> Upper Thebais were in the interim at difference on account of a controverſie which had been [started before: so that, the Churches were in all places rent in sunder. And whereas the Body [of the Church] was distempered as 'twere with these [discafes,] all Libya likewise fell sick; and the other parts of the Provinces without were seized with the same distemper. For they of Alexandria sent Legates to the Bishops in each Province; and these, divided into either side, partook of the like Sedition and disturbance.

## CHAP. LXIII.

How Constantine sent a Legate with a Letter in order to a Composure.

Upon hearing hereof the Emperour was highly perplex'd in mind; and looking upon this thing to be his own calamitous Concern, he forthwith dispatches away one of the worshippers of God whom he had about him, (a <sup>a</sup> Person whom he well knew to have been approved for his <sup>a</sup> modesty of Faith, and in the late times to have been ennobled with confessions in defence of Piety;) to Alexandria, to make Peace between those that were at difference there. And by him he sends a most useful and necessary Letter to the Occasioners of that Contention. Which Letter, in regard it contains an illustrious Specimen of his Care in reference to the People of God, is fit to be inserted into this our Discourse concerning him. The Contents of it are these.

He means Arius, as Gelasius relates book 2. and after him Photius in his Bibliotheca, cap. 127. and Nicephorus. And before all these, Sozomen. Valef.

CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Letter to Alexander the Bishop, and Arius the Presbyter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Alexander and Arias.

\* Or, make God  
our witness.  
† Minister, or, Charge.  
WE call God to witness, who, as 'tis meet, is himself the Assistance of Our attempts, and the Saviour of all men; that upon a twofold account we were moved to take in hand the management of those affairs which We have in reality performed.

CHAP. LXV.

That he was continually Sollicitous about Peace.

\* Opinion of all Nations concerning the Deity, in one Constitution and Form as 'twere: Secondly, We were desirous of restoring to an healthfulness the Body of the whole World, afflicted as 'twere with some terrible disemper. Which [two things] having proposed to Our Self as Our aim, we inspected the one with the secret eye of Thought; but we attempted to effect the other by the power of a Military force: well knowing, that if (as 'twas Our desire) We could establish an universal agreement amongst the Worshipers of God, the consequence would be, that the Administration of the publick Affairs would certainly obtain a true, unaltered change agreeable to the pious minds of all men. Presently, I write *αὐτοῖς μὴν ἔχουσιν ὡς πρὶν ἑνῶσαι*, from the Fukeitian and Savilian Copies: or rather, *αὐτοῖς μὴν*, &c. Valef.

CHAP. LXVI.

In what manner he put a stop to the Controversies raised in Africk.

\* Madnesse  
of Africa  
Some persons, who with a rash levity had dared to rent the Religion of the people into various Sects; We being desirous to put a stop to this Disemper, could find no other remedy sufficient to effect its Cure, than (after we had destroyed *Ἰερουσαλὴμ*, &c. A little after, where the reading is *ἡ δὲ δὴν*, the particle *ἡ* is to be expunged. He means The Donatists, who after the Roman Synod and that of Orleans, after Constantine's own determination, were as yet tumultuous in Africa. Valef.

the Common Enemy of the world, who had opposed his own impious Opinion and Command against your sacred Synods; ) that we should send some of You as Assistants in order to the making up an agreement between those who were at variance one with another.

had opposed his own impious opinion, &c. For Licinius had prohibited the Synods of the Christian Prelates, as Eusebius attests in book 1. chap. 5. . . But Christophorus by a great mistake thought, that by the Common Enemy of the world here was meant The Devil. The meaning of this place therefore is this. We had thought, says Constantine, after our conquest of Licinius, of sending some of you Eastern Bishops into Africa, to make up a Peace there between the Donatists and Catholics. For, when the Bishops of Italy and of the Gallia's could not effect that, we hoped it would at length be done by your help. But, as we perceive, you your selves do now stand in need of Peace-makers. Valef.

\* *Ἀποδείκναι* us. I write *ἀποδείκναι*, from Gruter's and Moreau's Copy; whereto agree the Fukeitian and Savilian Manuscripts and the Kings Sheets. Valef.

CHAP. LXVII.

That the Beginnings of Religion were from the East.

FOR, whereas the power of [the true] Light, and the Law of the Sacred Religion, being by the Beneficence of God given forth out of the Bosoms (as I may so say) of the East, hath at the same time illuminated the whole world with its Sacred Light; we upon a very good account believing *ἡμεῖς* you would prove the Authors as 'twere and Promoters of the Salvation of [all] Nations, have attempted to find you out, as well by a propensity of our mind, as the sight of our eyes. Immediately \* Or, Effecting therefore after our great Victory and among our most certain Triumph over our Enemies, we had resolved before all things to enquire into that again, which we judged to be the chiefest and most momentous of all.

COPY. Nor is the reading otherwise in the Fukeitian and Savilian Manuscripts. Further, Constantine does expressly reckon the Egyptians amongst the people of the East, which was not perceived by Christophorus. Indeed, Egypt was then accounted amongst the Provinces of the East, from the times of Maximine, who having been constituted Caesar in the East, had had Egypt under him. Hence 'tis, that *Ann. Marcellinus* (in his fourteenth book, where he reckons up the Provinces of the East,) attests, that Egypt and Mesopotamia were of their number. The place occurs at pag. 19 of our Edition. Moreover, the Comes of the East had Egypt and Mesopotamia under his dispose in the times of Constantine and Constantius, as this old Inscription informs us: M. MAECIO MEMMIO FURIO BALBUTIO CÆCILIANO PLACIDO. C. V. COMITI ORIENTIS ÆGYPTI ET MESOPOTAMIÆ CONSULI ORDINARIO, &c. Further, under the Latter Emperours, although the Egyptian Diocese was severed from the Orientale, yet 'twas always under the Prefectus Prætoris in the East, as 'tis manifest from the Notitia of the Empire. A little after, I think it should be written, *ἔτι μὲν ἡγεμονία* have lasted to find you out. Valef. \* *Ἄνευ γὰρ τῆς μελέτης* us. 'Tis the same with what he had said in the foregoing chapter, *τὸν καὶ τὸν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἐξ ὧν ἔγεννη, ἅψα*, after we had destroyed the Common Enemy of the world. Constantine means the Hadrianopolitane Battle, and that at Chalcedon. The former of which happened on the fifth of the Nones of July: the latter on the fourteenth of the Calends of October, in the year of Christ 324. About the end of which year this Letter seems to have been dated: Valef.

\* *Τέλει* *αὐτῶν* *εἰδόμενοι*. I think the reading should be *εἴτε* *ἐπὶ* perhaps also *αὐτοῖς*; that is, we had resolved again to enquire into and determine that dissention of the Donatists. In the excellent Fukeitian Copy the reading is *τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, &c. and so 'tis intended in Turnebus's and Moreau's Copy at the margin. Some words are doubtless wanting here. But the meaning of the place is wholly the same with what I have said. Further, the reading of all Copies being compared together, the place seems to be restored thus, *τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*, &c. we resolved upon enquiring what that first thing was, which, &c. Valef.

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

That being troubled by reason of the Disturbance, he advises to an Agreement.

**B**UT (O the most Beautiful and Divine Providence!) what a deadly wound hath been given to Our Ears, or rather to <sup>a</sup> our very heart, when 'twas told us, that the dissentions raised amongst you were far more fierce than those which have been <sup>b</sup> left remaining in Africk? In so much that, your parts, from which we hop'd a remedy might have been produced for others, do now stand in need of a greater Cure. Indeed, when we seriously considered of the Origin and cause of these [differences,] the Occasion appeared to us very trivial, and such as in no wise deserved so fierce a Contest. Wherefore, being induced to a necessity of [penning] this Letter, and writing to Your <sup>c</sup> Unanimous Sagacity, having also called upon Divine Providence to be Our Assistant in this affair, we do upon a good account interpose

For to the  
Fukerian  
and Sav-  
lian Cognis,  
and the  
Kings  
Sheets,  
do plainly  
give it us  
written. In  
Valef. In  
Robertus  
phens the  
reading is  
regisus  
aleucus  
a  
deadly  
blow,

Our Self as the \* Arbitrer of your mutual dissention, and as an <sup>†</sup> Administrator of Peace. For, if We Our Self (God giving us his assistance, although there were a greater occasion of discord, yet <sup>‡</sup> by infilling reason into the Pious minds of our Hearers, could be able without much difficulty <sup>§</sup> to recal each person. to more wholesome Counsils; why may not we the same person (in regard the occasion is small and very trivial, which binds the agreement of the whole Body,) promise Our Self an easier and far more expeditious <sup>||</sup> accommodation of this matter?

|| Or, E. more expedite <sup>||</sup> accommodation of this  
mendation. matter?

Τὸν δὲ ἐπὶ κατηγόρησαν. *Chriſtophorſon* ſaw nothing here, nor perceived that this word *ἐπὶ* was to be referred to the *Schiſm* of the *Donatiſts*; whereof *Conſtantine* had ſpoken above. The Emperour ſays therefore, that this *Schiſm* was for the moſt part appeaſed, and that only ſome ſmall Remains of it were left in *Africa*. Valeſ.

It is true that *ἀφ' ὁμοῦ* signifies *unanimously*. *Chrysostomus* designedly omitted the term *ἀφ' ὁμοῦ* *unanimous*, because he thought that *Alexander* and *Arius* could not be termed *unanimous*; in regard they disagreed one with another about matters of so great consequence. But *Constantine* does nevertheless term them *unanimous*, regard be thought well of them both, and believed that they disagreed in words, rather than in reality and in mind. But the term *ἀφ' ὁμοῦ* seems but little agreeable to Prelates. The Emperors do use this term indeed in their Letters to Governors of Provinces. But when they speak to Prelates, they do more frequently use *Sanctity*, *Gravity*, or *Prudence*. The Old Glosses of *ἀφ' ὁμοῦ* *Solertius*, *Exerpetius*, *Sagacis* or *Prudence*. *Exemplum*, *Valc*.

Εἰς τὸ γεννητὸν ἔκτος ἡμετέρας. The word ἔκτος seems to be used in the Neuter Gender. For 'tis referred to the *Article* *ἔκτος*, whereto by an *an* *ἔτος* answers. In the *Kings* and *Fukerian Copy* therefore, after the *Verb* *γεννησθαι*, a distinction is rightly placed. For the fense is not entire. But *Christophorus*, contrary to his own usage, of one priod has made two. *Vale!*

## CHAP. LXIX.

Whence the Controverſie between *Alexander* and *Arius* aroſe; and, that ſuch matters ought not to be enquired into.

WE understand therefore, that the Ground of the present Controversie arose from hence. For whereas You, Alexander, enquired

2 ἡ δὲ σὺν. of your Presbyters, 2 what every particular per-  
 78 ἑαυτοῦ The word *ἑαυτοῦ* is without doubt to be added from *Gelasius*  
*Cyricen* book 2 chap 4. But *Nicephorus* (book 8. chap. 13) has *ἑαυτοῦ*  
*thought*. By and by, where the reading is *ἑαυτοῦ*, the *Fuketan*  
*and Saitan* Copies have it written *ἑαυτοῦ*, which is truer. *Valef.*

sons [Sentiment was] concerning a certain passage of those things written in the Law, or rather asked about a part of fruitless Controversie: and whereas You, Arius, inconsiderately vented that; which you ought either not to have conceived at first, or if you had had the such conceptions, it had been your duty, to doing have let them been buried in silence: \* between a diffension has been raised between you, a communion is denied, and the most holy people, rent into two Factions, are separated from the harmonious unity of the whole Body. Wherefore let both of you, mutually \* pardoning each other, and accept of what your Fellow-Servant doth reasonably advise you to. But what is that? It was fitting, neither to have asked such questions at first, nor if proposed, to have made any return pearls thereto. For such Questions, which no Law does the necessarily order or prescribe, but are proposed by the contentiousness of an unprofitable vacancy from business (although they may be made idly, exercise and employ our Natural parts about, yet) we ought to confine within our Breasts, and not inconsiderately divulge them in public assemblies, nor unwisely commit them to the Ears of the Vulgar. For, what person amongst a thousand is sufficiently qualified, either accurately to comprehend the full efficacy and nature of things so sublime and performed, or to explicate them according to their worth and dignity? Or, should any man look upon this to be an easy all our performance, how small a part of the Vulgar will be induce to be fully persuaded hereof? Or, what man can without danger of falling into gross errors, insist upon the accurate discussions, in of such nice Controversies? In questions there-fore of this nature, Loquacity must be bridled, and restrained, lest either through the frailty of our Nature, we being not able to explicate what we propose, or through the slower understanding of the Auditors, (being unable accurately to apprehend those matters discoursed of;) least we should be reduced to a necessity either of Blasphemy, or Scijism.

*Convention is denied to some.* Christopherson translated it in this manner, *Conventus qui in Ecclesia fieri solet, impeditur, the assembly which is wont to be made in the Church, is hindered.* They took *quibus* therefore here for *Synaxis*, in which sense 'tis used not infrequently. So again in this chapter, *sic quatuor quibusdam locis, divulge them in or among public assemblies.* Farther, Epiphani. *Scholasticus* renders it *myſteria continentur, the myſteries are contained.* Valeſ.

† *Τὴν ἀντίφωνον ἐκείνου.* *Socrates and Gelasius Cyzicenus and Nicephorus have ἄνθρωπον, that is, affording me your ears and mind.* But the common reading, which we have followed, is truer. For *ὁ* *Constantine* expresses himself below in the next chapter. *Epiphanius* renders it *voluntatem præbens.* Valcf.

\* Ἡ δὲ τῶν ἄνθων. In the *King's*, *Fuk.* and *Savil.* Copies the reading is, ἡ τῶν τῶν, &c. In *Nicephorus* 'tis ἡ τῶν ἑκ τῶν, &c. truer than in the common Editions. By and by, from the *Fuketian* and *Savil.* Copies I have mended it, ἡ τῶν ἄνθων ἀνεκδοτῶν ἐξ ἀνθων, or through the flower understanding of the *Auditors*, &c. *Valef.*

s. *Ε* & *αυτο* *τις*. In the *King's*, and *Fuk* Copy the reading is *αυτο* without the *Preposition*; which reading may be born with if you refer the word *αυτο* to those which follow it *καταδικαζομενους* *αυτου*, either of *Blasphemy*, or *Schiſm*. The one of these *αυτο* says he, will beget an occasion either of *Blasphemy*, or *Schiſm*. But *Socrates* and *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* have it written here *αυτου* & *αυτου*. Indeed, this place is very difficult and obscure by reason of the ill *Syntax*. Therefore in the *King's* Copy at the side of this line I set this mark *o* that is, *geniuv*, *accend*. Vale.

CHAP. LXX.

An Exhortation to an agreement.

Wherefore, let an unwary Question, and an inconsiderate Answer in both of You mutually pardon each other. For this contest hath not been raised among you upon an occasion of any principal or chief Commandment of our Law: nor have you introduced any new Herefie concerning the worship of God. But both of You hold one and the same Opinion; so that, You may easily close with each other in a consent of Communion.

Laetus and Musculus render it Communiois testram, Mark or token of communion; Christophorus, communiois consensum, consent of communion. I had rather render it Signum a sign. For, as in the mysteries of the Heathens some Signs or Symbols were delivered to the persons initiated, whereby the Symyiste companions of the same discipline might know one another: so the Christians had a sign of Communion, that is, The Eucharist, or Baptism. Indeed, Epiphanius Scholasticus renders it communiois signum, a sign of Communion. Valef. Valefius has translated it a society of Communiois.

CHAP. LXXI.

That a pertinacious Contention ought not to have been raised concerning this matter, on account of some light and frivolous Expressions.

For whilst you thus pertinaciously contend about trifles and matters of no importance, 'tis not decent that so numerous a multitude of God's people should be under your Care and Government, because of your dissention with one another: nor is it only misbecoming, but 'tis likewise judged to be altogether unlawful. Now, that we may advertise your prudence by a smaller instance, We will tell you: you know even the Philosophers themselves, how that they are all united in [the profession of] one Sect, whereas nevertheless, they frequently disagree in some part of their Assertions: but although they dissent in the very Perfection of science, yet because of the agreement and union of their Sect, they close again in a mutual consent. Now, if it be so [amongst them], how will it not be much more reasonable, that You, who are the Admirers of the most High God, should in like manner be unanimous in the profession of the same Religion? But, Let us with more accuracy and a greater attention, inspect and examine what we have now said; whether it be reasonable, that because of the trivial, vain, and pertinacious Contentions between you about words, Brethren should be set in array as twice against Brethren; and that the Venerable Assembly should upon your account, who contend one with another about things so slight and in no wise necessary, be rent in sunder by an

impious variance. These things are poor and mean, and do besit a childish ignorance, rather than agree with the understanding of Priests and prudent men. Let us of our own accord depart from the Temptations of the Devil. Our Great God

hath reached forth a Light common to all. By the assistance of whose Providence, give us leave who are his Servants, successfully to finish this our Endeavour; that by our Exhortation, diligence, and earnest admonitions, we may reduce you to a Communion of Convention. For in regard, as we have said already, your faith is one and the same, and your Sentiment of our Religion is one, and whereas the commandment of the Law doth in each part of it inclose all in general in one consent and purpose of mind: Let not this thing, which has raised a small contention between you, (in as much as it appertaineth not to the sum of Or, The all Religion in general,) by any the whole means make any

Separation and Faction amongst you. And these things we speak, not to necessitate you to be all of one opinion concerning this foolish idle Question, of what soever it be. For the pretious value of the Convention may be preserved entire amongst you, and one and the same communion may be retained, although there be interchangeably amongst you a great diversity of Sentiments in things of the least moment. For, we do not all the same in all things; nor is there in us one disposition or opinion. Therefore concerning the Divine providence, let there be amongst you one faith, one understanding, and one consent in reference to God. But, as for those slender and trivial questions, which with so much niceness you dispute of and make researches the Deity into amongst your selves, although therein you do not agree in the same opinion, yet 'tis fit you should confine them to your own thoughts; and keep them within the secret repositories of your minds. Let therefore that eximious [privilege] of a common friendship, and the belief of the Truth, Or, Faith, and the honour of God, and a religious observance in reference to [His] Law, remain amongst you firm and immovable. Return ye to a mutual friendship and charity: restate to the whole Body of the people their own embraces. And be you your selves (having purified your own souls as there,) acquainted again with each other, and renew your familiarity with each other.

That is, this our endeavour and purpose, of establishing concord in the Church, and of reducing all men to the worship of one God. Concerning which endeavour and design, Constantine hath spoken at the beginning of this Letter, and does boast of it every where. Valef.

For the Law enjoys us nothing else but love; namely, that we should love God with the entire affection of our hearts, and our neighbour as our selves. In these two consists the whole Law, as our Lord says in the Gospel. Christophorus understood not this passage; he renders it thus; unumque Legi ac discipline institutum, &c. and one Decree of the Law and discipline, which binds the whole body of the Church with its parts, in one agreeing concord and purpose of minds. Porreftus translates it truer, thus; Præceptumque Legi in id omnibus partibus includitur, ut in unam animam universum concludatur, et the commandment of the Law in all its parts earnestly endeavours as this, that it may include the whole Body in one mind. Perhaps also it should be written tris, tris autem partes in both its parts. For there are two parts of this commandment, the one has a reference to God, the other to our neighbour. Valef.

And be you your selves (having purified your own souls as there,) acquainted again with each other, and renew your familiarity with each other. That is, having put away the darkness of hatred, wherewith the enmities of your mind was clouded and obscured. For it follows, adhaerere discipulis, that is, be acquainted one with another again, embrace, salute. In which words Constantine seems to allude to the usage of the Christians of his own time: amongst whom in their sacred Conventions, whilst the people approach'd to the participation of the Mysteries, the Deacon often cried out discipulus adhaere, take acquaintance one of another; to wit, least any prophane person or Jew might creep to the sacred Table, as Chrysostome informs in his first Oration against the Jews, pag. 440 of the First Tome. The same word Marcion used when

The last word is wanting in Gelasius Ciceronius, nor does it seem very necessary. This certain, Epiphanius has omitted it in his Version. Valef.

Translators understood not what the import of this was here; some of them have rendered it Opinion, or firm consent in one opinion; others, a profession of discipline. But, there is not one opinion amongst Philosophers, as 'tis sufficiently manifest. Therefore I had rather render it Sect. For all Philosophers have some Sect to which they are addicted; some have the Sect of the Stoicks; others, that of the Peripateticks. Now, in every Sect there are sometimes controversies concerning some questions between Philosophers of the same Sect. Yet the same persons, on account of the society of their Sect, do easily agree one with another. This is the meaning of Constantine's words at I think. Valef.

That we. We must read God; that you; from Gelasius, Nicophorus, and Epiphanius. And a little after, to divide between you, from the same Authors; to whom agree the Fugesian and S. vian Copies, and the Kings Street. Valef.

one with another about things so slight and in no wise necessary, be rent in sunder by an

Or, Faith, and the honour of God, and a religious observance in reference to [His] Law, remain amongst you firm and immovable. Return ye to a mutual friendship and charity: restate to the whole Body of the people their own embraces. And be you your selves (having purified your own souls as there,) acquainted again with each other, and renew your familiarity with each other.

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THE  
THIRD BOOK  
OF  
EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS  
CONCERNING  
THE  
LIFE  
OF THE  
BLESSED EMPEROR  
CONSTANTINE.

## CHAP. I.

*A Comparison of Constantine's Piety with the Improbability of the Persecutors.*

**I**N this manner the Devil, the hater of Good, envying the Felicity of the Church, raised up Storms and intestine Disturbances in it. during a time of Peace and Joy.

In the interim, the Emperor dear-to-God neglected not the performance of what became him<sup>b</sup> but doing all things contrary to what had been audaciously perpetrated a little before by Tyrannick Cruelty, [by that means] he was made Superior to every of his Enemies and opposers. In the first Place therefore, They, alienated from [his Worship] who truly is God, by various

all Men to adore those who were not Gods: but He, evincing them as well by words as in reality in no wise to be Gods, exhorted all Persons to an acknowledgment of Him who is the only God. Besides, they derided God's Christ with blasphemous Expressions: But he<sup>e</sup> assumed to himself as his prerogative, that very thing, a-

*quælo, be assumed.* But if you had rather take the verb *esedælo* in its common signification, that may also be born with. For *Constantine* ordered it to be engraven on the Base of his Statue, which he erected at *Rome* after the Victory gotten over *Maxentius*, that by the Virtues of this *Standard Rome* had been set at Liberty by him. *Vale!*

gainst which those impious Wretches with the  
greatest Virulency \* belch'd forth their Blasphemy \* Or, *Ap-  
mies*; and gloried in the Trophy of [Salu-plied.

ary] Passion. They persecuted the Worshippers of Christ, and drove them from their Houses and Habitations. He recalled them all [from Exile,] and restored them to their own Dwellings. They surrounded them with ignominies; he made them honourable and happy in the opinion of all men. They seized upon the Goods of God's Worshippers, and with the greatest injustice made sale of them: He not only restor'd their Goods to them, but likewise enrich them abundantly with very many Gifts and Benefactions.

They by written Constitutions<sup>a</sup> publish'd Calumnies against the Prelates [of Churches:] on the contrary, he rais'd and advanced those Men to Honour [bestowed] by Himself, and by Edicts and Laws

made them more renowned than they had been before. They demolished the Oratories to the very Foundations, and from their vast height pulled them down to the Ground: He by a Law ordained, that those Oratories which were standing should be raised higher, and that new ones should be magnificently erected, [the

Free charged

ἡ βασιλεὺς ἡ ἐν τῷ ἐνδιάκονῳ. In the interim,  
 παρὰ τὴν βασιλίσσαν.  
 In *Henry Savil's Copy* the reading  
 is ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς. In the *Old*  
*Savil's* both readings are retained,  
 in this manner, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς καὶ  
 βασιλίσσα. *Valef.*  
 ἡ βασιλίσσα παρὰ τὴν βασιλίσσαν. In  
*Maur's Copy* 'tis mentioned in the  
 margin, παρὰ δὲ παρὰ τὴν βασιλίσσαν. *But*  
*deing*, &c. as 'tis also in the  
*Fak. and Savil. Copies.* A little  
 before instead of τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποστο-  
 λικὰς, of what belonged to him; *z*  
 τὰς αὐτὰς *Copies* and the *King's Sheets*  
 have it: τὰς αὐτὰς ἀποστολικὰς, of  
 what became him. *Valef.*

with blasphemous Expressions: But he assumed to himself as his preservative, that very thing, ascribed as his preservative. It seems to be used instead of *emphatic*.

<sup>d</sup> Ταῦς καὶ τῶν, &c. The Rule of Syntax requires that we should read τῶν καὶ τῶν, &c. A little after it must be written τῷ πατρὶ αὐτῷ κυρίῳ, to honour [bestowed] by himself; as the reading is in the *Fuketian* and *Savil. Copist.* Valef.







of Priests made up of a variety of beautiful Flowers.

## CHAP. VII.

*Concerning the Oecumenical Synod, at which  
were present Bishops out of all Provinces.*

\* *Tadnag-  
Hiva, the  
firstfruits,  
or top.* \* THE most eminent therefore amongst God's  
Ministers of all those Churches which  
fill'd all *Europe, Africk, and Asia*, were conve-

<sup>a</sup> *Fit' oin* *εὐαγγέλιον*. I read *εἰς τὸ οἶον*, &c. and one sacred, &c. from *Gelasius Cyzicenus*, *Nicephorus*, and *Socrates*. *Valf.*

estinians likewise and moreover Egyptians, Thebans, Libyans; also those that came out of Mesopotamia. There was likewise present at this Synod a Persian Bishop; nor was the Scybian absent from this Quire. Pontus also, Galatia, and Pampbylia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Phrygia afforded their most select Divines. Moreover, [there appeared here] Tibratians and Macedonians, Achadians and Epirots, and such as dwell far beyond these were

\* Or, *The* nevertheless present. From \* *Spain* likewise in *Spaniards* self, that most celebrated Person [*Hofius*] was *themselves*, etc. amongst the many others, who fate in this

one, amongst the many others, who late in this  
Synod. The Prelate of the Imperial City  
was absent indeed, by reason of his Age; but  
his Presbyters were there, who filled his Place.  
Constantine was the only Emperor of all the  
Princes since the Foundation of the World, who,  
after he had platted such a Crown as this with  
the Bond of Peace, dedicated it to Christ his  
Saviour, as a Divine Present and grateful Ac-  
knowledgement for the Victories he had ob-  
tained over his Enemies and Adversaries; hav-  
ing constituted this [Synod convened] in our  
days, to be a lively Representation of that A-  
postolick Oujire.

*saunus Or.* *theod. x. filii*, book 5. chap. 6. in these words; *Eusebius autem Pamphil.* &c. But *Eusebius Pamphilus*, in his third Book of the *Life of the Emperor Constantine*, writes that the Prelate of Constantinople was absent from the Synod, but he expresses his name: in whole stead *Jome Pictetius* appears. But 'tis manifest from the *Acts of the Synod*, that at that time *Macarius* was Bishop of Constantinople, &c. So also *Epiphanius Sebasteus* tells us in Book 2. of his *Tripartite History*. But this Explication is not to be born with. For Constantinople was not as yet dedicated, nor grac'd with the name of the Imperial City, when the Synod was convened in the City *Nicea*. Therefore these words of *Eusebius* are necessarily to be understood concerning the Bishop of *Rome*. Which *Sozomen* confirms, book 1. chap. 16. (into which Writer the name of *Julius* has corruptly crept, instead of *Sylvestre*;) and *Theodoret* book 1. chap. 7. *Valer.*

<sup>d</sup> *Máron* ἐξ *diwō*. The same also is the reading in *Socrates*. But I had rather make it *μῶν* as 'tis in *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus*. And so *Epiphanius*, *Scholasticus* read in *Socrates*. But whereas 'tis follows, that ought not to trouble any one. For *Eusebius*, hereafter at chap. 26. puts *μῶν* & together. *Valf.*

## CHAP. VIII.

*That, like as [ 'tis said ] in the Acts of the Apostles, they met together out of various Nations.*

\* See Acts 2. 5. **F**OR 'tis \* said, that in the Apostles times, there were gathered together *devout men out of every nation under heaven.* Amongst whom

were Partians, Medes, and Elamites, and the Inhabitants of Mesopotamia, Judea and Cappadocia, of Pontus, and Asia, of Phrygia and Pamphylia, of Egypt and the parts of Libya adjacent to Cyrene: strangers also of Rome, Jews and Proselytes, Cretians, and Arabians. This only was wanting amongst them, they who met were not all the Ministers of God. But in this present Quire, there was a multitude of Bishops, which exceeded the Number of <sup>a</sup> two hundred and fifty. But the number of the Presbyters and Deacons who followed them, <sup>b</sup> of the Acolyths, and of the many other Persons, was not to be comprehended.

reading is *trecentisio tres hundred*. The Ancients are not agreed quoted the about the number of the Bishops who were present at the Nicene *Synod*. *Eusebius* at this place tells us they were two hundred and fifty. But *Eusebius* Bishop of *Antioch* (in his *Homily concerning those words which occur in the Proverbs of Solomon, Dominus creavit me*.) says they were about 270; but this, that he had Report, and which is confirmed by the consent of all the more modern Authors, is, that 318 Bishops fate in that *Synod*. So a- not mongst the Ancients *Athanasius* in his *Epistle to the African Bishops*, *Hieronymus* in his *Chronicon*, and *Refrinus*. *Athanasius* in his Letter concerning the Decrees of the Nicene *Synod*, says, that the Bishops who met at *Nicaea*, were three hundred more or less. *Vale!*

<sup>b</sup> ἀπολύνειν δὲ πλείων ὅταν δ' ἐτίγων. It must be written, ἀπολύνειν τε πλείων ὅταν ἐτίγων, from *Socrates* book 1. chap. 8. and from *Gelasius* and *Nicephorus* in the *Fukerian* and *Savilian* Copies the reading is ἀπολύνειν τε πλείων; and after the word πλείων, a middle distinction is set in all our Manuscript Copies. Vale!

## CHAP. IX.

*Concerning the Virtue and Age of the two  
hundred and fifty Bishops.*

**M**oreover,] of these Ministers of God, \* At these  
some were eminent for their words be-  
\* Wisdom and Eloquence; others, gan a new  
\* Or, Dis- chapter,  
for their Integrity of Life and patient hiving fol-  
suffrance of Hardships; \* others, lowed the  
were adorned with Modesty and a courteous authority  
Behaviour. Some of them were highly respected of the  
by reason of their great Age; others were em- Kings and  
inent for their youthful Vigour, both of Body and Frickian  
Mind. Some were newly initiated into Cōy:  
to the † Order of the Ministry. To whetters  
all which Persons the Emperor agrees the  
commanded a plentiful Provision of Food Old Sluts.  
should be Vale.  
every day allowed. † Or, † Of A  
Courtse. *Amari*

αὐτοῖς. Several fenses may be given of this Privilege. *First* ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν ἱερεῖς may be taken for modesty and a courteous behaviour; suffering ἡμεῖς to be made use of instead of ἱερεῖς. Or, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν may be meant concerning them, who were not the eminentest Persons amongst the Bishops for learning and sanctity of Life; but did not cost much behind them. So the Ancients termed those *Medios Principes* as *daces*, middle Princes or Commanders, who were neither the best, nor the worst, but were in a middle place between both. Lastly, ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἐσμὲν may be said of them, who deserved to be praised on both accounts to wit, for their Learning and Sanctity. So *Socumen* has expounded this place of *Eusebius*, in his first book, chap. 17. in these words: *οὐ μὲν οὖν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι καλοῦν, &c.* except in Understanding and Eloquence, and were Eminent both for their Knowledge in the sacred Scriptures, and for other Learning also: others were famous for their Integrity and Virtue of Life: others were well approved on both accounts. Those whom *Eusebius* terms *οὐκ ἐσμὲν τοῖς κατὰ σοφίαν*, are by *Socumen* styled *καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνδοκίμου*, well approved of on both accounts. *Epiphanius* *Scolasticus*, in the second book of his *Theological History*, chapter 1. renders this place of *Eusebius* thus: *οὐκ ἐσμὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι καλοῦν, αἱ σπουδαὶ ῥήματα ἱερὰ, αἱ συνέσεις τῆς οὐρανίας χάριτος & patientiæ*: *οὐκ ἐσμὲν οὐδὲν ἄλλο τι καλοῦν, modo bene virtutibus orabantur*: but the Ministers of God, who were adorned with the discourse of Wisdom, others glorified with the exercise of Life and Patientie; but otherwise were in a middle manner adorned with the Virtues of these. Videl.

## CHAP.



made by Eusebius but by Eustathius Bishop of Antioch. Baronius has followed Theodoret's Opinion; whom any one, from his writings, will easily find to have been of a mind full of anger and hatred against our Eusebius. But The Antiquor of the Tripartite History, (book 2. chap. 5. where he writes out Theodoret's words,) says that after Eustathius Bishop of Antioch, Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea made a speech likewise concerning the praises of the Emperor. Which nevertheless occurs not oow in the Greek Copies of Theodoret; so that it most fairly follows, either that Epiphanius Scholasticus had procured more perfect Copies of Theodoret, or else that he added this of his own head, as 'tis sometimes his usage. Of this nature is that which we have noted above concerning the Bishop of the Imperial City, whom Sozomenus relates not to have been present at the Nicene Synod, where Epiphanius Scholasticus by a notorious mistake has added the name of Alexander, when as he ought rather to have said Meletianus. But to return to our business, there are those who write, that that honour was conferred neither on Eustathius, nor Eusebius, but on Alexander Bishop of Alexandria, that in the name of the Council he should make a speech to the Emperor. Nicetas in his Theophrastus Orthodoxa fides, book 5. chap. 7. affirms this in these words: Eusebius de Viris Constantini Libro 3. se primum verba in Synodo fecisse testatur, &c. Eusebius in his third book concerning the Life of Constantine the first, that he made the first speech in the Synod. But if we believe Theodoret, Eustathius was the first, &c. But as Theodoret Masterless writes, that honour was freely conferred on Alexander the Patriarch of Alexandria. But in such a diversity of Writers I should more willingly close with that Opinion, which affirms that the first Course of speaking was by the Synod conferred on Eusebius. First of all, because without controversy Eusebius was the Learnedest and most eloquent Person amongst them. Secondly, he himself does plainly attest this, at the beginning of this work, in these words: *ἀπὸ τῆς ἑξῆς ἀρχῆς. ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς αὐτοὶ, ὡς ἡ Πατριεὶς ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ Πατριεὶ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ὡς ἡ ἐκκλησία ἐλάλει ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* See the Preface to the first Book, note (2.) Valef.

† The thanks and praise for † Him. After he had taken the Emperor's his Seat aloft, Silence was made, all Persons having fix'd their eyes on the Emperor. When he had look'd upon them all with joyful eyes and a pleasing countenance, afterwards He made a recollection of his own mind within himself, and with a calm and mild voice uttered these words.

## CHAP. XII.

Constantine's [Speech] to the Synod concerning Peace.

\* Or, Eud. **T**HE \* Sum of my Prayers (Dearest Friends!) was this, that I might enjoy the sight of your Convention. Which having now obtained, I render my thanks to [God] the supremum King; because, besides his innumerable other [Benefits.] He hath granted Me a sight of this, which is the chiefest of all Goods: I mean, that I might behold all You Convened together, and † find one and the same unanimous Sentiment amongst you all. Let no envious Enemy therefore in future

† Or, *ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν.* I was of opinion that nothing remained to me. And a little after with Barthelemy and Gruterus I read *ἐν τῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* See. But when — I had received information of your, &c. Valef.

† Or, *ἀφ' ὧν ἡμεῖς ἀγαπῶμεν.* I was of opinion that nothing remained to me. And a little after with Barthelemy and Gruterus I read *ἐν τῇ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* See. But when — I had received information of your, &c. Valef.

nothing remained to Me, but to give God thanks, and to rejoice with those whom he by our means had set at Liberty. But when (contrary to all expectation) I had received information of your disagreement, I look'd upon that † thing as in no wife to be neglected: but wishing that by our assistance a remedy might be applied to this (mischievous) also, without any delay I called you all together. And I am highly pleased with the sight of this Your Convention. But shall then judge that I have managed this affair according to my Prayers, when I shall behold all of You † conjoined in your minds, and one amicable agreement in common concluded on amongst you all, together which it becomes You, who are Persons consecrated to God, to preach to others. Delay not then, therefore, Dearest Friends, ye Ministers of God, Christian and good Servants of the Common Lord and Saviour of us all! But beginning even from hence amongst you, dissolve every knot of controversy by request by the Laws of Peace. For by this means You will perform both what is most acceptable to the supremum God; and will likewise bestow a transcendent favour on Me Your Fellow-Servant.

Preceding, to Preach. For in this sense Eusebius is meant to use this word, as 'tis apparent from innumerable passages in his Ecclesiastical History; for instance, book 4. chap. 15. In the Eusebian and Savil. Copies the reading is bad, thus, *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* Valef.

\* Eusebius in his prayer. In the Eusebian Copy, this whole place is written far otherwise, thus, *ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους, ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους.* See. And so Sir Henry Savil and Christopherson found it in their Copies. Valef.

† Eusebius. I read with Christopherson *ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ.* to dissolve. But the common reading may stand, provided after the words Saviour of us all, a Colon be placed, as Sir Henry Savil hath noted at the margin of his Copy: and so 'tis pointed in the Kings Copy. Valef.

## CHAP. XIII.

That he reduced those Bishops who were at difference, to an agreement.

**H**AVING spoken these words in the Latine Tongue, which were done into Greek by some other Person, he gave those who presided in the Synod, leave to speak. But then, some of them began to accuse their Neighbours; others answered their accusations, and on the contrary made complaints. Many things therefore being in this manner propoed on both sides, and a great controversy raised even at the first beginning [of the debate,] the Emperor heard them all very patiently, and with an intent mind received their proposed Questions; by turns assisting the Assertions of both parties, by degrees he reduced them, who pertinaciously opposed each other, to a more sedate temper of mind. And by his gracious Speeches to each Person, and his making use of the Greek tongue, (for he was not unskilled in that Language,) he rendered himself most extraordinarily pleasing and delightful; inducing some to be of his opinion by the force of his arguments; wooing others by entreaties; praising With those who spoke well; and exciting all to an agreement: till at length he had made them all of the same mind and opinion, in relation to all matters concerning which they had before differed.

\* *Τὸς τοὺς γὰρ ἀρετῶν.* In Sozomenus, Gelasius, and Nicephorus, the reading is *ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους.* But in the Kings Copy it is *ὡς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ἀγαπῶμεν ἀλλήλους.* Valef.

## CHAP. XIV.

\* Or, *Ex. The Concordant \* Determination of the Synod concerning the Faith, and concerning Easter.*

SO that, there was not only an universal Agreement about the [Articles of] Faith, but one and the same time also was generally acknowledged for the Celebration of the salutary Feast [of Easter.] Moreover, \* the Determinations ratified by a Common Consent, were engrossed, and confirmed by the Subscription of every person. Which things having in this manner been performed, the Emperor affirmed that he had obtained this second Victory against the Enemy of the Church, and celebrated a Triumphant Feast in honour of God.

were confirmed by the Subscriptions of every one of the Bishops. They who besides these three, think that the *Acts* of the Nicene Synod were put into writing, are very much mistaken. For Eusebius says in express words, that nothing was committed to writing, except those matters which had been Decreed by the common consent of the Council; and he affirms, that those things were confirmed by the Subscriptions of all. Indeed Baronius in the year of Christ, 325 chap. 62. says that the *Acts* were written by the Nicene Synod, and has added, that this is expressly recorded by Athanasius in his Book de Synodis. But Baronius was imposed upon by the Latin Version, which runs thus; *Tout. i. pag. 873. quod si ad banc rem usus Synodi defideratur, superius ad ea patrum, namque in hac pace negligens fuisse quæ Nicæa convenimus, sed ita accurate scripturum, &c.* But if the use of the Synod be wanting to this matter, the *Acts* of the Fathers are to be had. For those convened at Nicæa were not negligent even in this matter. but wrote so accurately, &c. But in the Greek Text there is no mention of *Acts*; for thus it runs, *ἡ δὲ τῶν μετέωρων, that is, the Writings of the Fathers are to be had; to wit, the Creed, the Canons, and the Synodick Letter.* There is another passage of Athanasius, in his Epistle de Decretis Nicænæ Synodi, pag. 2. where it may be manifestly gathered, that there were no *Acts* written. For he says, *ἵνα ἡ ἀποδοτικὴ ἐκείνη ἀλλοτρίῃ ἐκείνη ἡ ἀπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐν Synodo, &c.* In as much as your love desires to know those things which were done in the Synod, I have made no delay, but have forthwith signified to you whatever was done there, &c. Now, if the *Acts* had been taken in writing by the Notaries, Athanasius had done enough, had he transmitted those *Acts* to his Friend. *Vale.*

## CHAP. XV.

*That Constantine entertained the Bishops at a Feast, it being His Vicennalia.*

<sup>a</sup> These words muffled in interpreted language for the twentieth year of Confucius.

pre-arranged yet completely, may scarce begun. For the twentieth year of his Reign begun on the eight of the *Calends of August*, when *Constantius* and *Maximian* were Confuls, which was the 125th year of *Our Lord's Nativity*. But the *Nicene Council* was celebrated on the twentieth of the month *May*, in the *same persons Consulate*, as *Socrates* writes in the *thirteenth chapter* of his first book, or rather on the 13th of the *Calends of July*, on the 19 day of the month *Disius*, which by the *Romans* is termed *June*, as it occurs in the *Acts of the Chalcedonian Council*, in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, and in the *Collectio Cresconiana*, which I think to be true. For if we suppose the *Nicene Council* to have been convened on the 20th day of *May*, too narrow a space of time will be left for the transacting of those affairs which *Constantine* performed after his Conquest of *Licinius*. *Licinius* was vanquished in the last Battle at *Chalcedon*, on the year of Christ 324, on the 15th of the *Calends of October*, as 'tis recorded in *Idacius's Regula*, and in the *Alexandrian Chronicle*. On the day following *Licinius*, who had broken himself to *Nicomedia*, surrendered himself to *Constantine*

*the Vatican.* After this *Constantine*, made his Entry into *Nicomedia*; i whilst he was at residence in that City and basked in the sunbeams of progress into the Eastern parts, he received the news concerning the diffidence of the *Alexandrian Church* and all *Egypt*, on account of the Opinion of *Arius* and the disturbances of the *Melitanian*. He himself writes in his Letter to *Alexander* and *Arius*. And in the first place he kept *Hofius* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, who by his authority might compose the Tumults there. But after *Hofius* had staid some time at *Alexandria*, he returned to *Constantinople* without having effected any thing. All which business could not any wise have been done within less time than three Months. Further, when *Constantine* saw the mischief increase daily, he resolved upon convening a General Council of Bishops, that thereby he might restore Peace to the Church. In order thereto he dispatch'd away the *Venerables* (*Counsellors*) and *Agencies* in *Regibus* (Messengers of the Emperor) throughout all the Provinces, who might call together the Bishops to *Nicaea of Bithynia*. Let us suppose therefore, that the *Venerables* had brought the Emperors word, that the Bishops in the month March were so far from credible that the Bishops could come unto *Bithynia* from the most distant Countries as well of the East as West, before the month July especially, in regard they were conveyed thither by Land, not by Sea, as *Eusebius* tells us chap. 6. The Greeks do usually term the Seventh Sunday after Easter, that namely, which immediately precedes Whitsunday, μεσσηνίον τῶν ἀγίων πνευμάτων the Sunday of the holy Fathers, or τὸν ἁγίων πατέρων ἡμέραν & τὴν τοῦ δόξατος καὶ τοῦ κλάδος of the 318 holy Divines which were at Nicaea; as we are informed from *The Typick of the Monastery of Saint Saba*. Valef.

Further, what was then performed, surpasses the bounds of any Narrative. For the *Protectors* and *Soldiers*, with the naked points of their Swords; on all sides guarded the *Porticus* of the Palace; in the thorow the midst of whom the Men of God with out fear passed, and went into the inmost Rooms of the Palace. Then *some* of them \* lay down together with the Emperor; others reposed themselves on *Stribadia* [or, Beds to eat on] placed \* on both sides. One would have thought, that a representation of Christ's Kingdom was adumbrated, and that the thing it self was a dream, but nothing more.

are the *Hajlari*, or the *Protectors who carried Spears*. *Thomastius* in his *Oration to the Emperor Zosian*, writes that he went an *αρχαγγελοῦ* (*a Spear Carrier*) against the *Persian*, that is a *Protector Domesticus*, as we understand from *Amm. Marcellinus*. The *δρακῆται* were the *Scutarii*, *Shield Bearers*; to wit, *Soldiers who were under the Command of the Master of Militum praefectus*, or *Master of the Milice who lived at Court* or in the presence of the *Prince*. Valef.

Of *ἡ δὲ σὺν ἀνακλιμένη*. It must be made *σὺν* together with the Emperor, as *Cyril(rhōstos)* seems to have read; and 'tis plainly written in the *Fukagian* Copy. *Theodore* confirms our Emendation (book 1. chap. 11:) in these words, which do wonderfully explain this passage of *Eusebius*; *πολλὰ δὲ σὺν αὐτῷ εὐφραντοὶς κλητοῖς, καὶ πῶτον εὐφραντο ὁσωνοὶ τοὺς τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐμαρτυροῦντες λαοὺς, καὶ δὲ ἑῶνς θιζαὺς ἐς τὴν ἀλλήν, and having ordered many Stridada to be made ready, he feasted them all in one and the same place; the more honourable of them he took to his own Table, but disubained the rest upon other Stridada. A better Scollion could not have been placed at *Eusebius*'s words. Those which *Eusebius* had termed *κλινὰς*, (for 'to 'tis to be read from the King's and the *Fukagian* Copy;) *Theodore* calls *σίδας*; that is *Stridada* or *Accubita*. *Nicephorus*'s Translator renders it *toros*, which is ill done. Nor has *Theodore*'s Translator done better in translating it *Sedes, Seats*. *Sandas* interprets *σίδας, κακαστῶς, a Bed lying on the ground, as Accubita*. The *ἑῶνς* 'Givernal's *scholastic* at the fifth *Strida* are these; *apud veteres Accubita* or *Stridada* were used in the *ἑῶνς* *Strida* *Dyscumbentes manducabant*, among the ancients there was no use of the *Accubita*, but they lay down upon little Beds, and eat. Valg.*

On both sides the Emperor's intention it must be written *ἐξ ἑκαστοῦ* on both sides. The which I emendation nothing is more than *Εὐσεβίου* says that the *Sisakida* were placed on both sides of the *Imperial Chair*, wherein the Bishops might lie down; but, that the Emperor's *Sisakidum* was in the midst, wherein he lay down together with the more honourable Bishops. After the same manner in the *Nicene Synod*, the Seats wherein the Bishops fate were placed on both sides: but the Emperor himself fate in the midst on a golden Chair, between the two rows of the fitting Prelates. The *Tribunal of the nineteen Accabira* at *Constantinople* was some such like thing, made in imitation of his *Constantinian Caes.* as I think. Valef. See *Evagr.* book 5, cha. 13. note (A.).

## CHAP. XVI.

*The Gifts bestowed on the Bishops, and the Letters written to all.*

**A**fter the Feast had in a most splendid manner been kept, the Emperor received them all, and out of his own Magnificence added this also, that he honoured every one of them according to his desert and dignity, with presents from himself. He likewise gave an account of this Synod, even to those who were not present at it, by his own Letter: which I will insert into this very Narrative concerning him [and will publish it fix'd] as 'twere upon some Pillar. The Contents thereof are these.

## CHAP. XVII.

*Constantine's [Letter] to the Churches, concerning the Synod [convened] at Nicæa.*

CONSTANTINUS AUGUSTUS  
To the Churches.

**H**aving sufficiently experienced, by the flourishing posture of the State, how great the benignity of the Divine Power has been towards us; I judged it my chiefest concern and aim [to Labour] for the Preservation of our Faith, a sincere Love, and one universally acknowledged Religion towards Almighty God, amongst the most Blessed \* Congregations of the Catholic Church. But in regard this thing could not be firmly and steadfastly constituted, unless all, or at least the greatest part of the Bishops were convened in one Place, and every particular that concerns the most Holy Religion were discussed: on this account, when as many of the Clergy, as could possibly be got together, were assembled, and I my Self also, as one of You, was present with them, (For I will not deny, what I account my greatest Glory, that I am Your Fellow-Servant,) all matters were sufficiently discussed so far, till such time as an opinion acceptable to God the Inspector of all things, was brought to light, \* in order to an universal agreement and union: so that no place might be left for dissention or controversy in relation to the Faith.

\* Multitudes, or people.

\* ἡμεῖς ἱ. Confess of unity.  
In Theodoret and Nicephorus the reading is truer, thus, *οὕτως τῆς*, &c. in order to, &c. Vale.

## CHAP. XVIII.

*The same persons [words] concerning the Agreement about the Feast of Easter, and against the Jews.*

**W**here also, after a disquisition made concerning the most Holy Day of Easter, \* it was by a general opinion thought good to be

\* ἡμεῖς ἱ. These words of Constantine, Athanasius seems to have had a respect to, when (in his Book de Synodis Arimini & Seleuce, pag. 873.) he observes that the Fathers of the Nicene Synod spoke one way in their exposition of the Faith, another in their defining the day of Easter. For in this business they made use of the word *ἡμέρη* *is pleased, or it was thought good.* But in their Exposition of the Faith they did not in any wise *by placuit, is pleased, but ita credit sancta & Universalis Ecclesia, the holy and universal Church believes thus.* \* This certain, the word *ἡμέρη* which Athanasius mentions, is not found in the Synodick Letter, but in this Letter only of Constantine, which any one might conjecture, was not without reason taken for the Synodick Letter. Vale.

Decreed, that [that Festival] ought to be celebrated by all Persons in all Places on one and the same day. For what can be more comely, what more grave and decent for us, than that this Festival, from which we have received the hopes of Immortality, should be unerringly kept by all Men, in one and the same order, and in a manner apparently agreeable? And in the first Place, it seemed [to all] to be a thing unworthy and misbecoming, that in the Celebration of that most Holy Solemnity we should follow the usage of the Jews. Who being Persons that have defiled their own hands with a most detestable Sin, are deservedly impure and blind as to their Minds. For, their usage being rejected,

we may by a truer Order, which we have observed from the first day of the Passion until this present time, propagate the \* Rite of this observance to future Ages. Let nothing therefore be common to us with that most hostile multitude of the Jews. For we have received another way from Our Saviour. There is proposed to us a \* Lawful and decent course to [Our] most sacred Religion. Let us therefore (Dearest Brethren! with one accord constantly persist in this

and withdraw our Selves from that most impure [Society and] their consciousness. For 'tis really most absurd, that they should boast, that we are not sufficient of Our Selves, without their instruction, to observe these things. But, of what are they able to pass a right judgment, who after the Murder of the Lord, and that parricide, having been struck with madness, are led, not by the conduct of Reason, but by an ungovernable \* impetus, whithersoever \* Or, Viti-

their innate rage shall drive them? Hence therefore it is, that even in this particular they discern not the Truth: in so much that, wandering at the greatest Distance \* from a decent and agreeable Amendment \* they celebrate Easter twice within one and the same Year.

What reason have we to follow these Men, since Socra-

tes, Gelasius and Nicephorus, have *διὰ τὴν ἀσυνέτην*, &c. which I like not. For 'tis rightly said *παράλογον τὴν ἀντιρροπούμενην*.

Whereas the Paschal Noemenia (or New-moon) of the Jews began from the fifth day of the month March, and was ended on the third of April, hence it sometimes happened, that their Pascha began before the *Æquinox*. So they kept a twofold Pascha in the same year, (if you understand the Solar, or Julian Pascha,) to wit, from the *Vernal Æquinox* of this year to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the year following.

Ambrosius says the same in his Epistle to the Bishops of *Æmilia*, where he writes, that the Jews sometimes celebrated the Pascha on the twelfth month, that is, according to the *Lunar or Oriental*. For the Jews never ceased the passover on that month which amongst them was accounted the twelfth, but on the fourteenth day of the first month. Further this repetition or doubling of their passover, which Constantine objects against the Jews, seems to me not at all momentous. For the Jews might have retorted against the Christians, namely that they celebrated Easter twice in the same year, if we understand the year current. For let us suppose, that this year Easter was celebrated on the tenth of the *Calends of May*; on the year following it must necessarily be kept sooner. And so there will occur two Easter amongst the Christians within the space of one year current. Which nevertheless will not happen, if you count the year from the *Æquinoxial* Caido to the *Vernal Æquinox* of the other year. See Epiphanius in *Heret. Audian*, and *Per. av. Animad.* p. 294. To whom add *Ægidius Bucerius* de *Paschali Judeorum Cycle*, cap. 3. Vale.

\* ἡμεῖς ἱ. In Theodoret and Nicephorus the reading is *τὴν* & *ἡμεῖς*, what reason therefore, &c. so 'tis also, in Socrates and Gelasius.

\* ἡμεῖς ἱ. In Theodoret and Nicephorus the reading is *τὴν* & *ἡμεῖς*, what reason therefore, &c. so 'tis also, in Socrates and Gelasius.

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*Jesus.* From whom the following words must be amended in this manner, *τὸν δὲ δεικνύει ἀγνοῖαν, your prudence.* And a little after, *ἐν παντί δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν, in no likeness.* Although in those writers I have mentioned, the reading is *ἐν παντί δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν* in the likeness of any thing. In the *Eusebian Copy* 'tis *ἐν παντί δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν* upon no pretence. Further, the Author of the *Apostolick Constitutions*, (book 5. chap. 16.) seems to allude to these words. Which any one will confess, who compares that place with these words of Constantine. *Valef.*

who, 'tis acknowledged, are distempered with a most grievous error? For we shall never endure the keeping of two Easters in one and the same year. But, although what I have said were not sufficient, nevertheless it behooveth your prudence, to make it your greatest care, and the constant matter of your Prayers, that the purity of your souls should not in any thing seem to have communion with the usages of most wicked men. Besides, this also is to be considered, that 'tis a most detestable thing, that there should any disagreement be found in a matter of so great concern, and in such a solemnity of Religion. For Our Saviour left us but one Festival day of our Liberty, that is the day of His most Holy Passion; and 'twas his will, that His Catholick Church should be one. The members of which Church (although for the most part they are dispersed into many and various places, nevertheless) are cherished by one spirit, that is by the Divine Will. Let the prudence of Your Sanctity consider, how grievous and indecent a thing it is, that on the self-same days some should keep *strict Fasts*, and others celebrate *Festivals*; and that after the days of Easter, some should be conversant in the days of Feasting and a relaxation [of their minds;] and the others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore, 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing should be redressed by a convenient emendation, and be reduced to one and the same form, as I suppose you can at one are all sensible.

He means the head [or beginning] of Feasting and a relaxation [of their minds;] and the Fall, others devote themselves to set Fasts. Wherefore, 'tis the Will of Divine Providence, that this thing should be redressed by a convenient emendation, and be reduced to one and the same form, as I suppose you can at one are all sensible.

by the other Christians, at another. Indeed, the following words concerning the days after Easter, do inform us that these words are to be understood concerning the head of the Fall. Otherwise it would be a superfluous Repetition. But if any one had rather understand these words concerning the end of the Lent fast, I shall not gainsay him. See *Chrysostom* in his Homily against those who fasted the first day of Easter, pag. 714. *Valef.*

### CHAP. XIX.

An Exhortation, that they would rather follow the greatest part of the world.

Since therefore it was expedient to make such an amendment in this matter, as that we might have nothing in common with the \* usage of those Parricides and Murderers of Our Lord, and since this is the most decent and becoming Order, which all the Churches of the Western, Southern, and Northern parts of the world, and also some of the Eastern parts, do observe: \* on this account all persons have at present judged it good and expedient, (and I my self have promised that it would please your prudence,) that that which with one and a concordant mind is observed in the City of Rome, and over all Italy, Africa, Egypt, Spain, the Gallia, the Britannia, the Libya, throughout all Achaia, the Asia, the Pontick Dioceses, and Cilicia; Your prudence also would most willingly embrace and receive.

\* In the Greek 'tis *ἐν τῇ πόλει*, in the City.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

Which [wisdom of yours] will consider, that not only the number of the Churches in the fore-mentioned places is far the greater; but that 'tis most just and equal, that all men should in common desire that, which 'strict reason seems to require, and should have no communion with the \* perjury of the Jews. But that I may speak more summarily and briefly, it has pleased the judgment of all in common, that the most holy Feast of Easter should be celebrated on one and the same day. For 'tis most decent; that there should be any difference in so great a sanctity: and 'tis better to follow that Opinion, wherein there is no mixture of strange error and impiety.

\* *ἡ ἀσέβεια*, that is, *disigen supputatio*, an exact reckoning; whence 'tis termed *Computus Paschalis*. *ἀσέβεια* 'tis taken in another sense, in the Synodick Letter of the Nicene Council, where it treats concerning the cause of Meletius. For 'tis there taken for the rigour of the Law, and 'tis applied to equity or a dispensation. *Valef.*

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### CHAP. XX.

An Exhortation, that [all] should \* give \* Or, Be their assent to the Decrees of the Synod. *Or, Be persuaded by those things*

Since therefore these things are thus, do you with written by all willingness receive this † Gift of God, and the Synod; this truly divine Commandment. \* For whatever is Grace, transacted [and determined] in the holy Assent. \* This ob- of Bishops, That has a reference to the divine opinion of will. Wherefore, when you shall have intimated *con- fession* to all our beloved Brethren those matters which *con- cern* have been transacted, \* you ought to embrace and the author- establish the forementioned rule and observation rity of the of the most holy day: that when I shall come into determina- the presence of \* Your Love (which I have long tions of since been desirous of,) I may celebrate the holy Synods, in Festival with you, on one and the same day, and notice of may rejoice with you, for all things, beholding the There is Cruelty of the Devil totally removed by the Di- another vine power, and by \* our \* endeavours; \* Or, place like whilstst your Faith, Peace, and Concord *Attions.* This is, in a Letter to the same Confession- You, Dearest Brethren!

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

\* *Ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, the whole world.

*laffus*, and *Nicephorus*. 'Tis certain, *Constantine* in his Letters is wont to boast, that the Divine Majesty by his Labour had destroyed the Tyrants who persecuted the Church, and had freed the whole world from the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*. Valef.

\* Ταῦτες  
πιστὰ πάλαι  
ἐν ἀνταμι-  
σιν γε-  
γράφ. Cleti.  
σφοδρον

\* A Copy of his very Letter was by the Empe-  
rour transmitted into every Province; whereby,  
as in a glass, he gives those that read it, the  
clearest view of his own mind, and of his piety  
towards God.

stood not this place, as 'tis apparent from his Version. For he renders it thus; *Edictum, quod idem pndus babeat & auctoritate cum bde Epistola, Imperator in singulis suis Provinciis*: An *Edict*, which had the same weight and authority with this *Letter*, the *Emperour sent into each Province*. But *Engelhus* mentions no *Edict*, but only a *Letter* sent to the *Bishops*. *Christophorus* thought that *ypov* signified an *Edict*, which was a great mistake. For *ιστορικωτα* *ypov* his *emendatio* is nothing else but a *Transcript of a Letter*; which *Gracian* do likewise term *lex* or *ιστοριον*; and we in the vulgar Idiom call it *Copiam*, a *Copy*. *Engelhus* says therefore, that *Confirmatio* sent a *Copy* of his Letter into all the *Provinces*, or, (which is the same thing,) that he sent this *Letter* written from the same *Copy* to all the *Provinces*. Further, the Reader is to be advertized, that the Title of this chapter was put in wrong place, in regard it belongs to the conclusion of the foregoing *Letter*, as any one may see. This Title therefore must be placed above, before these words, *Simce therefore these things*, &c. as 'tis in the *Euxetian Copy*. And there we have let it. *Vale*.

## CHAPTER XXI.

[His] advice to the Bishops now ready to go away, \* that they would preserve Unity.

\* Or,  
C no:  
ing C  
cord.

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \lambda_i \mathbf{e}_i$$

Travel  
tours  
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expression.  
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*Port of*  
render  
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thus,  
compos  
verba  
cit ad  
discip

Further, when the Synod was about to be dissolved, <sup>a</sup> He made a *Valedictory Speech* to the Bishops. For on a set day he called them all together. And when they were met, he advised them that they should use their utmost diligence to preserve Peace one with another, and to avoid pernicious Contentions; that they should not be envious, if any Bishop amongst them appeared eminent and approved for wisdom and eloquence: but, should account the virtue of every one to be a common good: that those who were the more eminent, ought

† *Raise*, or, *advance*, not to † exalt themselves above them who were meaner : For

that it was God's property to give a judgment concerning every one's true virtue and worth. That it was rather behoveable, that [the

tins manner. *Sermones apud Episcopos de rebus ordine dispensandis instituit.*  
 But *συντακτικὸν πρῶτον ἀνάγει* imports no more than, *Valedixit*, he  
 bid *farewell*, or took his leave of. *Monander*, or rather *Alexander Rhetor*,  
 (in the chapter *ἠὲλ ἀναίης* pag. 624.) writes, that *συντακτικὸν*  
*ἀναίης* was by the *Sophists* termed an *Oration*, wherein the *School-  
 astics* (when the course of their studies was completed), departing  
 from *Athen*, set about to return into their own Country, attended their  
 grief in reference to their going away: or when any one going from  
 home, reflected upon a journey to distant. The same *Auctor* in his  
*chap. or ἀπὸ συντακτικῶν ἀνμ.* gives us the method of such *Orations*:  
 οὐτὶς πρῶτον, εἰδὼς ὅτι ἀναίησιν ἐπὶ τῷ ζῶντι, he that  
 bids *farewell*, pretends himself grieved on account of his departure.  
 Moreover, throughout the whole chapter he every where uses *συντακ-  
 τικῶς*, for *lo valedixit*, so *bid farewell*. And he says, that this sort of  
*Oration* was first invented by *Homer*, in whom *Ulysses* bids *farewell*  
 to the *Phæacians*. But *Naxius*, comes who translated *Monander Rhetor*  
 into *Latin*, renders *συντακτικὸν ἀνμ.* *adumbratam Oratorem*, an  
*adumbrated Speech*, and translates those words I have cited, οὐρανῶ-  
 σιν. &c. *adspiciens*, &c. *adspiciens*, &c. Than which nothing can  
 be more foolish. But with *G. Georgius* *συντακτικῶς* is *valdebre* so *bid*  
*farewell*. *Hilarius*, *συντακτικῶς, ἀποχαισῶν*, so *Eusebius* uses it in  
 the end of this chapter, and in the First Book chap. 21. where he  
 speaks concerning the death of *Constantinus Cæsar*. There is an *Oration*  
 of this sort extant, made by *Gregory Nazianzen* in the convention  
 of the 150 *Bishops*; which *Oration* has this Title, *συντακτικὸν ἀ-  
 λλμ.*, which is the same with *συντακτικῶς*. For in this *Oration* *G.  
 Georgius* bids *farewell* to the *Constantinopolitane Church*. *Suidas*  
 therefore is right in saying *συντακτικῶς* *συντακτικῶς*. But, as  
 to what the *Græc Suidas* adds, that *Origen* was called *συντακτικῶς*,  
 is that he is much out: for *Origen* was termed *συντακτικῶς*, as *Epiphani-  
 us* attests not *συντακτικῶς*. *Paris.*

more eminent ] should yield and condescend to the Weaker, with an indulgence and Lenity; especially, in regard <sup>to</sup> was very difficult to find any thing every way perfect. Wherefore, that it behoved them to grant one another pardon for small offences, and to forgive and remit whatever<sup>c</sup> has been committed through humane frailty; <sup>b</sup> having always an high regard to, and honour for mutual Concord; least whilst they raise Seditions and Factions one amongst another, an occasion of division might be given to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. <sup>c</sup> Of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard they <sup>a</sup> might easily be faved, if those things performed amongst us could seem to them desirable and worthy of imitation. <sup>d</sup> And, that they [ought] not to doubt, that the advantage [arising] from discourses does not profit all men. For some rejoyce, that conveniences are <sup>e</sup> allowed them as <sup>f</sup> were in order to their maintenance: others

fect in many places, as we have already noted diverse times. Now, this place may not unfrequently be made good thus; *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεὸς, ὃς μέλει τῶν ἡμῶν Θεός, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται*, of which persons we must take the greatest care, and ought to do all things, in regard, &c. For these words are spoken concerning the Pagans; of whom Constantine had made mention just before, when he said *οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι, οἱ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι*, to those, who are ready to blaspheme the Divine Law. Constantine says therefore to the Bishops, that their chiefest care ought to be, lest by their dissentions the Pagans should be provoked to contemn and deride the Christian Religion. For, that it behoves us, to take the greatest care imaginable of them, and to do all things, whereby they might be recalled to the true faith and salvation. But, that they might easily be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth, if our matters might seem blessed and admirable to them. Wherefore, that every one of them ought to be allured to our side by various ways and arts. Then he makes use of an instance of Phylitians, who that they may restore health to the sick, devise all things which they believe may be of advantage to them. These words, 'tis certain, the Translators understood not, in whose Versions the Reader will find all things contrary. To this place is to be referred a passage of *Eusebius* in chap. 38. of *this book*, where he says that the Emperour *Constantine* gave a great quantity of Gold to the Churches for the maintenance of the poor, in regard he was desirous, that all men should be invited, even this way also, to embrace the doctrine of the saving faith; according to the example of the Apostle, who in his *Epistle to the Philippians* says these words, *whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is Preached*. Further, in the *Eusebian* and *Savilian Copies*, and *Turnebus's Book*, the whole place is written thus; *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεὸς, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται, ὃς ἐν ᾧ πάντες οὐκ ἀποβήσονται*. Which questionless is the true reading. This only I would have amended, that instead of *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεός*, it should be written *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεός*, and afterwards, instead of *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεός* the reading he *ὅς ἐστιν ὁ ἀληθὺς Θεός*. Paley.

<sup>a</sup> *Σολῖμνος Σωμολωνος*. At this place *σολιμνος* signifies to partake of the doctrine of the salutary Faith; in which sense *sol* is taken by St. Paul, where he says, that God would have all men to be saved, and come to the knowledge of the Truth. This verb is in this sense proper to the Christian Religion. In which signification nevertheless, the Philosophers of the latter age used it, as I remember I have read in the Commentaries of Proclus on *Timæus*. Vale!

ε Μὴ ἀποψεύσῃ. It is rather to be written *μὴ εἰ ἀποψεύσῃ*, by understanding δὲ which was made use of a little before; and we have rendered it accordingly. But the *Fulcran* Copy has opened to us the true reading, wherein 'tis thus worded, *μὴ ψεύσῃ δὲ ἵππας ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ*, &c. But I suppose you are not ignorant, that, &c. And so Turnebus had mended it at the margin of his Book, from a *Manuscript* Copy. Vale.

† *Εμεγεσις*. A new and unusual word; instead whereof I ought, as I think, to be *διχογνωσιμῶς*, allowed. The meaning of this passage is the same with that we have let in our Version. For *Confession* says, that the *Pagani* are wont to be converted to our Religion on various accounts and occasions. That some are drawn by the hope of food, namely because of the Alms of the *Christiani*. Others, by the hope of Patronage; to wit, on account of the authority of the Bishops, who could do much with the Emperour and Grændees at Court. *Πελαγία* signifies Patronage, Protection, or Favour, as I have noted at *Amn. Marcionit.* which term *John Chrysostom* makes frequent use of. In the excellent *Fukesian* Copy the word *εμεγεσιμῶς* is wanting, and this whole place is thus worded; οἱ μὲν δὲ οὗτοι ὡς ὅτι τῶν Χριστιανῶν οἱ ἕτεροι ἐπὶ ἐλπίδι τῆς ἐλεημοσύνης ἐκείνων ἐκτρέφονται. For *some* rejoice at *seeing* on accounts of *food*: others are wont to run under *those* who are possessed of *power*, have *patronage*. *Yale.*

are wont to nie to Patronage. Some love those from whom they have had a kind reception : and others being honoured with Gifts, are thereby induced to enter into a friendship. But their number is small who are true Lovers of discourses, and † 'tis a rare thing to find a friend of Truth. For which reason they ought all to fit and conform themselves [to all men,] and (like a Physician) administer to each

person those things which are profitable for sal-  
vation; to the end that the saving Doctrine may  
be honoured by all men. These were the ad-  
monitions [given them by the Emperour] in  
the first place. But in the close he added, that  
with all diligence and earnestness they would put  
up their prayers to God in behalf of him. Hav-  
ing in this manner taken leave of them, he per-  
mitted them all to return into their own Coun-  
tries. They therefore went home with all the  
cheerfulness imaginable; and in future one  
Opinion, which had been agreed on in the Em-  
perours presence, prevailed amongst all men;  
in regard those who for a long time had  
been disunited, closed again in one Body as  
before.

τὸ λόγος  
 αὐτῆς.  
 The Fu-  
 rian Ca-  
 py and Si-  
 Henry Sa-  
 vil's have  
 it written  
 λόγος αὐ-  
 τῆς ἐγ-  
 γρά-  
 φης, Lr.  
 of the di-  
 ctwfrs.  
 And in the  
 same man-  
 ner 'tis  
 mended in  
 the margin  
 of Turner's  
 Book.  
 But the  
 common  
 reading  
 (expressed  
 in our Ver-  
 sions) is  
 please me  
 best, τὸ  
 τautology  
 Kings Sh-  
 as 'tis in the  
 λόγος πρὸς  
 conform  
 τῆς.

my reason of those words which immediately follow, to the end a  
might be avoided. A little after, the *Finkertian Copy* and the  
others have it written *ὅς ἐστι μόνον, in one Body*; not *ἐπ' ἐν*  
the common Editions. In the *same Copy* I found it written  
*τὸν ἀπολύτως αἰὶ*, For which reason they ought to sit and  
themselves to all men; not as 'tis commonly Printed, *ἅνθρωπος*  
*Valer.*

## CHAP. XXII.

*In what manner he sent to some, and wrote to others; and [concerning] the distributions of money.*

THE Emperor therefore, rejoicing at this \* great success, by his Letters imparted most plentiful and pleasing fruit to those who had not been present at the Synod. Moreover, he ordered liberal distributions of money to be made amongst all the people, as well those in the Countries as them in the Cities; in this manner honouring the publick Festivals [celebrated] on account of the twentieth year of his Empire.

## CHAP. XXIII.

*How he wrote to the Egyptians, and exhorted them \* to Peace.*

BUT when other persons were at Peace one with another, amongst the Egyptians only the mutual contention was fierce and implacable: in so much that they did again disturb the Emperor; nevertheless they excited him not to anger. For he †reated them with all the honour imaginable, as if they had been Fathers, or rather Prophets of God; and called them to him a second time; and did again with great patience mediate between them; and honoured them with Gifts again, and declared to them his determination by a Letter: wherein he confirmed and established the Decrees of the Synod; and bestowed them that they would be studious to pre-

serve Concord, that they should not distract nor  
 tear in sunder the Church; but that they should  
 take into their consideration the memory of  
 the judgment of God. And these things the  
 Emperour suggested to them by † a peculiar  
 Letter.

## CHAP. XXIV.

*That he frequently wrote \* Pious Letters to the \* Or,  
Bishops and People. Piously*

Moreover, he wrote infinite other things of the same sort with these, and penn'd a vast number of Letters; † sometimes to the Bi-<sup>Or,</sup>shops, wherein he commanded those things <sup>Partly</sup> which were of advantage to the Churches of God; at others, he address'd himself by Letters even to the ||populacy themselves, [in which ||<sup>Or,</sup> Letters] this thrice blessed person filed the people of the Church, Brethren and his own Fellow-servants. But we will at another time get leisure \* to make a Collection of these [Letters & Sanctions] in a peculiar Volume, to the end the || Series of this our History may not be interrupted at present. || <sup>Or,</sup> Body, <sup>as Indeed, English words were</sup>

be here promiser; and in a peculiar volume comprized all the Letters and Sentences of the Emperour *Constantine*, which bore a reference to the Catholic Faith. This I am informed of from the *Medicean Copy*; wherein, at the close of his *Ecclesiastical Constantine's Letter to the Palestinianus* is written out, which *Eusebius* had recorded in the foregoing book, and after the foreaid Letter these words occur: *καὶ τὰς μὲν ἐν ἐλπίδι καὶ ἐξέτασι, οὐκ ἐν ἀκαταστάσει καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συνουσίᾳ, τὴν Θεολογίαν ἡμῶν ἐν πνευματικῇ βασιλείᾳ ἐπέστηλται, ἀπ' ἐκείνης ἀρχῆς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνακατασκευάσει;* that is, Let these things therefore be preserved by me. But come on now; let us from another band (for, beginning) gather the *Laws*, and all the Letters of our *Pious* and most mild Emperour [written] in defence of the true Religion. Vale.

## CHAP. XXV.

*That he ordered a Church to be built at Jerusalem, in the holy place of our Saviour's Resurrection.*

These matters having been in this manner performed, this pious [Emperor] effected another vault work highly memorable, in the Province of the *Palestinsians*. But what was that? He look'd upon it as his duty, to render that most blessed place of the Salutory Resurrection, which is at *Jerusalem*, illustrious and venerable in the sight of all men. He gave orders therefore, that an Oratory should forthwith be erected there; which he was induc'd to do, not without God's appointment; but had his mind incited thereto by our Saviour himself.

made  $\mu\eta\eta$ .  
 $\mu\eta\eta$   $\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\epsilon$ , on account of its memorableness. It may also be worded  
 thus,  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma \mu\eta\eta\mu\alpha$ . Turnebus at the margin of his Copy hath made it  
 $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\iota\omega$  instead of  $\mu\epsilon\gamma\iota\omega$ . Valef.

## CHAPTER



## CHAP. XXVI.

*That the Impious had covered our Lord's Sepulchre with Rubbish and Idols.*

FOR impious men, or rather the whole Tribe of *Dæmons* by the assistance of such men, had heretofore made it their business, wholly to involve that admirable monument of Immortality in darkness and oblivion. [The Monument I say] to which an Angel, shining with light, descended from heaven, and rolled away the stone from their minds who were really stony, and who supposed that the living [Christ] as yet lay amongst the dead: [which Angel] brought glad tidings to the women, and removed the stone

\* I supposed the word *their* was to be referred to the women which came early to the Sepulchre of our Lord. But *Christophorus* referred it to those stony and incredulous persons, concerning whom *Eusebius* hath spoken a little before; which I approve not of *Valef*.

b *Eusebius* *modiv*. I would rather read *ἐν τῷ ὄρει* *modiv*, that is, from what place soever they could get it. *Valef*.

\* Or, Cover'd

they \* filled that whole place. And after this they raised it to an height, and paved it with stone; under which great heap of earth they hid the divine Cave which was below. Then, as if nothing else remained to [be done by] them, upon this [heap of] earth they prepare a truly horrid Sepulchre of Souls; erecting a dark Cavern of dead Idols, in honour of that Lascivious *Dæmon* [whom they term]

*Venus*: in which place they \* offered abominable oblations upon impure and execrable Altars. For by this means only, and not otherwise, they thought to bring to effect what they had attempted, if by these execrable abominations they could cover the salutary Cave. For the Wretches were not able to understand, that it was altogether unlikely, that he who had been Crowned with a Victory over death, should leave this attempt of theirs concealed: \* in the like manner as 'tis impossible, that the Sun shining above the earth, and performing his \* usual course in the Heavens, should escape the knowledge of all mankind. For the power of our Saviour (which shines with a light far more resplendent than where upon the Sun, and which does not illustrate Bodies

impure Altars. But the term *ἐν τῷ ὄρει* does sufficiently shew, that *Eusebius* speaks not here concerning *Victims* or *Beasts* killed in Sacrifices, but concerning *Libations*; to wit, *Wine*, *Milk*, and the like, which the Heathen offered to their Gods. Besides, 'tis wholly absurd, that *Victims* should be killed upon the Altars. For *Sacrifices* were killed by, not upon the Altars. This is a known Verbe of *Orsd*;

*Rode caper vitæm. Tamen hinc clem flabit ad aras, &c. Valef.*

a *Ὁὐδὲ τῶν εὐσεβίων τῶν ἀγίωνων λαβόν*. This place is imperfect, of which sort very many occur in these Books of *Eusebius*. It may, as I think, not unfailly be made good in this manner; *ὡς δὲ τῶν εὐσεβίων τῶν ἀγίωνων πᾶν ἀνέστη λαβόν*. *&c.* in the like manner as 'tis impossible, &c. Indeed, *Eusebius's* following words do most plainly confirm this our emendation. But *Christophorus* has confounded all things here, as 'tis apparent from his *P. r. sion. Valef*.

[as the Sun does,] but the souls of men,) had now filled the whole world with its own Rules of Light. Nevertheless, the Machinations of these impious and profane men against the Truth, had continued for a long space of time. Nor was there any person to be found, either of the *Presidents*, or \* *Duces*, or of the Emperours themselves, who \* *Military* could be fit to destroy this so audacious an impiety; save only this one [Prince,] the Friend to the supream God. Who, inspired with the divine Spirit, and not enduring that that forementioned place, which by the Enemies frauds had been hid under all manner of impure & filth, should be delivered up to oblivion and ignorance; nor thinking it fit to yield to their malice, who had been the occasioners hereof: having called upon that God who was his Assistant, gives order that it should be cleaned. It being his Sentiment, that that part especially of the Ground, which had been defiled by the Enemy, ought by his means to enjoy the Divine Magnificence. As soon therefore as this Order was issued out from the Emperour, those engines of fraud were thrown down from their vast height to the very ground; and the Buildings erected to lead men into error, were ruined and demolish'd, together with the very Statues themselves and the *Dæmons*.

## CHAP. XXVII.

*In what manner Constantine gave order, that the Materials wherewith the Idol-Temple had been built, and the Rubbish should be removed and thrown at a great distance.*

NOR did the Emperour's earnestness and diligence stop here. But he issued forth another Order, that the Materials of the Buildings demolished, which consisted of Stone and Timber, should be removed, and thrown at a vast distance without the confines of that Region. Which Order of his likewise was forthwith put in execution. Nor was he satisfied in proceeding thus far only. But, incited again by a divine warmth and zeal, he commanded, that they should dig up the very ground it self of that place, to a vast depth, and carry away the earth which was thrown out a far off, in regard it had been defiled with the Gore of Sacrifices \* Or, offered to \* Devils. *Dæmon*

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*The discovery \* of the most Holy Sepulchre.* \* Or, Of the Holy Sepulchre

WITHOUT delay therefore this Command was likewise fulfilled. But after another ground \* beneath the former, namely the place which was at the bottom, was discovered; then the August and most Holy || Monument of our Saviour's Resurrection, contrary to all expectation appeared. And then also that Cave, [which may truly be filed] the Holy of Holies, express a certain likeness to our Saviour's Resurrection: in regard, after its being \* buried in darkness, it came forth into the light again, and gave a manifest History of those Miracles heretofore performed there, to be viewed with

viewed by them who flock't together to that sight; [an History] that attested the Resurrection of our Saviour\* by the things themselves, which found far more audibly and clearly than any voice.

\*Ergo  
etiam  
propter  
quod  
It  
mult doubtless be made *παρορτυγεις*, which *Christophorus* perceived not. The meaning of the place is this, that that resurrection of the Lord's Sepulchre after so many ages, did really confirm the Resurrection of our Lord. In the Eusebian Copy the reading is *παρορτυγεις*, in which manner *Tyrone* had likewise mended it at the margin of his Book, from a Manuscript Copy. In the Kings Sheets 'tis *παρορτυγεις*. Sir Henry Savil had noted at the margin of his Book, that perhaps it should be *παρορτυγεις*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXIX.

In what manner he wrote to the Presidents, and to Macarius the Bishop, concerning the Building [of a Church.]

These things having been thus performed, immediately the Emperour, by issuing forth pious Laws and constitutions, and by plentiful allowances for expences, orders a Church besitting God to be built about the Salutary Cave, with a magnificence that was rich and royal. For he had laid this design within himself long before, and with a divine alacrity had foreseen that which in future would be. [He gave command] therefore to the Governours of the Provinces in the East, that by allowing liberal and plentiful supplies, they should make that Work Stately, large, and Magnificent. But to the Bishop who at that time presided over the Church at Jerusalem, he sent this Letter, wherein by manifest expressions he has asserted\* the Doctrine of the saving Faith, writing in this manner.

## CHAP. XXX.

Constantine's [Letter] to Macarius, concerning the Building of the Martyrium of our Saviour.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Macarius.

\*Μὴ δὲ  
μὴ δὲ  
μὴ δὲ  
SO great is Our Saviour's Love and Favour, that a no Rhetorick seems sufficient to set forth a Declaration of the present Miracle. For, that the Monument of his most Holy Passion, long since hid underneath the earth, should lie concealed for so many periods of years, till such time as, by the slaughter of that common Enemy, it should gloriously appear to his servants now set at Liberty, [is a matter which] does really surmount all admiration. Valef.

\*Constantine here terms *Licinius* the publick Enemy; after whose destruction, he says, the sacred Sepulchre of Our Lord, which before had been concealed, was brought to the light and sight of Men. *Licinius* was slain on the year of Christ 326, as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's* Fasti. And on that very year, when *Helena* was come to Jerusalem, the Sepulchre of Our Lord was found. By the name of Publick Enemy, the Devil might also be meant here, were not this contradicted by the following Words. For the Devil was not then finally vanquished and overcome, when the Sepulchre of the Lord was cleared from the filth and rubbish which covered it. Besides, *divisions*, that is, slaughter, is more appositely spoken of *Licinius*, than concerning the Devil. Valef.

For, if all those Persons who throughout the whole World are accounted wise, should be convened in one and the same Place, with a design to speak something agreeable to the worthiness of this Matter; they would not be able after their utmost Endeavour, to attain to [an explication of] the least part of it. For the authority of this Miracle doth as far transcend every Nature capable of Humane Reason, as things that are Celestial do exceed those which are Humane. Wherefore, this is always my chief and only aim, that as the authority of the truth doth daily demonstrate it self by new Miracles, so the minds of us all should with all modesty and unanimous alacrity, become more careful and diligent about [an observation of] the Holy Law. Which thing in regard I judge to be manifestly apparent to all Men, my desire is you should most effectually place it to be persuaded of this, that there is nothing which I have a greater care about and concern for, than that we should adorn that Sacred Place [which by Gods Command I have unburthened of that most detestable accession of the Idol, as 'twere of some ponderous and heavy weight; [which place] by Gods determination was made holy from the beginning, but was afterwards demonstrated to be more Holy, out of which he hath brought to light the Truth and Certainty of Our Saviour's Passion;] with Magnificent and Stately Structures.

\*Εὐὴ τοῦτον πῶτον. I think it must be *εὐὴ τοῦτον πῶτον*, &c. and have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

\*The term *πίστις*, faith, authority, or credit, is wanting here; which we have inserted from *Socrates*, Book I. Chap 9.

## CHAP. XXXI.

That he would have this Church built so, as to exceed all the Churches in the World, for beauty of Walls, Columns, and Marbles.

Therefore, it does well become Your Prudence, so to dispose and make provision of all materials necessary for the Work, that not only the Church it self may in Stateliness excell all others in what Place soever, but also that the other parts of it may be made such, as that all the beautifullest Structures in whatever City may be outdone by this Fabrick. And as concerning the raising and exquisite Workmanship of the Walls, We would have you know, that the care thereof hath by Us been committed to Our Friend\* *Dracilianus* Deputy to the most Famous the Prefecti Prætorio, and to the President of the Province. *Δρακιλιανὸς* τῷ πραιτωρίῳ καὶ τῷ πραιποσίτῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας. This place must likewise be mended from *Socrates*, *Theodoret*, and *Nicephorus*, in this manner, τῷ τῶν λαμπροτάτων ἐκτελεστῶν καὶ τῷ πραιποσίτῳ τῆς ἐπαρχίας, Deputy to the most Famous the Prefecti Prætorio. There are indeed two Laws of Constantine extant in the Theodosian Code, the one in the Title de *Uirgis*, the other in that de *Hæresibus*, written to this *Dracilianus*. The former has this Inscription; Imp. Constantinus Aug. ad *Dracilianum* agentem vires *Præfectorum* Prætor. It was published at *Cæsarea* in Palestine on the fifteenth of the Calends of May, in the Consulate of *Paulinus* and *Julianus*. But the second is said to have been published on the Calends of September, at *Genetivum*, *Constantinus Augustus* the seventh time and *Constantinus Cæsar* being Coss. That is, on the year of Christ 326. On which year also Constantine wrote this Letter to *Macarius* Bishop of Jerusalem. Further, 'tis to be noted, that the *Præfetti Prætorio* are here termed *Clarissimi*, most famous. For they had not yet received the dignity of the *Illustrissimi*, [or, the title of most illustrious.] Moreover, in other of Constantine's Laws, the *Præfetti Prætorio* are styled *clarissimi*, as it occurs in these Books. But, as the *Præfetti Prætorio* had only the Title of *Clarissimi* in Constantine's age, so the *Vicarii* [Deputies] of the *Prætorio* Prefecture were titled only *perfectissimi* [most perfect] in the times of the same Constantine; as a Letter to *Probianus* Consul of Africa informs us. See *Athanasius's* Apologeticus to Constantine, pag. 194. Valef.



## CHAP. XXXIV.

## CHAP. XXXV.

e *Atria* (Courts) of C

## CHAP. XXXVII.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

ἑνελυμῶν παλαιόσους. The Ancients adorned walls with cut Crusts of Marble of a different colour; all have noted at book 28. of *Ammonius Marcellinus*, pag. 363. Such Crusts of Marble as these they termed *παλαιοί*. See *Gregor. Nazianz. in Orat. 31*: and in his *Carmen Anacreonticum ad animum* [*juv.*]. Velfi.



\*Nēdy te. Some thing seems to be wanting here, or at least the  
 words are transposed. Therefore I would have the place reformed  
 thus: *ἵνα οὖν ἐκκλησίαις τῶν τε ἁγίων ἀειψήσωμα, erecting a sa-*  
*cred, &c.* But Christopher underlines their words so, as if Eusebius  
 should say, that *Helena* built two Churches in the Mount of *Olives* :  
 one on the top, the other in the Cave : which nevertheless I do not  
 think to be true. For the Author of the *Jerusalem-Itinerary* tells us,  
*Panegyric* (chap. 9. towards the end.) speaking of that *Martyrium*  
 which *Constantine* built at *Jerusalem*, expostiles himself in the same  
 manner as he does here; *ὡς, ὅταν ἐκκλησίαν πεποιμένην, τῶν τε*  
*ἁγίων τε σὺνθετο σμῆμα, &c.* Where you see, that *οὖν ἐκκλησίαις*  
 and *ἁγίων* are joined, and used concerning one and the same Church.  
 And he terms the *Baptistry*, *οὖν ἐκκλησίαν*, because People came thither  
 to pray; but the whole *Sacred House* (which being inclosed within  
 one circuit, contains within it self the *Altar*, *Porticus*, *Secretary*,  
 &c.)

Baptistry, and the Church it self;) he terms *ruin*. Which Eusebius does most plainly declare below; at chap. 50. of *this book*, where he speaks concerning the *Dominican Atrium* which Constantine built at *Athosch*. And thus the passage of Eusebius in the *clap* of his *Panegyric*, concerning Constantine's *Tricennalia* is to be explained; as likewise a passage in his *tenth book*, and another in *chap. 35. of this book*; where he joins together *ruin* and *everlasting ruin*. 'Tis something otherwise, in the *fifth Law Cod. Theod. de his q. ad Eusebii confignat.* For there *ruin* *everlasting* is called the *Baptism* or *Oratory* where the *Altar* is: But the Church is termed that whole Building within the circumference whereof are contained the *Atrium*, *Porticus*, *Cells*, *Barbs*, and lastly the *Oratory* it self. *Val.*

a *Kub rai.* a Moreover, here (as the true History attests) the  
suprem Savjour \* in the very Cave informed his

The A-  
uthor of the  
Itinerary. \* *Orato-*  
r. *rus, compa-*  
um Hero-  
mont.

solyma-  
nina has  
these  
words;  
Inde asse-  
dit in mon-  
tem O'i-  
veti, ubi  
dominus  
discipulis  
docuit ante  
passionem,  
† O. The  
Ternce you fruit.

go up, to  
Mount O-  
livet,  
where our  
Lord  
taught  
his Disci-  
ples before  
his Passi-  
on. Bede (in  
his bo. & c.  
Lect. Sam.  
c. 12. c. 17.)  
has this passage; *Tertia quoque ejusdem montis ad australem Bethaniam*  
*pa rem Ecclesia est.* &c. There is a third Church also of the same Mount at  
the South part of Bethany, where the Lord before his Passion spoke to his  
Disciples concerning the day of Judgment. He means the place in Saint  
Matthews, chap. 24. This Sermon therefore *Evangelium* here terms *supplicium*  
*ruin* & *secret Mysteries*, because the Lord then spoke concerning secret  
things, viz. about the end of the World, concerning Christ's coming,  
and the last judgment. For even the Apostles came then to the Lord  
secretly, as St. Matthew says; in regard they were desirous to know  
Mysteries, and the Revelation of things future, as Jerome on Matthew  
writes. But that which Eusebius says (viz. that our Lord delivered  
these Mysteries to the Apostles in the Cave,) is not expressly recorded  
in the Gospel. Yet, the contrary seems possible to be made out from the  
Gospel. For 'tis related therein, that the City Jerusalem was in fight  
to the Disciples, when our Lord preach'd these things. They were  
not therefore in the Cave, but in an open place. Yet it may be an-  
swered, that that Cave, had several holes, of which forth there were  
many Caves in Palestine, as the Itinerary informs us. Indeed,  
whereas St. Matthew affirms, that the Disciples came to our Lord se-  
cretly, 'tis probable that that discourse in the Cave was made by Our  
Lord whilst he stayed there. *Val.*

e *Tis in burn* *allego.* The first word is to be expunged, as being  
superfluous. Eusebius seems to allude to the usage of the Gentiles,  
who performed their *Mithræica Sacra* [Sacrifices, in honour of the  
Sun] in a Cave, as Porphyry (in his book of *Abstinentia*.) Jerome,  
and others inform us. The *Fabrian Manuscript* confirms our con-  
jecture, in which the word *ruin* is wanting. *Val.*

#### CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning Helena's greatness of Mind, and  
Benevolence.

\* Or, Mag-  
nificence  
of Imperial  
power.  
† Or, *regis*  
band.

FOR whilst she was taking her progress round  
the whole East with a \* Royal Magnificence,  
she heap'd innumerable benefits and favours, both  
on Cities, and on every private Person also who  
approach'd her: and with a liberal † hand she

distributed numerous [large] gifts amongst the  
Military Forces. But, on the poor, naked, and  
on such as were destitute of all help and comfort,  
She bestowed very many Gifts: making distribu-  
tions of Money to some; plentifully supplying  
others with clothes to cover their bodies. Other-  
some She set at Liberty from bonds, as also them  
afflicted with the slavery of the Mines: She like-  
wise freed some that were oppress'd by the vio-  
lence of Persons more powerful than themselves;  
and again, re-called others from banishment.

#### CHAP. XLV.

In what manner Helena was religiously con-  
versant in the Churches.

HAVING rendred her self eminent by such  
actions as these, [in the interim] she in \* Or, she  
no wise neglected Her piety towards God. For  
\* She was seen to come constantly into the  
Church of God; and beautified the sacred Hou-  
ses with splendid ornaments; not contemning &c.  
the † Churches even in the smallest Cities. You † *Nat.*  
might therefore have beheld this admirable Wo-  
man, in a † modest and decent garb associating  
her self with the rest of the multitude, and de-  
monstrating her Reverence towards God, by all † *Or,*  
manner of pious actions. *Græcorum,*  
*memor,*  
*frugal.*

#### CHAP. XLVI.

How, being eighty years old, and having made  
her Will, she ended her Life.

BUT at length, when, after she had lived a  
sufficient space of time, she was called to  
a better allotment; having prolonged her life  
till about the eightieth year of her age, and be-  
ing arrived at the very confines of death, she  
composed, ordained and declared her last Will  
and Testament, constituting her only Son (\* *Or, Em-*  
Emperor, and Lord of the World.) Her heir, *perour, ab-*  
together with his Sons the *Cæsars* Her Grand- *narch, and*  
children; and distributing to each of Her Grand- *Lord, &c.*  
children, those her own Goods, whatever she  
was posses'd of throughout the whole World.  
Having in this manner made Her Will, after-  
wards she closed her Life, Her † Great Son being † *Or, &*  
present with her and standing by her, † *Or, Great-*  
imimaginable respect, and embracing her Hands. *Or, Chr-*  
Inasmuch that, to those whose Sentiments are good *Or, Chr-*  
and true, this thrice-blessed Woman in no wise *Or, Chr-*  
seemed to die, but in reality to \* make a change \* *Or, Or,*  
of this earthly life, for one that was celestial. *Or, Or,*  
\* Her Soul therefore was new-framed into an *Or, Or,*  
incorruptible and Angelick substance, and re- *Or, Or,*  
ceived up to her Saviour. *Or, Or,*

fore was reformed, or, new-framed. These words seem to favour  
Origen's Doctrine. to which our Eusebius was too much addicted. For  
the Souls of the Blessed are not reformed into an Angelick substance.  
I deem, Origen believed, that in the Resurrection, Bodies would be  
turned into Souls, and Souls would be changed into Angels, as Saint  
Jerome says some where. *Val.*

## CH A P. XLVII.

*In what manner Constantine deposited his Mother; and how he honoured her whilst she was living.*

**B**UT the Body of this Blessed Woman was vouchsafed no trivial Honour. For it was conveyed into the Imperial City [accompanied] with a numerous train of the [Imperial] Guards; where it was deposited in a Royal Monument. In this manner the Emperor's Mother closed her Life; a Woman worthy of an indelible Memory, both in respect of her pious Actions, and also on account of that most eminent and admirable Son born of her. Whom 'tis fit we should stile Blessed, besides all other things, even for this also, his piety towards her who brought him forth; whom he rendred so Religious, (the having before not been a worshipper of God), that she seemed from her tender years to have been discipled by Him Himself who is the common Saviour of all: whom he honoured with Imperial Dignities in such a manner, that in all the Provinces, and by the very Companies of the Milice, he was stiled *Augusta* and *Empress*; and Golden Coins were stamp'd bearing her Image. Moreover, *Constantine* granted her a power over the Imperial Treasures, to make use of them according to her own arbitrement, and to dispose of them according to her own mind, in such manner as she thought good, and as every thing might seem well-pleasing to her. For even in \* this respect also, her Son rendred her conspicuous and † admirable. Wherefore, amongst those things belonging to the illustration of his Memory, We have, without reason, included these also, which out of his transcendency of piety the Emperor performed in honour of his Mother; whereby he fulfilled the Divine Laws, which do injoin due [Offices] of honour towards Parents. These forementioned beautiful structures therefore, the Emperor in this manner erected in the Province of *Palestine*. Moreover, in all the other Provinces also, he built new Churches, and made them far more stately than those that had been yet dedi. before.

and therefore could not be called the Imperial City, wheras then it was only old *Byzantium*. Nevertheless *Cedrenus* has followed *Socrates*; who also adds this, that *Helena* died twelve years before *Constantine*. By this computation *Helena* must have died on the year of Christ 325, or 326. On which year nevertheless, she is said by *Eusebius* and *Rufinus* to have gone to *Jerusalem*. Besides, after the Death of *Crispus* Caesar and *Fausta Augusta*, *Helena* was for some time alive, as *Zosimus* attests, book 2. Further, *Crispus* was slain in the seventh Consulate of *Constantinus Augustus* which he bore with *Constantinus Caesar*, on the year of Christ 326. as 'tis recorded in *Idarius's Fasti*. The death of *Helena* therefore may rightly be assigned to the year of our Lord 327, as *Septonius* thinks, book 3. *de Imperio Occidentali*. Valef.

† *ὡς αὐτὴν δοξαίει*. It must be written *αὐτῇ*. For 'tis referred to *τῇ κατὰ οὐσίων*, as we have rendred it. And so I found it mended in *Moraeus's* Book, at the Margin. Nor is it otherwise written in the *Euk*- and *Savil* Copies, and in the *Kings Sheets*. Valef.

## CH A P. XLVIII.

*\*Churches, In what manner he built: \*Martyria at Constantinople, and abolished all manner of Idolatry.*

**B**UT when he had resolved upon raising that City to the highest honour which bore his own name, he beautified it with many Oratories,

with vast *Martyria*, and with most stately Houses; part whereof were erected in the Suburbs, and part within the City it self. And by this means, he both honoured the Memories of the Martyrs, and likewise consecrated his own City to the God of the Martyrs. In fine, being \* wholly inspired with

the wisdom of God, he thought it requisite, in such a manner to purifie that City, which he determined to dignifie with the appellation of his own name, from all sorts of Idolatry; that the Images of those reputed to be Gods, should no where be worshipped in Temples therein; neither should Altars defiled with the † Blood of † Victims be visible in it; nor Sacrifices wholly consumed by fire; nor should the Festivals of Demons [be celebrated there;] nor any other of those usages [commonly practised] amongst superstitious Persons.

\* *ὅπως δὲ ἐκπαισθῇ*. I had rather make it *δαῶν*, which is far more elegant. So indeed it occurs written in the *Fuketian Copy*, and in the *Kings Sheets* Valef.

† *ἀδύποτον* *δαίμονων*, *with the gore of blood*.

## CH A P. XLIX.

*The Sign of the Cross in the Palace, and [the \*Effigies of] Daniel in the † Conduits.*

**Y**OU might therefore have seen in the Conduits situate in the middle of the Forum, the † Representations of the Good Shepherd, well known to those skill'd in the Divine Oracles; [the Effigies] of Daniel likewise, together with the Lyons, \* cast in Brass, and shining with † plates of Gold. Further, so ardent a divine Love had †, possesst the mind of the Emperor, that in the stateliest Room of all those within the Imperial Palace, at the very middle of the Embowed Roof which was gilded with Gold, a large Table was display'd, in the midst whereof was fix'd the Sign of our Lord's passion, consisting of a variety of precious Stones, and wrought with a great quantity of Gold. And this [in my judgment] seemed to have been \* set up by that pious Emperor, as the preservative of the Empire it self.

\* *Ἰμαγεῖς* † *Ὁρ*, *Fountain*

\* *Ἐν γὰρ καὶ τῇ παλαιᾷ πύλῃ τῆς Φυκεῖας* *Copy 'tis written* *παλαιᾷ πύλῃ*; and 'tis referred to *τὴν δὲ δὴν*, *Daniel* likewise.

\* *Ὁρ*, *Made*. But the ordinary reading pleases me better, in regard it occurs both in the *Kings Copy* and in the *Old Sheets*. For *παλαιᾷ* is referred to the word *οὐσίων*, *Representations*. So that, it must be written, *τὴν δὲ δὴν*, [the Effigies] of Daniel likewise. Valef.

## CH A P. L.

*That He built Churches at Nicomedia also, and in other Cities.*

**W**ITH these [ornaments] therefore He beautified his own City. He likewise honoured the \* chief [City] of *Bithynia* with the Monument of a most \* stately and most magnificent Church; in which place also, † at his own charge, he erected the Trophies of Victory which he had gained over the Enemies and Opposers of God, in ho-

\* *Ἡμεῖς* *Nicomedia*, which was the head City of his own *Bithynia*. In which City *Constantine* in memory thereof of that Victory, *Constantine* built a Church at *Nicomedia*. See *Septonius*, book 2. chap 3. Valef.



now of his own Saviour. Moreover, he also grac'd the chiefest Cities of the rest of the Provinces, with most beautiful Oratories: <sup>b</sup> for instance, that City which was the *Metropolis* of the whole East, that took its name from *Antiochus*. In which [City,] as <sup>c</sup>twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Region, he dedicated [to

God] a <sup>†</sup> Peerless Church, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he encompassed the whole Temple with a large circuit on the outside: <sup>e</sup> but within, he rais'd the *Basilica* to an immense height: it was built in an <sup>d</sup> eight-square figure; and surrounded on all sides with many Lodging Rooms,

and <sup>e</sup> *Exedrae*, and with <sup>†</sup> apartments 'as well above as under [or, even with] the ground. Which Church [he beautified] with <sup>||</sup> a vast quantity of <sup>†</sup> Gold, and <sup>†</sup> adorned it with Brails and other Materials of great value.

<sup>†</sup> Or, Crowned it with the beauties of Brass, &c.

<sup>b</sup> Ὁ ἱερωτάτος  
ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ὅτι τῆς  
ἀνατολικῆς  
μετέχοντος  
λαοῦ. It  
must be  
written  
μετέχοντος  
λαοῦ. Ex-  
cept you  
had read  
rather  
thus;  
ἡ πόλις  
ἐν ᾗ ὁ  
ἀνατολικὸς  
λαὸς κοινῶς  
μετέχοντος  
λαοῦ;  
which read-  
ing in-  
deed dis-  
pleases me  
not.

In the *Kings Copy* 'tis written, ἡ πόλις ἐν τῇ γῇ, &c. *Valf.*  
<sup>c</sup> Ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν καθολικὸν δῖνον. In his *Panegyrick*, chap. 9. whence these words are transcribed, *Eusebius* has termed it ἀνάτολιν. I have rendered it *Basilica* the Cathedral or Church of itself; not the *Sanctuary*, as *Christopherson* translates it. *Valf.*

<sup>d</sup> Ἐν ὁκτάγωνον. Of the same figure was that Church, which *Nonnus* Father to *Gregory Nazianzen* built in the Town of *Nazianzen*, as *Gregory* himself attests in his *Funeral Oratory* concerning the praises of his own Father, pag. 313. These Temples were termed *Octachora*. This old Inscription occurs in *Gruer's Taciturnus*, pag. 1166.

Octachorum sanctos templum surrexit in usus.  
Octagonum fons est numere dignus co.

Now, that 's a *Tenylum Octachorum*, which hath eight sides rising from the bottom to the very top. From the same reason *Altars* are termed *trachora*, in *Paulinus's Epistle*; that is, *firm square access*, being or embosomed with a triple terrace, as the *Jane Paulinus* explains himself, in his *Narrate of Saint Felix*. *Codrus* (as the 26th year of *Constantine*.) testifies that Church which had been built by *Constantine* at *Antioch*, *Octagonum Domitiscum*, the eight-cornered Church. *Valf.*

<sup>e</sup> Ἐξέδρας. In *Eusebius's Panegyrick*, at the chapter just now cited, the reading is true, thus, ἔξεδρας. For so *Eusebius* terms them, in his description of the Church at *Tyre*, which you have in the *Tenth Book* of his *Ecclesiastical History*. What an *Exedra* is, *Valfridus Strabo* tells us, in his book de *Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, chap. 6. *Exedra est aedificia quadam separata modicum quidem a templo vel palatio: distat inde, quod extra heret.* *Græcè autem ἐκδορά vocatur; An exedra is a certain outward building, separated a little from the Temple, or Palace: thence so termed, because it sticks without.* In *Greek* 'tis called ἐκδορά. *Strabo* is indeed mistaken, because he understood not, that *Exedra* was a *Greek* word: but he is not at all mistaken in the origin of that word. For, 'tis truly termed ἔξεδρας. *Exedra*, says *The 26th* *Idios*, from its being without the seat. For so more outward Houses were termed, which were usually built within the circuit of a Church, wherein 'twas lawful to sit, and take rest, as *Eusebius* tells us. Concerning these *Exedrae*, *St. Asyrus* speaks in his book de *Gestis cum Emeritis Domitiani*. *Cæsar* in *Ecclesiæ majori*, &c. At *Cæsar*, in the greater Church, when *Decentius* metropolitan Bishop of *Caesarea*, together with *Asyrus*, *Augustinus*, *Possidius*, *Rufinus* and the other Bishops had gone forth into the *Exedra*, &c. In the *Concilium Nemesiense*, Canon 6th, there is mention of an *Exedra*. *Prolibendum* *crucian* *seculanum* *majorum* *instituta*, ut in *Ecclesiæ* *majoribus* *sepeliuntur*, sed in *arce* *ante* *portam*, aut in *Exedris* *Ecclesiæ*; it is to be forbidden also, according to the orders of our *Ancestors*, that they should in no wise bury (or be buried) in the Church, but in the *Artem*, or *Porticus*, or in the *Exedra* of the Church. So the reading is in the *Manuscript Copy* belonging to the *Bibliotheca Puteana*. See *Jerome* on the 40th chapter of *Ecclusiæ*.—Further, the *Egyptian* and *Savilian Copies* have it written right here, ἔξεδρας τὰ. *Valf.*

<sup>f</sup> Τῶντοις τὴν ἐκδοράν γενομένην. See what we have noted at chap. 37. κατὰ γὰρ ἀνάγκην are those where we go up no stairs; to which are opposed ἀνὰ γὰρ or κατὰ γὰρ, that is, Chambers, or upper Rooms. Although by the term κατὰ γὰρ you may here understand Closets, *Palais* or *Rooms* under ground. *Valf.*

<sup>g</sup> For this reason that Church was termed *Domitiscum Aureum*, the Golden Church. For in the *Chronicon*, at the 22d year of *Constantine*; *Antiochie* *Domitiscum* *quod vocant aureum*, *adificari* *captum*; at *Antioch* the *Domitiscum* which they term *Aureum*, was begun to be built. It was consecrated in the Reign of *Constantine*, on the fifth year after *Constantine's* death. *Valf.*

## CHAP. LI.

That He likewise gave order for the building of a Church in [the place called] Mamre.

These were the most eminent Structures, which the Emperor dedicated to God. But, having been informed, that that one and the same Saviour, who had lately made his appearance in the World, had heretofore exhibited the presence of His Divinity, to certain Men of *Palæstine* that were lovers of God, near that called the *Oak of Mamre*; He ordered an Oratory to be erected there also, to the God who had appeared. Therefore, the *Emperor's* Order was issued out to the Governours of Provinces, by the Letters transmitted to each of them, commanding them to bring to effect what they had been enjoined to perform. But to us who write this History, he sent an *Exhortation* full of Wisdom. A Copy whereof I judge fit to be inserted into this present work, to the end that the care and diligence of this most pious Emperor might be accurately known. Having blamed us therefore for those things, which, as he had been informed, were done in the forementioned place, he wrote word for word thus.

ters, because in those Letters *Constantine* seemed in a manner to preach. Such is *Constantine's* Speech to the Convention of the Saints, and almost all his Letters, which are recorded partly by *Eusebius*, and partly by others. For in all these, *Constantine*, although as yet but a *Catechumen*, plays the Doctor. Indeed, it can't be denied, but *Constantine* was a Man full of God, and was sent by God in order to the propagation of the Christian Faith; to which single Person, next to the Apostles, we owe very much. Yet in *Ecclesiastical* affairs, he took something more upon himself, than might befit a Prince that was a Laick; the Bishops permitting him all things, and rejoicing greatly with themselves, because they saw an Emperor a Christian. *Valf.*

## Constantine's Letter to Eusebius concerning Mamre.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS;

To Macarius and the rest of the Bishops of *Palæstine*.

Even this very one thing was a most eminent favour of my most Holy Mother-in-law, *Eu-  
doxia*. In the rendition of this place all the Translators, *Porphyrius*, *Mosellus* and *Christophorus*, have been mistaken; they rendering it *curam* or *solicitudinem*, care and solicitude; as if the reading had been *κατακρίνας*. But *Constantine* speaks of his Mother-in-law, to wit, *Eudoxia* *Syra*, to whom *Fausla* the Wife of *Constantine* was Daughter. For *κατακρίνας* signifies in *Greek* a Mother-in-law, as the *Old Glosses* inform us, wherein 'tis thus read, κατὰ κρίνα, a Father-in-law, κατὰ κρίνα, a Mother-in-law. Indeed, the following words do plainly confirm our explication. For it follows, διὰ τοῦ αἵματος γυνεῶν ὑπαγεῖν, by her Letters to us she hath made known. He meant the Letters which his Mother-in-law *Eudoxia* had sent to him, Wherefore *Christopherson's* Emendation is to be rejected, who hath corrected it αἵματι υἱοῦ, to you. Moreover, these following words, ἡ κατεργασμένη διὰ τὸν αἵματι τὸν υἱὸν υἱοδόξου, &c. do sufficiently shew the very same thing. For who would say concerning care and solicitude, ἡ κατεργασμένη, the foresaid care and solicitude? That would have been altogether trifling and foolish. But in our Version all things are plain and clear. For ἡ κατεργασμένη is rendered our foresaid Mother-in-law; who by reason of her Piety and Religion could not hide so great an impiety, but by Letter declared it to her Son-in-law *Constantine*, that at length he might remedy this mischief. *Eudoxia* therefore was a Christian, as we learn from this place. Her Daughter *Fausla* also professed the Christian Faith, and together with her Husband *Constantine* was buried in the Church of *The Apostles*. Further, I must not omit what



that without any delay, not only all the Idols, which can be found in the fore-mentioned place, shall be committed to the flames; but that the Altar also shall be totally demolished: and, that

h. *Τιτωλεως* *αξιων*. I read *τιτωλεως* *αξιων* ὁ. That is, it shall be capital for all those, &c. Wherefore, there is no need of *Christopherson's* emendation here, viz; *τιτωλεως* *αξιων* *αυτων*, *he judge him worthy of punishment, who, &c.* Nevertheless, there is another reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb.* Copies; which is better to follow here. A little after, from the *Fuk. Copy* make it *ἡ δὲ ἡσδαπῃ*, &c. *Whose* place moreover, &c. *Valef.* Though *Valefius* prefers the reading in the *Fuk. Savil.* and *Turneb.* Copies here; yet he has not shown us what it is.

end We may Order the person detected to undergo the extremest of punishments, as being a transgressor of the Law. For you are not ignorant, that the suprem Lord and God appeared first to Abraham in that place, and talk'd with him. Moreover, the observance of the holy Law took its first beginning there. There Our Saviour himself, together with the two Angels, first gave Abraham a full sight of his own presence. There God first of all appeared unto men. There he made Abraham a promise concerning his future seed; and immediately fulfilled that promise. There be foretold, that he should be the Father of many Nations. Which things being so, 'tis fit, as to me it seems; that by Your care this place should be preserved from all manner of pollution, and restored to its Pristine Sanctity; that so in future, no other thing be done in that place, save the performance of a befitting worship to the Almighty and Our Saviour and to God the suprem Lord. Which thing 'tis fit you should observe with a due care, if Your Gravity be desirous (of which I am confident) to accomplish my will, which is chiefly inclined to the worship of God. God preserve you, Beloved Brethren!

1. *Προσχω* Lord, Which thing 'tis fit you should observe  
 2. *ἔλθεις* with a due care, if Your Gravity be desirous (of  
 3. *ἀντιβ. ὄν* I which I am confident) to accomplish my will,  
 4. *ἔλθεις* which is chiefly inclined to the worship of God.  
 5. *ἔλθεις* God preserve you, Beloved Brethren!  
 6. *ἔλθεις* fit, as  
 7. *Χριστοφόρος* seems to have read. In the *King's Sheers* I found it  
 8. written *ἔλθεις*, according as I had conjectured. Vale!

## CHAP. LIV.

\* Or, *The demolition of the Idol-Temples and \* Images in all places.*

ALL these things the Emperour performed with all imaginable earneſtneſſe, to the Glory of [Chriſt's] ſalutary power. And in this manner he ceaſed not from giving honour to God his Saviour. But he endeavour'd all manner of ways to † confute the ſuperſtitious error of the Heathens. Therefore, the Porches of ſome Temples in the Cities were \* laid open, they being, by the Emperour's order, deprived of their dooſs: the Roofs of others were ript, that wherewith they were covered being taken off. The venerable Brazen † Statues of other ſome, on account wherof the error of the Ancients had for a long time boaſted, were expoſed to

† Or,  
*Images.*

a 'Fr. ἀπὸ publick view<sup>a</sup> in all the Forum's of the Em-  
περὶ τῆς  
σαιε. Sozomen (book 2. chap. 5, where he has in a manner transcrib-  
ed this whole passage of Eusebius) words it thus, κατὰ τὰς ἀγορὰς, κατὰ  
τὰς ἐκκλησίας, κατὰ τὰς βασιλείας, in the Streets, and in the Cirque, and  
in the Palace. Valeb.

perour's City. In so much that, for a reproachful fight to the Spectatours, there lay exposed to view, in one place *Apollo Pythius*, in another *Smintbius*; and in the very Cirque it self *The Delphick Tripods*: and the

<sup>c</sup> The Emperor *Theodosius* also the  
Heliconian Muses in the Pa-  
lace. In fine, the City which  
bore the Emperor's name,  
was filled in all places with  
Images, which being made of  
Brass with great art and cu-  
riosity, had heretofore been  
consecrated in every Pro-  
vince. To whom, under the  
notion of Gods, when men  
displeased with error had for many ages in-  
vain offered numerous *Hecatombs* and *Holo-*  
*causts*; at length, though late, they learn'd to  
be wifer; after the Emperour had begun to make  
use of these very Images as objects of sport in  
order to the laughter and recreation of the Be-  
holders. But, on those I-  
mages made of Gold he  
was revenged another way.  
For, whereas he perceived,  
that the simple multitude,  
like children, in vain stood  
in fear of those \* *Bugbears*  
of error made of Gold and  
Silver; it was his Sentiment  
that they ought wholly to  
be destroyed; in regard  
they would be like some  
pieces of Stones cast before  
the feet of those who walk  
in the dark; and because  
a smooth and plain passage  
through the Kings-high-way  
was in future to be opened to  
all men. <sup>d</sup> Having therefore  
considered these things with  
himself, he was of opinion,  
that he stood not in need  
either of military Forces or  
a numerous army, in order  
to his giving check to these  
things, but, that one or two  
of those persons well known  
to him, were sufficient to ef-  
fect this business; whom by  
one nod he dispatch'd a-<sup>e</sup> Themiſtus (in his  
tion to Theodofius,) is  
that, the Statue of Au-  
were in the Curia of Ca-  
ple. The famous Autho-  
Oration to the Senate  
advects, ſays that the  
were placed on this au-  
in a double number; but  
were not now nine, but  
Valef;

\* ANNO MDLXXIII  
rine ordered the burning  
of the Gods to be burnt  
Byzantium, that he mi-  
trified that City with the  
Spoils. But whatever  
were made of Gold  
then he ordered to  
down, and coined into  
Sogomen relates, book  
who explains this passage  
Jebius excellently well  
ning this demolishing of  
Temples and destructi-  
Statues, our Eusebius  
rage in his second Ser-  
ſurrectione. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Μορμυρανοί, the  
upſa, as to affright the

<sup>a</sup> After these words  
to all men," those which  
as far as [Moreover, el-  
byzantium, &c.] are in  
the Kings Copy, and in  
phent's Edition. But  
added by Gruter, Peter,  
Theophaſt, and others,  
his Kings Panegyric, and  
nufcript Copies. They  
found them in the Fable  
and Sir Henry Savile  
us notice, that the fa-  
are extant in his Copy.

<sup>b</sup> *Themistius* (in his fifth Oration to *Theodosius*,) is a witness, that the Statues of the *Miles* were in the *Curia Constantianæ*. The same Author, in his Oration to the Senate *ad Theodosium*, says, that these Statues were placed on this and that side, in a double number; so that they were not now nine, but eighteen. *Vales.*

c "ΑΛΛΗ ΤΗ ΜΕΤΕΠΙΣΤΟ *Constitution* ordered the brazen Statues of the Gods to be brought to *Byzantium*, that he might bestiff that City with these sort of Spoils. But whatever Statues were made of Gold or Silver, them he ordered to be melted down, and coined into money, as *Sozomen* relates, book 4. chap. 8, who explains this passage of *Eusebius* excellently well. Concerning this demolishment of the Temples and destruction of the Statues, our *Eusebius* has a passage in his second *Sermon de Resurrectione*. Valde

\*Μορμολύχαια, things made up so, as to affright the beholders.

<sup>a</sup> After these words [*opened to all men,*] those which follow, as far as [*Moreover, this admirable Emperour, &c.*] are wanting in the *King's Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*. But they are added by *Gruicer, Porfessus, Christopherson*, and others, from *Eusebius's Panegyric*, and from Manuscript Copies. Indeed, we found them in the *Fuxianus Copy*; and *Sir Henry Savil* hath given us notice, that the same words are extant in his *Copy*. Vale!

*gyrick* chap. 8. whence these words  
are taken, the reading is *emaisim*  
*oogeyr*, made a discovery of; which  
reading in my judgment is truer.  
*Valef.*

ful, and † cast it into the fire, and melted it † Or, *Tried it in*  
down; so much of it as by them was thought *to be*  
to be of use and necessary, they reserved, and *superfluous*  
put it up safe. But what was superfluous and *and in the*  
wholly useless, that they left to the super- *fire.*  
stititious for a lasting monument of disgrace. *More.*

\* Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing of this nature. For, at the same time that those Idols of the dead, made of precious matter, were spoiled in that manner we have declared, \* He ordered the rest of the Images consisting of Brals to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, celebrated in the doting Fables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away in bound.

\* *Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μωρὸν, &c. Johannes Porteus renders it, ad alia perrexerit. He proceeded to others. Christophorus translates it, religio aggressus est statuas, He set upon the other Statues. In the same sense namely, with that Eusebius had laid above, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων, he was re-venge'd another way. Valef.*

\* *Τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν μωρὸν, &c. Johannes Porteus renders it, ad alia perrexerit. He proceeded to others. Christophorus translates it, religio aggressus est statuas, He set upon the other Statues. In the same sense namely, with that Eusebius had laid above, ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τούτων, he was re-venge'd another way. Valef.*

# CHAP. LV.

*The demolishment of the Idol-Temple at Aphaca in Phœnicie, and [the disannulling] those Acts of uncleanness [committed there.]*

AFTER this the Emperour having as 'twere lighted a most bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial eye, it peradventure he might any where find any Remains of Error as yet lying concealed. And as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised her self to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth which are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he whilst he \* was resident in the Imperial Palace of \* his own most beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower a certain pernicious snare of souls lying conceal'd in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which fewest many [are visible] in Cities, most gloriously built for ornament sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy Daemon [termed] Venus, in part of the top of [Mount] Libanus which is at <sup>b</sup> Aphaca.

but the close of it; to wit, on account of the Beauty and Magnificence of the which Works, which Constantine had most gorgeously erected there. For he had spoiled all Cities, Towns, Places, and Temples, that he might beautify that City which bore his own name. Therefore Virgine has with good reason affirmed in his *Chronicon*, that Constantine had been dedicated by the nakedness of almost all cities.

\* Concerning this Temple of Venus Aphacitis, Zosimus it to be consulted in his first book; and the Author of the *Ermologicon* in the word *Αφάκη*; and also Suidas in the word *Χερσόβοτον*, and Mr. Selden in *Synagoga*. 2. de *Diis Syris*. Further, in the *Fuketian Manuscript* in this thing there is *τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἀφάκης*, of [Mount] Libanus in Aphaca. But in the King's Stores 'tis *ἐν ἀποκαταστάσει τῆς ἁγίας τῆς ἐν ἀφάκῃ*, in part of the Top of Libanus which [Top] is in Aphaca.

This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all impure persons, and such as with all manner of \* Intemperance had debauch'd their bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the † Gravity of their own Sex, appeased the Demons [by] suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawful \* mixtures with

Horrible. women, and adulteries, and other † obscene and

infamous facts were committed in that Temple, \* as in a place that was lawless and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But the impieties committed there could not lie concealed from this great Emperour also. But when he Himself had look'd into them with the Eye of Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of [being enlightened] with the Rays of the Sun.

Wherefore, he orders it to be totally demolished, together with its Statues and consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the \* Engines of this impudent and libidinous error were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a company of Soldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, being fear'd by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned Modesty: as likewise did those superstitious Heathens, that in their own opinion seemed very wise; who even themselves truly and experimentally underfooted their own vanity and folly.

# CHAP. LVI.

*The Demolishment of Æsculapius's Temple at Agæ.*

FOR, whereas the [superstitious] error of those thought to be wise, was great and much talk'd of, in reference to that *Dæmon* of *Cilicia*; almost infinite numbers of men highly admiring him as a Saviour and a Physician; in regard he sometimes appeared \* to those who slept in his Temple, at others, healed the diseases of them that were infirm in their bodies: (nevertheless, he was a manifest Destroyer of souls, a Seducer of Men from the true Saviour, one that drew off such as could easily be imposed upon, to the error of impiety: the Emperour \* behaving himself according to his wonted manner, (for he had proposed the jealous God and true Saviour as the object of his adoration,) ordered this Temple also to be pulled down to the very ground. Presently therefore, at one nod of the Emperour's, [this Temple, which was] a wonder cryed up amongst the \* noble Philosophers, lay flat on the ground, being ruin'd to sleep in a Temple.

This was an usage of the Heathens, to lodge all night in the Temple, expecting Dreams and Cures from their Gods. Of which thing innumerable instances occur in ancient Writers, but especially in *Aristides*, in his *Orations Sacrae*. The Latines termed it *incubare*. Plautus's words in his *Curelata* are these; *Ido sit, quia hic Leno ægerius incubat in Æsculapii fano*. Solinus, chap. 7. *Epidauri deus est Æsculapii sacellum, cui incubantur*, &c. See Saint Jerom on the 65th chap. of *Isaiah*, vers. 4. Valef.

\* *Εἰς τὴν δὲ ἀγῶνιν*. Christophorus in referring these words to Æsculapius, whereas they are spoken of the Emperour Constantine, as I have express'd it in my Version. 'Tis certain, in the *Fuketian* and *Turnebian Copies* the reading is *ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῆς ἀγῶνιν*, the Emperour behaving, &c. Valef.

\* He means Apollonius Tyanæus, concerning whom *Philostratus* relates in his first book, that he was a long time resident in the Temple of Æsculapius at Agæ, as the Guest of that very God. Valef.

nered by a Company of Soldiers; and [together with the Temple] <sup>a</sup> He that lay lurking in it, who was not a *Demon*, nor a God, excellent but a Seducer of souls, one who for an exceeding long space of time had led men into error. Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamities, was not able to find out a remedy in order to his own preservation; no more than when he was struck with thunder (as we are told in the Fables). But the Actions of \* Our Emperor, being such as were highly acceptable to God, were not in like manner fabulous; but by the manifest power of Our Saviour himself, this Temple that in that place was so utterly ruined [together with Copy pla- others,] that not the least footstep of the forces a full mer madness was left remaining there, point.

Then, it has the following passage worded in this manner; *ὅτι ἡ ἐκδομὴ αὐτὴ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἱερὲι τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῷ δαίμονι, ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ θεῷ.* Because it was manifest from the facts, that no *Demon* lay lurking within it; nor a God; but a deceiver of souls, who for an exceeding long, &c. The four last words [*ἐν τῷ θεῷ*] which are wanting in the ordinary Editions, Turnebus had likewise added at the margin of his book, from a Manuscript Copy. Presently, where the reading in the common Editions is, *ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐκδομὴ ἀποδοξάσθη*, &c. Thus therefore he, who promised that he would free others from their illnesses, &c. the Fukeian Copy has it thus written, *ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἐκδομὴ ἀποδοξάσθη ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἀσθενέσιν, καὶ ἐν τοῖς κακοῖς τοῖς ἀνθρώποις*, &c. For he who had promised that he would free others from their illnesses and calamity, himself found nothing for his own defence. Which reading seems to me fitter and better. In the Kings Sheets also I found it written *ἐν τῷ θεῷ*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *ἐκδομὴ αὐτὴ*. The last word is wanting in the Kings Copy, and may perhaps be understood. But the other Copies acknowledge it. In the close of this chapter, instead of *ἀντιπρὸς τῷ θεῷ*, the Fukeian Copy has *ἀντιπρὸς τῷ θεῷ*. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> The story is this, that *Æsculapius*, by the entreaty of *Diana*, restored to Life *Hippolytus* who had been torn in pieces by horses; whereat *Jupiter* being angry, killed him with Thunder.

## CHAP. LVII.

*How the Heathens having rejected their Idols, returned to the knowledge of God.*

Whatever persons therefore had heretofore been addicted to the superstitious worship of *Demons*, when with their own eyes they saw their own error confuted, and actually beheld the Ruine of the Temples and Images in all places, some of them came over to the salutary Doctrine of Christ: but others, although they refused to do that, yet condemned the vanity of their forefathers, and laugh at and derided those which by them had heretofore been accounted Gods. And indeed, how could they forbear having such thoughts as these, when under an external beauty and splendour of the Images, they saw so much filth and impurity lic concealed within? For either the Bones of dead Bodies, and dry skulls \* stola by the frauds of Conjurors, were within them: or else, nasty rags and clouts stuff with abominable filth; or lastly a bundle of hay and straw. Which after they beheld heaped together and saw within their senseless images, they blamed both their own and their fathers extreme folly of

<sup>a</sup> *τοῖς ὀστέων*. Inhabitable filth; or lastly a bundle of hay and straw. Which after they beheld heaped together and saw within their senseless images, they blamed both their own and their fathers extreme folly of written *ἐκδομὴ αὐτὴ*. Which word *Christophorus* renders thus, *calve prelati* *caporum* *delat* *calide* *obscure*, skulls *carefully* covered by the frauds of Conjurors. Which translation I approve not of; and had rather render it *subprece*, *stola*, or else *adornate* & *adorned* *comparat*, *enimvero* and *made ready* for *mischievous* *Fabls*. For Bones and Skulls are the instruments of Conjurors, whereof they made use in order to their mischievous acts. Valef.

mind; especially when they perceived, that within those their \* *Adyta*, and within the Images themselves, there was no Inhabitant, no *Demon*, no Utterer of Oracles, no God, no Prophet, as they had before perwaded themselves; no not so much as an impotent or obscure phantom, and therefore every dark Cavern, and every secret Recefs was readily opened to those sent by the Emperor: the *Adyta* also, and places before inaccessible, as likewise the inmost parts of the Temples, were trodden by the feet of the Soldiers. So that, hereby was discovered and exposed to publick view that blindness of mind, wherein all the Heathens had for so long a time been kept involved.

*Χρηστωδὸς, ὁ δαίμων, ὁ θεὸς, ὁ ὑποφωτιστὴς τῶν προφητῶν*: which I do indeed like better. Valef.

## CHAP. LVIII.

*That having demolished Venus's Temple at Heliopolis, He was the first who built a Church there.*

AND these things may deservedly be recounted amongst the Emperor's famous Actions; as likewise those matters particularly constituted by him in several Provinces. Of which sort is that [which we have been performed by him] at *Heliopolis* a City of Phœnicie, in which City the Heathens who honoured obscene Lust with the appellation [of the Goddess *Venus*,] permitted their wives and daughters to commit whoredom with impunity. But now a new and modest Law is issued out from the Emperor, whereby 'tis cautioned, that no one of those usages heretofore common amongst them, shall in future be in any wise audaciously practised. And to these persons he again transmitted instructions in writing; for he \* appointed by God for this reason chiefly, that he might instruct all men in the Laws of Temperance. Wherefore, he accounted it not a thing below himself, to Preach even to these persons by his own Letters, and to exhort them to hasten to the knowledge of God. And in that place Copy and he added works consonant to his words, erecting even amongst them a most spacious Church with the Edifices belonging thereto. In so much that, what had no where been considered, heard of by any preceding age whatever, whether

better read *ἀντιπρὸς τῷ θεῷ*, in the first place. But, whereas the Turnebus, Savilian, and Fukeian Manuscripts do defend the writing of the Geneva Edition, I am of opinion, that it is to be retained. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *ὅσον ἐκτίθειον ἐκκλησίας ἢ μνησίων* I doubt not but it should be written *ὅσον ἐκτίθειον ἐκκλησίας, ἢ μνησίων*. For so Eusebius is wont to express himself, as I have remarked above. And by *ἐκτίθειον* he means *Basilicum*, a Church; but by *μνησίων* he means the whole compass or inclosure of the Church, that is, the Porch, *Arxum*, *Court*, *Porticus*, *Exedra*, *Baptisteries*, and the other Edifices which are meant to be annexed to Churches. In the Fukeian Copy the reading is *ὅσον ἐκτίθειον ἐκκλησίας μνησίων*. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> As any one may, not without reason, wonder, why Eusebius should say it was a thing unheard of by all ages, that a City addicted to the superstitious worship of *Demons*, should receive a Church and a Bishop. For that had happened to other Cities also at that time. But perhaps Eusebius means, that this was a thing new and unheard-of, that

Church of God had been built in that City, wherein as yet there was no *Christians*, but all persons equally adored Idols. This Church therefore was built by *Constantine* at *Heliopolis*, in hope rather than for necessity; to wit, that he might invite all the Citizens to the profession of the Christian Religion. A little after, the reading in the *Fædian Manuscript* is *Εἰς τὴν πόλιν*, truer than in the ordinary Editions, were 'tis *ἔξω*. *Vale*.

was then first of all really compleated; and a City of Men addited to the superstitious worship of *Dæmons*, was vouchsafed a Church of God, and Presbyters and Deacons; and a Bishop consecrated to the supream God, presided over the inhabitants of that place. Moreover, the Emperour taking great care that many persons might come over to the faith of Christ, made large distributions there, in order to the relief of the poor: and in this wise he perswaded and invited men to the salutary Doctrine, in a manner uttering those very words spoken by Saint Paul: \* whether in pretence, or in truth, Christ is preached.

## CHAP. LIX.

*Concerning the disturbance raised at Antioch  
on Eulathius's account.*

BUT, whilst all persons passed their lives in the greatest joy imaginable on account of these [Blessings,] and the Church of God was all manner of ways exalted amongst all Nations every where; the envy [of the Devil,] who is always contriving Plots against the Good, began again to make an insurrection against this to great a prosperity of our affairs: supposing, that the Emperor, † exasperated at our disturbances and incencies, would in future have his affection towards us alienated. Having therefore kindled a great fire, he || filled the Churches of *Antioch* with Tragical Calamities: in so much that, there wanted but little of the whole

anted but little of the whole City's being utterly subverted. \* For the people of the Church were divided into two Factions; and the Commonalty of the City in an hostile manner were so highly enraged, against the Magistrates themselves, and themselves, that they were just upon the point of drawing their Swords, had not the providence of God, and the fear of the Emperor, repress the violence of their multitude. And here the clemency of the Emperor, like a Saviour and Physician of Souls, did again by discourse administer a Cure to those disaffected. For he discomfited a way thither one

of those about him, whom he had had trial of, a person honoured with the dignity of a *Comes*, a Man eminently crafty and faithful; [by whom he spake] to those people in a most gracious manner. And by Letter after Letter he exhorted them to entertain thoughts of Peace; and taught them to practise such things as were agreeable to the divine Religion. And at length he prevailed with them; and executed them

in those Letters he wrote to them, affirming that he himself had publicly heard <sup>c</sup> him who had been the occasioner of that Tumult. and <sup>e</sup> these Letters of his, which were filled with no ordinary Learning and Utility, I had inserted at this place, had they not set a Brand of infamy on the persons <sup>f</sup> guilty. Wherefore I will at present omit them, being resolved not to renew the memory of mischiefs: and will only annex those Letters to this Work, which he wrote to <sup>g</sup> express the joy and satisfaction of his own mind in reference to the Peace and agreement of others. In which Letters he entreats them that they would not in any wise challenge to themselves the Prelate of another place, by whose intervention they had made up a Peace amongst themselves; but that, agreeable to the Canon of the Church, they should rather choose him Bishop, whom <sup>h</sup> [our Lord] himself, the Common Saviour of all, should design [for that office.] He writes therefore, both to the People, and also to the Bishops, severally, these following [Letters.]

*Antioch.* This happened on the year of Christ 329, (as may apparently be gathered from *Philostorgius's* second Book, 3.) or on the year 330, as *Theodoret* seems to assert, book 2. chap. 31. For his writings, that *Meletius* was translated to the See of *Antioch* after *Eusebius's* Deposition, is manifest. 'Tis manifest that *Meletius* was translated to *Antioch* on the year of Christ 360. Wherefore, I can't assent to the most illudicrous Cardinal *Baronius*, who being always angry with our *Eusebius*, whilst he refuses to follow his account, hath condemned all things. For he says that this Tumult hapned at *Antioch* : whereas *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret* do attest, that this Tumult had hapned at the deposition of this *Eusebius*. But *Baronius* proves by most evident arguments, as he himself supposes, that *Eusebius* was ejected out of the See of *Antioch*, not under the Reign of the Emperor *Constantine*, but in that of *Constantinus*. Let us see therefore, with what arguments he endeavours to make this out. In the first place he cites a passage out of *Athanasius's* Epistle ad solitarios, about the beginning. *Fuit, says he, quidam Eusebius Episcopus Antiochie, &c. There was one Eulitius Bishop of Antioch, a person famous for confession, &c. whom the men of the Arian Opinion had deposed to Constantius by a forged calumny in such a manner, as if he had been contentious towards the Emperors Mother.* But I affirm, that in this passage of *Athanasius* instead of *Constantius*, *Constantine* is to be written. Which emendation is confirmed by those words immediately added concerning the Emperor's Mother. For he means *Helen*, who about this time had come into the East. For these words can't in any wise be meant of *Faulx*, who had been put to death about twenty years before, if we follow *Baronius's* computation. But the passage of *Saint Jerome*, out of his book de *Scripturis Ecclesiasticis*, makes little for *Baronius*, in regard in the Old Editions, as also in that of *Lions* which I have, 'tis plainly written, *sub Constantino Principe missus est in exilium, was sent into Exile under the Emperor Constantine.* Wherefore, I had rather follow *Eusebius* here, than *Baronius*. Nor do I see, how so great fits could have been made at the Creation of *Eusebius's*, (of which fits there is mention in the Emperor *Constantine's* Letter,) that to appease them, a *Comes* was to be sent, and so many Letters written by the Emperor. Besides, *Constantine* says in his Letter, that he had publicly heard him who had been the Author of that wretched Sedition, to wit, *Eusebius*, whom he had ordered to come to Court, and he banished him into *Thracia*. And this *Constantinus* in his before-mentioned letter, accounts as the first exploit of the *Arians*, which thing is to be remarked. For this was done before the *Synod of Tyre*, which was convened against *Athanasius*, that is before the year of Christ 334. *Athanasius* therefore does get the right in beginning the History of the War which the *Arians* bore against the Catholic Church, from *Eusebius's* deposition, as from the first Exploit of the *Arians* : which having succeeded according to the wish, they thought that all other matters would in future be ready to ensue. Further, *Baronius's* Opinion is refuted as well from what we have laid above, as from this, because *Flaccius* (who after *Paulinus* and *Enlilus* succeeded *Eusebius*.) is mentioned amongst those Bishops present at the *Synod at Tyre*, by *Athanasius* in his Apology to the Emperor *Constantius* ; as *Jacobus Gorbosius* has well observed in his Dissertations on the second book of *Philostorgius*. Vale.

It must be ἐκινυμένῳ, as *Christophorus* seems to have read; and we have rendered it accordingly: *Valete*



\* *Deceat me of and keep the divine* \* Dogmata; so that, I  
† Or, Law. as to what relates to the Common † Faith, one  
sort of Persons are in nobling inferior to another.

\* These words may be referred  
to the preceding period. And so  
after the verb ἀπομαρτυρεῖσθαι a full  
point is to be let, and the place  
read thus: So that some per-  
sons (as to what relates to the  
Common Faith), are in no wise  
inferior to others, if we should  
plainly speak the truth. Where-  
fore this is not to detain a man,  
but to take him away by force, &c.  
And thus this place is pointed in  
the Old Sheets. Valef.  
\* Or, Multitudes.

gives Occasion for an Accusation, and does  
raise the disturbance of no small tumult. For,  
even Lambs do shew the force and strength of  
their Teeth, as often as (the usual care and Con-  
cern of their Shepherd for them growing more  
remiss,) they perceive themselves deprived of  
their former guidance and looking to. Now, if  
these things be thus, and if we are not mistaken;  
in the first place, Brethren, consider this. (For  
many, and those great advantages will offer them-  
selves to you even at the very beginning.) First  
|| Or, In. of all [I say consider this;] whether the || af-  
fection and love you have one towards ano-  
ther will not be sensible of some abatement of it  
self. Then [weigh this also,] that that person who

† From these words it may be  
gathered, that our Eusebius had  
come to Antioch together with  
the rest of the Bishops, who in  
a Synod had condemned Eusa-  
bius Bishop of Antioch: and that  
the Antiochians, after Eusebius's  
deposition, had a mind to keep  
him with them. This is what  
Constantine has said above, ἡ  
ἐκείνων, ἀλλ' ἀπολείπει μὴδ' αὖτε  
this is not a detestation, but rather  
the taking away of a Man by vio-  
lence. Theodoret tells us the same,  
book i. chap. 21. Valef.

\* Or, Provity.  
† Or, τὸν ὁμοῦτον οὐκ ἐκείνων.  
I think it must be written τὸν  
ὁμοῦτον, &c. For the verb ἀπο-  
λείπει, is to be understood in  
common. But if any one has a  
mind to defend the common  
reading, I shall not much resist him.  
† Or, Unjust.

\* καὶ τὴν  
τὴν διαπο- \* Knock-  
νῶν οὐκ- ing, or,  
κείνων, beating to-  
and from gether.  
the compa-  
ring of se-  
veral per-  
sons to-  
gether. It  
with good  
doubtless  
to be bet-  
ter read thus, τὴν τὴν διαπορῶν οὐκ ἐκείνων; that is, from the col-  
lision of many Men, sparks and flames are usually raised. The Eusebian  
Copy hath at length confirmed our conjecture to us; wherein I found  
it plainly written οὐκ ἐκείνων. Valef.

\* Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβησαν ἡμεῖς. Christophorus renders this  
place thus: Ex quo portu sordibus seditionis præterite cunctis, pacato  
mentis statu concordiam in eorum locum inducite: Out of which port  
having ejected the filth of your past Sedition, in place thereof do you  
bring in Concord with a calm temper of mind. But in this Version, there  
are many things which I can't approve of. For first, I am not pleas'd  
with his making οὐρανὸν ἀνέβησαν to mean the filth of Sedition. In my  
judgment Constantine seems to hint at that cause, on account where-  
of Eusebius had been deposed; to wit, the debauching of a certain

woman; concerning which whoredome consult Theodoret, book i.  
chap. 21. The same thing is likewise intimated by Constantine a little  
after this, where he says, αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν αὐτὴν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβησαν  
ἀφ' ἧς ἀνέβησαν. That is, For, whatever could any way defile the  
vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. At which place nevertheless  
Christophorus does again render it the filth of Sedition. But, how  
filth can be a term properly used in reference to Sedition I can't in-  
deed perceive. But no body can doubt, but it may be very properly  
spoken in reference to that incontinency wherewith Eusebius was  
charged. There is a Metaphor here, taken from Ports, which are  
wont to be cleaned, as often as they are stop't up with sand, mud, or  
such like filth. Now, those words Εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνέβησαν, one note:  
May I so please God, says Constantine, as I Love you, and the port of  
your Love, after having cast out that filth you have brought in Con-  
cord with good Morals. Indeed, this meaning pleases me much better  
than the common reading. For now the Antiochians were quiet, and  
the Sedition was appeased, at such time as Constantine wrote this Letter;  
as 'tis apparent from its beginning. Valef.

v Steering a prosperous course to the Light it self, † Διέλευ-  
with Rudders of Iron, as one may say. Where-τὴν ἡγεῖται  
fore, † convey on Board your Ship the incorrupti-τὴν φε-  
ble Cargo. For whatever could anyway defile the ἀκαταμίαν  
Vessel, is drawn out by the Pump as 'twere. Steering a  
Now therefore, use your utmost endeavours, that course  
your enjoyment \* of all these Blessings may be such, the Light  
as you may not a second time seem, either to have it self. I  
determined any thing at all, with an inconsiderate \* think it  
and unprofitable desire, or from the beginning to must be  
have attempted what is disagreeable. God keep you, καὶ εὖ  
Beloved Brethren!

For 'tis a Metaphor taken from Navigation. In Sepacles, ἡ ἐκείνη πλοῦς  
is used to signify a happy Voyage by Sea; and a Ship which Sails with a  
prosperous gale of Wind, is by Grecians termed ἀναδεδειγμένη ναῦς.  
Valef.

† Τὸν ἀποδύοντες ὁμοῦτον ἡμεῖς. This whole Letter is in many  
places faulty; but especially this clause does abound with mistakes.  
For, what is the meaning of these words? I doubt not but it must  
be read thus, ἀποδύοντες ὁμοῦτον ἡμεῖς, convey on Board, &c. Constantine  
does here make use of a continued Metaphor taken from Naviga-  
tion, and compares Christians to Merchants who make Voyages on  
account of Trade. Sail on, says he, with a prosperous Course  
to the eternal Light, having erected the Flag of the Cross in your Ships,  
and carry on Board your Vessel the incorruptible Goods. For now, what-  
ever could have endangered the Ship, is Pump'd out. Thus by  
making a small, and in a manner no alteration, the meaning does now  
appear elegant and plain. Valef.

\* Τὸ ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν. It must, I think, be written in one word, ἡμε-  
ῖς ἀνέβησαν; as Sir Henry Savil had mended it in his Copy. In the Euse-  
bian Copy the reading is ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν. The close of this  
Letter, is in my judgement thus to be reitored: ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν ὁμοῦτον  
ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν ὁμοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν. Which reading I  
have followed in my Version. Constantine terms the desire which the  
Antiochians had manifested towards Eusebius, when they coveted him  
to be their Bishop, ἀνέβησαν ὁμοῦτον, an inconsiderate desire. The  
affection of the Antiochians towards Eusebius may also be meant;  
at whose deposition they were vext, and had raised a Sedition. In the  
Euseb. Sav. and Turneb. Copies, this place is written thus, ἡμε-  
ῖς ἀνέβησαν ὁμοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν. But the reading is plainer  
which we found in the Old Sheets, ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν ὁμοῦτον ἡμεῖς ἀνέβησαν.  
Valef.



## C H A P. LXI.

*Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, wherein he commends Him for His Refusal of [the See of] Antioch.*

<sup>a</sup> This Title was written by  
The Emperour's Letter <sup>a</sup> to Us, after our Refusal of the Bishoprick of Antioch.

Eusebius himself, as 'tis apparent. For He himself says concerning himself, *meis huais, to us*. Wherefore, there was no need of any other Title. Further, hence it may be plainly gathered, that *these Books* were written by Eusebius Bishop of Caesarea. Which, notwithstanding it may be proved by innumerable arguments and testimonies; yet I wonder at James Grotius, who has been so bold as to deny it. In the *Fuketian Copy*, which has the Contents or Titles prefixed before every Chapter, these words are wanting. But in the *Kings Sheets* they are written at the margin. *Valf.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

**I** Have perused your Letter very often; and have found that you do most exactly observe the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline. For, to persist in those Sentiments which appear both acceptable to God, and agreeable to Apostolick Tradition, is an eminent degree of Piety. You may account your self blessed even in this very thing, because by the testimony of, the whole World, as I may say, you have been judged worthy to be Bishop over the whole Church. For, whereas all persons desire you to be [Bishop] amongst them, without question they increase this your Felicity. But Your prudence (which hath resolved to observe the commands of God, and the Apostolick Canon, and that of the Church,) has acquitted it self incomparably well, in regard it hath refused the Bishoprick of the Church at Antioch; and hath endeavoured to continue in that See rather, the presidency over which by the will of God it had at first undertaken. Further, concerning this matter I have written a Letter to the People, and to those other Persons your Colleagues, who also themselves wrote to me in relation to the same affairs. Which

<sup>b</sup> *Baronius* (at the year of our Lord 324, Number 145), expounds these words thus, *Constantine*, says he, *terms the care of the Antiochian Church the Bishoprick of the whole Church; because Antioch was the Metropolis of all the East*. But, with the favour of that great person be it spoken, there seems to be another sense of these words. For whereas all Cities were desirous of having Eusebius their Bishop, as *Constantine* attests a little after, Eusebius was by the consent of all worthy of the Episcopate of the whole World. *Valf.*

<sup>c</sup> *Hyar* *tas* *te* *eslods*. In the *Fuketian Copy* and that of Sir Henry Savil, the reading is *eslods tas* *te* *eslods*. I should choose to write *tas* *te* *eslods*, &c. which hath, &c. A little before, where the reading is *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies* add *tas* *te* *eslods*, in an eminent degree of piety. *Valf.*

<sup>d</sup> *Or*, *Letters when Your Holiness shall have perused, it will easily understand, that, because Justice seemed to Resist them, I have written unto them by Prudence also to be present at their Council to the end this very thing may be constituted in the Church of Antioch. God keep you, Beloved Brother.*

## C H A P. LXII.

*Constantine's Letter to the Synod, that Eusebius should not be drawn away from Caesarea.*

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Theodotus, Theodorus, Narcissus, <sup>a</sup> *Theo-*  
<sup>b</sup> *odotus* *was* *Bishop of*  
*Laodicea* *in Syria;*  
*Aetius, Alpheus,* and to the rest of the Bishops which are at Antioch.

*Narcissus* was Bishop of *Neonades* in *Cilicia*; *Aetius* was Bishop of *Lydda* in *Palestine*: all Favourers of the *arian Party*. Who, when they were come to Antioch, together with Eusebius Bishop of *Nicomedia*, and Eusebius *Caesariensis*, deplored Eusebius, as Theodoret relates *Eccles. Hist.* book 1. chap. 21. But Aetius betook himself afterwards to the side of the Orthodox, as *Philostorgius* attests, book 3. chap. 12. and also *Athanafius*. Now, Alpheus Bishop of *Apamea* in *Syria*, and lastly Theodorus Prælate of *Sidon* in *Phœnice* are named amongst the Bishops who subscribed to the Nicene Synod. Concerning Theodorus, *Athanafius* speaks also, in his book de *Synodis Arimini* & *Seleuciæ* *Valf.*

**I** Have read the Letter written by Your Prudence, and do highly commend the wise resolution of Your Colleague Eusebius. And when I had perfectly understood all transactions, partly from Your Letter, and partly from that of the Most Perfect Acacius and Stratagem [the Comites], and had made a due inspection into the thing; I wrote to the People of Antioch, and besetting the Church. A Copy of which Letter I have ordered to be annexed hereto, to the end you also might know, what I, invited thereto by the way of Right, had ordered to be written to the People [of Antioch:] in as much as this was contained in Your Letter, that according to the suffrage of the People and the desire of Your Prudence, Eusebius the Most Holy Bishop of the Church of Caesarea might preside over the Antiochian Church, and undertake the care thereof. Indeed, Eusebius's Letter appeared highly obnoxious to the Ecclesiastick Canon: but his meekness was that Our Sentiment also should be named called unto Your Prudence. For, it has been related to me, that Euphronius a Presbyter, who is a Citizen of Caesarea in Cappadocia, and Georgius have made several

marks in my Notes on the 15th Book of *Anm. Marcellinus*, pag. 59. He had been sent to Antioch by the Emperor Constantine, to appease the tumult there, as Eusebius has said above; see chap. 59. *Valf.*

<sup>c</sup> *Pezarus* *was*, I had rather write *eslods*. *Valf.*

<sup>d</sup> *Pezarus* *was*, the prudence of your desire. I would more willingly read *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, the desire of your prudence. Further, from these words (which are ill understood by *Christophorus*) it appears, that the Bishops who had been convened at Antioch, had by their Letter requested of Constantine, that according to the desire of the Antiochian People, and themselves, Eusebius might be translated to the See of Antioch. Therefore those words, *tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, *tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, are taken out of the Letter of the Bishops convened at Antioch, which they sent to the Emperor Constantine. *Valf.*

<sup>e</sup> *Tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*. I am not displeased with the conjecture of Learned Men, who have mended it to *tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, &c. Indeed Eusebius's, &c. The place might likewise have been restored thus, *tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*, &c. But the former reading is confirmed by the authority of the *Fuketian* and *Savilian Copies*. Only the positive Article *d* is to be expunged, which occurs not in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Valf.*

<sup>f</sup> *Apixtas* *tas* *te* *eslods*. In the *Fuketian* and Sir Henry Savil's Copy the reading of this place runs thus: *apixtas* *tas* *te* *eslods* *tas* *te* *eslods*. For it hapned that there have come to me Euphronius, &c. which reading *Christophorus* has followed. But the common reading is far better *apixtas* *tas* *te* *eslods*, that is, I have been given to understand, as *Musculus* renders it, or, it has been told me. *Valf.*

<sup>g</sup> *Esylod* *tas* *te* *eslods*. Understand *tas* *te* *eslods*, a Citizen; which word *Christophorus* perceived not to be to be repeated in common. Now, *tas* *te* *eslods* does not only signify a person born in some City, but rather such a one as has his residence in a City, and is enrolled amongst the Citizens, a better he may have been born there, or elsewhere. *Valf.*

[a Citi-

[a Citizen] of Arethusa, a Presbyter also whom Alexander preferred to this dignity in the City Alexandria.) are most approved Persons in reference to the Faith. It seemed good therefore, to give Your Prudence notice of Arimæus these Men, that having proposed them, and Seleucus; some others, whom You shall judge fit for the dignity of the Episcopate. You may determine such things as may be agreeable to the Tradition of the Apostles. For such matters as these having been well prepared and ordered, Your Prudence will be able so to direct this Election according to the Canon of the Church and Apostolick Tradition, as the Rule of Ecclesiastick discipline does require. God keep you, Beloved Brethren!

by Alexander Bishop of Alexandria; but was afterwards deposed by the same Alexander because of his impiety. In his Apologetick also against Constantius, pag. 728; he writes that the same Person was deposed by Alexander, which very thing is plainly confirmed by the Fathers of the Sardian Council in their Synodick Letter. The same Athanasius, in the same Book de Synodis pag. 886, attests that this George resided at Antioch. Further, from the Kings Sheets I have pointed this place thus; ἐν οὗτῳ τῷ γεωργίῳ τῷ ἀντιόχειῳ ἐν ἀλεξάνδρῃ κατακίετο, ὃν τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκατέστη, whom Alexander, &c. and so Musculus points the place. Valef.

This place seems to me to be imperfect, which is in my judgment thus to be made good: καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ αὐτῇ τῇ αὐτῇ, ὅπως ὁ γεωργίῳ τῷ τῷ ὁ ὁ ὁ, &c. which reading I have followed in my Version. By τῷ τῷ, whom Men here mean the foreaid Euphrasius and Georgius. Of whom Euphrasius was afterwards Bishop of Antioch, and immediate successor to Eustathius; as Socrates and Sozomen do relate, and also Theodorus Mopsuestenus in Nicetas's Thebaisius Orthodoxos fides. But this Georgius was, as I have said, afterwards Bishop of Laodicea. In the Fukeian C. p. the reading is τῷ τῷ γεωργίῳ. Further, 'tis to be noted, that Men who were Ariani, are here by Constantine commended for Persons that were Orthodox; either because as yet they concealed their Heresie, or else in regard the Arians had posset themselves of the Emperour's ear and mind. Valef.

Christophorus perceived nothing here. The term γεωργίῳ in elections imports thus much, I propose or publicly to produce the name of some Person, that it may be inquired whether he be worthy of that Office, the debate about which is in agitation. Which very thing Constantine in his Letter to the People of Antioch expresses by the verb ἀγίζω. The γεωργίῳ was followed by an Examination, then the Election, and last of all the Ordination or Consecration. See Socrates's Eccles. Hist. book 1. chap. 9. note (f.) Valef.

## CHAP. LXIII.

In what manner He endeavoured to destroy Heresies.

SUCH were the admonitions [which the Emperour gave] to the [Prelates] of the Churches, [advising them to do all things] in order to the glory and commendation of the Divine Religion. But after he had made a riddance of all dissensions, and had reduced the Church of God to an agreement and Harmony of Doctrine; He past from thence, and was of opinion, that another sort of impious Persons were to be suppressed and destroyed, in regard they were the Poison of Mankind. There were a sort of pernicious Men, who under the specious disguise of Modesty and Gravity ruined the Cities. Whom our Savior somewhere terms false Prophets or ravenous Wolves, in these words: \* Beware of false Prophets which come to you in sheeps clothing, but inwardly they are ravenous wolves. Ye shall know them by their fruits. By the transmission of a precept therefore to the Presidents of Provinces, He put to flight the whole Tribe of these sort of Persons.

But besides this Law, the Emperour composed an enlivening. \* Exhortation, directed to them by name; wherein he incited those Men to hasten their repentance: For [he told them] that the Church of God would be to them a Port of safety. But, hear in what manner He discoursed even to these Persons, in his Letter to them.

he Preaches.

## CHAP. LXIV.

Constantine's Constitution against the Hereticks.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS;  
To the Hereticks.

A Knowledge now by the benefit of this Law, (O ye Novatianists, Valentinians, Marcionists, Paulians; and you who are termed Catharygæ; in a word, all of you, who by your private Meetings, breed and \* compass Heresies!) in how many Lies the vanity of your Opinions Perfect is wrapt up; and in what manner your Doctrine is compounded of certain pernicious Poisons: in so much that, by you the healthy are reduced to weakness, and the living to a perpetual death: Tell Contemners of Truth, ye Adversaries of Life, and ye Counsellors of destruction! All things amongst you are contrary to Truth; agreeable to filthy impieties; \* suff with abjurdities and fictions: whereby you compose Lyes, afflict the Innocent, and deny Believers the light. And, sinning continually under a Mask of Divinity, you defile all things! Ye wound the innocent and pure consciences

[of Men] with blows that are mortal and deadly; and ye ravish even the day it self (I had almost said,) from the eyes of Men. But what necessity is there of recounting every particular? Especially, since neither the shortness of the time, nor the urgency of Our Affairs will suffer Us to speak concerning your \* Crimes according as they deserve. For, your impieties are so large and immense, so filthy and full of all manner of outrageousness, that a whole day would not be sufficient for a description of them. And besides, 'tis fit we should remove our ears and turn away our eyes from things of this nature, least by a particular declaration of them, the pure and sincere \* alacrity of Our Faith should be defiled. What reason is Activity, there then that We should any longer tolerate such Mischiefs? Especially since Our long forbearance is the cause, that even those who are found, become \* infected with this pestilential distemper as were. Why therefore do we not immediately cut off the roots (as we may so term them) of such a mischief by a public animadversion?

In the Fuke, Savil, and Turneb. Copies, the reading is ὑποβιβάζω, delay. A little after, from the Fukeian Copy I write ἀποκαταστήσει, by a public animadversion. Valef. In Robert Stephens's (it is known that We should any longer tolerate such Mischiefs? Especially since Our long forbearance is the cause, that even those who are found, become infected with this pestilential distemper as were. Why therefore do we not immediately cut off the roots (as we may so term them) of such a mischief by a public animadversion?)



These therefore, returning in Troops from some Foreign Region as 'twere, recovered their own Country again, and acknowledged their Mother the Church. From which having strayed, after a long interval of time they made their return to \* Her with a gladness and joy.

\* The Church.

Thus the members of the whole Body were united one with another by one common Band, and grew together into one Frame. And the one and only Catholick Church of God, † fitly cohering with it self, darted forth its Rays of Light; no congregation either of Hereticks or Schismatics being left remaining in any part of the Earth. To the performance

of which † singular and great Action, Our Emperour (the only Person car'd for and respected by God, amongst all those that had ever sway'd the Imperial Sceptre,) entitled Himself.

out, because it disturbs the sense; unless you take it to signify singular, or *Eximius*. Further *Christophorus* has translated this place otherwise. For thus he renders it; *cujus præclari facinoris causam Imperator Deo acceptam plane r-tulit, the cause of which famous Action the Emperour plainly ascribed to God as acceptable to him*. Nor does *Musculus* render it otherwise. But I have interpreted these words [*τῆς αἰτίας τῆς ἐξουσίας*], or rather, [*ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας*] concerning *Constantine Himself*; that is, *The Emperour was the Author of this glorious action*. *Johannes Portesius* also, the fifth Translator of these Books, renders this place in the same manner. For thus his Version runs; *Id verò unicuique ab orbe condito factum, homini deus tutelæ præclaræ, cum acceptum etiam relatum est. Vale.*

† Καὶ τὸ  
τὸ δὲ μὲν  
The word  
johs must  
be blotted

*The End of the Third Book.*



pag. 406, this old Inscription occurs: *E. L. EUGENIO V. C. EXPRÆFECTO PRÆT. CONSULI ORDINARIO DESIGNATO. MAGISTRO OFFICIORUM OMNIUM. COMITI DOMESTICO ORDINIS PRIMI, &c* Concerning the same *Comites Domestici*, there is another Old Inscription extant in the House of the Barberini, worth the setting down here. *M. NUMMIO. ALBINO. V. C. QUÆSTORI CANDIDATO. PRÆTORI. URB. COMITI DOMESTICO ORDINIS. PRIMÆ ET CONSULI. ORDINARIO. ITERUM NUMMIUS. SECUNDUS. EJUS.* This *Nummius Albinus* was Consul the second time and *Præfect* of the City in the times of *Gallienus*, as 'tis manifest from the Fasti, and from the Old Book of *Præfecti Urbis*. Whence it may be concluded, that this dignity of the Comes of the first and second Order or Rank, was not first instituted by *Constantine*, as *Cujacius* thought in his Notes on *Instituti-Valf's* Code; but that it was in use long before *Constantine's* time.

CHAP. II. A Remission of the fourth part of the \* Census.

BUT, with what earnestness he endeavoured, that all mankind in general might lead joyful and pleasant Lives, may be perceived even from this one instance, which being highly advantageous to the Life of men, and extended to all persons in general, is even at this very present highly celebrated in the mouths of all. Having abated a fourth part of those annual Tributes which were paid for Land, he bestowed it upon the Owners of the Grounds: so that, if you compute the sum of this annual abatement, it will appear, that every fourth year the Occupiers of the Fruits are free from the payment of Tribute. Which thing being || past into a Law, and confirmed for the time to come, not only to those of the present age, but to their children, and the successors of them, made the Emperour's Beneficence indelible and perpetual.

Tis my Sentiment that the words are transposed here; and that at this place we should read, *τὸ τ' ἀγρῶν δικήσας*, the Occupiers of the Grounds: and above, *τῶν τ' ἀγρῶν δαπάνης*, upon the Owners of the fruits. Turnebus at the margin of his Copy, instead of *δικήσας* Occupiers, has made it *κλήσας*, Possessors. Or at least it must (says he) be written, *τ' ἡσπῶν δικήσας*, the Occupiers of the places or Farms. Valf.

CHAP. III. The \* Peraquation of those Census that were too heavy and burthensome.

BUT, whereas some persons found fault with those Surveys of Land, which had been made by the former Emperours, and complained that their own Grounds were too much oppressed; here also [the Emperour in obedience] to the Laws of justice, dispatch'd away *Peraquatores*, who might free the Complainers. These Bants from wrong.

The Latin term *Peraquatores*; of whom there is mention in the fourteenth Book of the Theodosian Code, in the Title de *Constitutoribus, Peraquatoribus, & Inspectoribus*. Most commonly *Senatores* were by the Prince sent to that Office; it was the business of these Officers, to make equal the Census in those Provinces which complained that they

were oppressed with the Burthen of the Tributes. In Gruter, pag. 361, this Old Inscription occurs: *L. RADIO VAL. PRUCULO V. C. PRÆTORI TUTELARI LEGATO PROPRIO P. ROV. NUMIDIÆ PERÆQUATORI CENSUS PROV. GALLICIÆ*. There is also extant a ninth Oration of *Gregory Nazianzen*, *ἐπὶ ἐξουπνίᾳ ἰουλιανῶν*, to *Julianus the Peraquator*. Valf.

CHAP. IV. That on those who were overthrown in Pecuniary Causes, he himself bestowed money out of his own [Income.]

MOREOVER, as often as the Emperour had pronounced Sentence between two who were at Suit; to the end the party that had lost his cause, might not go away sadder than him in favour of whom Sentence had past; out of his own [Revenues] he bestowed on those who had been cast in their Suits, sometimes Farms, and sometimes Money: by which means he managed the matter so, as that the party worsted did no less rejoice than he who had carried the Cause; in regard [the person overthrown] had been vouchsafed to come into his presence. For he judged it altogether unfit, that any one who had stood before so great a Prince, should be diffident sad and sorrowful. By this means therefore, both parties that were at Law returned from Sentence with countenances full of joy and cheerfulness: and the Emperour's Greatness of mind was the admiration of all men.

*μὲντοι τῶν ἀπαλαίτωσιν χάριον τὸ γενικισθῆναι, ἰσορροῦν, &c.* to the end the party that had, &c. In the *Fulgentian* Copy the words τὸ γενικισθῆναι, then him in favour of whom Sentence had past, are wanting. But *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil* place those words after the verb ἀπαλαίτωσιν, might not go away. The said *Sir Henry Savil* hath noted at the margin of his Copy, that perhaps it should be γαίης, and that the comma after the word ἀπαλαίτωσιν should be blotted out. Which when I had read, I was extremely glad, that my conjecture was confirmed by the judgment of this most Learned person. But, whereas *Sir Henry Savil* adds there, that *Christophorus* seems to have read thus, in this I can't assent to him. For *Christophorus* does read χάριον, and renders it *Libenter, willingly*. Further, *Turnebus* reads here mend it τὸ ἀσπῶν, which pleases me. Valf.

CHAP. V. The conquest of the Scythæ, who were subdued by the Standard of Our Saviour's [Cross]

WHAT need have I here of making mention by the by as 'twere, how he reduced the Barbarous Nations under the Empire of the Romans? In what manner he first brought doubt not under the Yoke, the Nations of the *Scythæ* and but *Sarmatæ*, who before had never learn'd to obey any one; and forc'd them even against their wills, to acknowledge the Romans their Lords. Then which emendation there is nothing more certain. In the *Kings Sheets* the reading is, *τὸ τ' ἡμῶν*. *Sir Henry Savil* at the margin of his Copy mends it, *τὸ τ' ἡμῶν πάσας λέγει μὲν*. In the *Fulgentian* and *Turnebian* Copies, the reading of this place is this, *τὸ τ' ἡμῶν λέγει τὸ πάσας μὲν*. Valf.

In the *Scythæ*, *Sarmatæ* (book 1. chap. 18.) and *Sogomani* (book 1. chap. 8.) terms them *The Goths*. Indeed *Greck Writers* do usually term them *Scythæ*, whom the *Latins* call *Goths*. So *Licinius*, *Themistius*, *Eusepius*, and many others. Further, the *Goths* were vanquished by the Roman Army in the Country of the *Sarmatæ*; on the twelfth of the Calends of May, in the Consulate of *Pacatianus* and *Hilarianus*, (as 'tis recorded in *Idatius's* Fasti), that is on the year of Christ 332. Valf.



rum flammam, the fire of sacrifices: Camerarius, incantationum igni-  
culos, the fires of incantments; which is a truer Version. For, cer-  
tain kinds of fires [were made use of] in the Mytheries of the Pa-  
pans, and a sort of light shined after darkness. Which thing the  
Pedets of Demons performed by magic Art, and I know not what  
impurities, to the end they might gain an Authority and Reverence to  
their sacred Rites. Apuleius's words in his 1<sup>st</sup> Book are these; Accese-  
confusum Morres; & calcate, &c; I approach'd the confines of death  
and having trod the path of Proserpine, I went back, conveyed through  
the Elements. At midnight I saw the Sun glistering with bright Light  
&c. Concerning this Rite there is an elegant passage of Theophrastus,  
Siobenes, chap. 274; which deserves to be set down here: τὸ πρὸς τῷ  
πυρὶ οἶον οὐ πλατύνει μετὰ τὴν ἀπορροήν. Αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ παρὰ  
τὸν ῥήματι, ὅτι ἔστιν τὸ ἔργον τὸ πλατύνει καὶ πλεονάζει σπασσικόν.  
Πλάσσει τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ἀπερὶσταλόν, καὶ κομωμένον, καὶ διὰ σπῆρας  
ὑποπόλι πορεύει καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τοῦ πλῆθους αὐτῷ τὸ δυνάμει  
πρὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ τὸν αὐτὸν, καὶ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ θυμὸν. ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον πρὸς τὴν  
μαστίαν ἀναπλήννεται, καὶ τότε καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ λευκότες ἐκτείνονται, οὐκ  
καὶ ῥοιεύει καὶ σπασσικὸς ἀκαταμάχτος ἐστί, καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς  
ἐκτείνονται: ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ μεμνημένον ἐκτείνονται καὶ ῥοιεύονται  
καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς, ἐκτείνονται καὶ ῥοιεύονται, &c. This passage of The-  
ophrastus is taken out of his Book concerning the Immortality of the  
Soul; wherein Theophrastus asserted that the soul was immortal, as we  
by several other arguments, as by this, that Cræcians do term ἀκα-  
ταμάχτος, as if it were πλεῖστον, that is, a Mystery. And, as these ter-  
ms are exceeding like one to the other, so the things themselves are  
signified by these terms, have a wonderful similitude. For, as in  
Mytheries there are first incantment and reflex wandrings, and a cir-  
cuous circuit, and fearful passages through dark places, and most tedious  
journeys accompanied with weariness. Then, before an arrival at the  
end, all things are terrible; Horror, trembling, surpris, and amaze-  
ment. But at last, a certain admirable Light occurs, and pleas-  
ing places and Meadows, where sacred voices are heard, and holy ap-  
pearances seen, &c. To the same Rite belong these words of Origen,  
his 4<sup>th</sup> Book against Celsus; Ὁμοιωσὶς γὰρ τις ἐν τῷ βαρύνει  
πλεῖστον τὸ πρῶτον καὶ πρὸς τὴν αὐτῆς σπασσικόν. Valer.



\* Or,  
*Parts.*

$\frac{1}{2}$  Oz.  
Drawn.  
\* Oz.  
Wherein

† Or, *Am*  
*in this*  
*manner.*

tions, to the lowest \* Hell. For, the supreme God can in no wise endure, that those things which by His providence over men, and out of his own benignity [ towards them ] be has produced for common use, should be † perverted to any one's Lust. But, He requires of men a pure mind only, and an immaculate soul; \* wherever, as in a Balance, he weighs the Allions of Virtue and Piety. For he is pleased with the works of Modesty and Lenity, loves the Meek, hates the Turbulent; loves Faith, punishes Infidelity: destroys all power joyned with arrogance, punishes the contempt of the proud. He utterly ruins those who are puffed up with insolency, but distributes agreeable Rewards amongst them that are humble and patient of injuries. † Hence 'tis, that he puts an high Value upon that Empire which is just; confirms it by his own assistance, and always keeps Imperial Prudence in a Calm of Peace.

## CHAP. XI.

Against Tyrants and Persecutors; and concerning *Valerian* who was taken Prisoner.

<sup>a</sup> Γοῖς παρὰ τὰς πόλεις. The reading of this place is far other-  
wise in *Theodore*, namely in this manner; ἐπὶ ταῖς πόλιν καὶ διὰ τὴν ἑκκλησίαν.

**I** OR do I seem to my self to be mistaken (My Brother,) by my professing this one God to be the Author and Parent of all things. Whom many of those who have been possessors of the Empire here, induced thereto by weak Errors, have attempted to deny. But, all these [Emperours] have been destroyed by such a dreadful and avenging end, that since their times, all Mankind doth usually wish their Colonies may fall as a Curse and punishment on those, who shall study to imitate them. One of which persons I judge him to have been, (I him I mean) whom divine vengeance, like some thunder, drove out of our Regions, and conveyed into your Country; ) who by his own dissimulation and ignominy erected that Trophie so much boasted of amongst you.

\* Or, *Patients*.

ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς. Incomparably well, in my judgment. Nor had Constantine written otherwise. All the preceding Emperors, says he, who persecuted the Faith of Christ, have been crucified by such a lamentable end, that now all mankind are wont to imprecate or wish for the Calamities of these Princes as the sum total of punishment on them, who steadfastly to imitate them. What can be plainer and more elegant than this meaning of the words? Παράδεισος therefore does in this place signify punishment, in which sense that term is frequently used amongst Grecians, as Agellius has remarked. Further ἀναστροφὴς τοῦ σώματος is an elegant phrase to signify that which the Latines term imprecate, to wish for as a Curse. So ὑπερθεὸς is an usual expression with Grecians, as I have noted above. Epiphanius Scholasticus translates this passage thus; Sed illi omnes fuit comprehendi existis, et ut omne genus hominum pestes carentes, clades illorum per malefactorum exemplum propere videatur. But so destructive an end has we have them all, that all mankind who have lived since them, seem to prostrate their Ruine as the pattern of a Curse. Vale.

βίβλος ἐστὶν ἀπόστολος. In the *History of Theodosius* the reading is correct, that, viz. πρὸς ἀπὸς ἀποστολὴν παροφθαρμένην πρὸς πρὸς τοὺς ἀποστόλους, πρὸς by his own, &c. He means *Valerian*, who having been taken prisoner by the *Perſians*, ended his days amongst them in a dishonourable slavery, and by his own private disgrace ennobled the Triumph of the *Porſians*. That is, by his own ignominy he made the Victory of the *Perſians* over the *Romans* more signal and famous. This is the meaning of this place; which was not lost, either by *Byzantines*, or any of the other Translators. In the *Faſketian* and *Turkish* Copies it is ἀποστολὴν, which is no ill reading, Gale.

## CHAP. XII.

That He saw the Fall of the Persecutors,  
and does now rejoice because of the  
Peace of the *Christians*.

**I**Ndeed, this thing has succeeded well, namely, that in Our age also the punishment of such persons have most evidently been demonstrated. For even I my self have been a Spectator [of their disastrous End,] who lately disquieted the people dedicated to God, by their most impious Edicts. Therefore, I give God great thanks, because by his signal Providence, all mankind who are observant of the divine Law, having Peace and Repose restored to them, are exceeding joyful and glad. From whence I do persuade my self, that all affairs are in an excellent and most safe posture, in regard God vouchsafes to gather all persons to himself, by their pure and approved Religion, and by their unanimous Sentiment in reference to the Deity.

## CHAPTER XIII.

An Exhortation, that he should love *the Christians*, who live in his \* Country.

**H**OW great a pleasure and delight was it to Me (I think you) when I heard, (what is my most earnest desire,) that even the richest and best places of Persia were so plentifully adorned with a multitude of these men, I mean Christians? For my whole discourse at present is concerning them. I wish therefore, both that your affairs may continue in a most flourishing posture, and in like manner that their affairs may be so too; that is, the affairs of both of you equally. For by this means you will have God the Supreme Lord and Father, merciful and propitious towards you. These persons therefore, because you are so great [a Prince,] I commit to Your Care: these very persons, in regard You are eminent for piety, I will deliver into your hands. Love these men in a manner besitting Your own benignity and good nature. For, by this Your Faith, You will do an immense kindness both to Your Self and Us.

b<sup>o</sup> On *οὐ ἀναίτιον*. In Theodoret and Nicephorus the reading is *ἐν ὅτι οὐκ ἀναίτιον*. In Synonodus' Edition it is *ἐν ὅτι*. Ḥ. Which words, Epiphanius, in his *Scholasticus* has altered into Latin thus: *Te ergo optime gubernasti, si fueris sic fides illi, & habueris commune quod illi. Joachimus Camerarius* who rendered Theodoret's History into Latin, translates it in this manner: *Optimè igitur recedem, similitate que cum illis optimè agitur, quia communiter cum utrifque. And Langus's* Version is in a manner the same. But this meaning does not satisfy me. Formerly I thought it was to be written thus, *ἐν ὅτι ἀναίτιον, ἀναίτιον οὐ, erat as you to them, so they to you.* Which reading I had followed in my Version. But having now examined the matter more attentively, I am of opinion that the reading of Theodoret and Nicephorus is to be retained, and thus I render this whole place. *Opro igitur, ut & tunc vix quàm florentissime, & aliorum perinde sit florentissime; hoc est utrifque vestrum ex æquo: I wish therefore, &c.* Thus the sense is most plain, and the following words will agree. Only it must be made *ἀναίτιον* for in the optative mood. This certain *Majors* reads *ἀναίτιον*. For he must be read thus: *Cum igitur ad illud sit, ut & tunc vix quàm florentissime, & aliorum perinde sit florentissime, & tibi inquit, ut & tunc vix quàm florentissime, & illi inquit, ut & tunc vix quàm florentissime.* In the Marginal Copy, the reading is *ἐν ὅτι*, without that word *ἀναίτιον*. Valef. Valefius (in his notes on Theodoret's History, book i. chap. 25.) tells us, that in *Leo Allatus's* Copy the reading of this place is, *ἐν ὅτι ἀναίτιον*. For even they are yours: which he concludes to be the truest reading of all.

CHAP. XIV.

How, by the earnestness of Constantine's Prayers, Peace was bestowed on the Christians.

**A**LL Nations in all parts of the world being (like some Ship,) in this manner steered and directed by one Commander, and willingly embracing the \* Religion and Government of this Servant of God; and there being no person who might give any further disturbance to the Roman Empire; all men in future lead peaceable and undisturbed lives. But, because the Emperor judg'd the Prayers of Pious Persons to be highly useful and advantageous in order to the safety and preservation of the State, 'twas his Sentiment, that these were necessarily to be procured. Therefore, both he himself humbly implored God's Assistance, \* and also commanded the Prelates of Churches to put up their prayers to God for him.

*Τὸς δὲ ἐκκαλεῖται προσεύχεσθαι. Make it τίς τῶν, &c. unless you had rather read ἐκκαλεῖτο, as 'tis in the Euxerian, Savah and Turneb. Copies. Valef.*

CHAP. XV.

That both on his Money, and in his Pictures, he ordered himself to be stamp'd and drawn in a praying posture.

**B**UT, how transcendent a liveness of a divine Faith was fixt in his Soul, may easily be conjectured from this very one thing; that on his Golden money he ordered his own Image to be stamp'd in such a manner, as that he might seem to look up to God with his Hands expanded, \* in the posture of one praying. And this sort of money was current over the whole Roman World. But in the Imperial Palaces which were \* in some Cities, his Pictures were plac'd on high at the very entrance of the Porch, wherein he was drawn standing upright, looking up to Heaven; \* but his hands were expanded, in the fashion of one praying.

*having extraordinarily sent, or made by God himself. So the Latines termed the Books of the sacred Scriptures, Deificos Libros, as it occurs in the Gesta Purgationis Cæciliani. Valef.*

*Κατά τὰς νόμους, near certain gates. In the Euxerian and Turnebian Copies, and in the King's Sheets, the reading is κατὰ νόμους, in some Cities; which is far the truer reading, as I Judge. For Eusebius says, that not all, but in the Palaces of some Cities, Constantine's Picture was thus drawn. Valef.*

*Τὰ χεῖρας δὲ ἐκτεταγμένους. Whoever was the Translator of this Book, he has rendered this place with little of attention, thus; Et præcantes formâ manibus sursum collatis, and lifting up his hands in the form of one praying; whereas he ought to have rendered it, manibus expansis, ut præcantes solent, with expanded hands as persons praying are wont to do. For the Christians were wont, when at prayers, to stretch forth their hands, that by this means they might represent the likeness of a Cross. Indeed, the Christians lifted up their hands, whilst they were praying. But this was not peculiar to the Christians in regard the Heathens did the same; as Virgil attests in these words,*

—Et geminas tollens ad sidera palmas.

But that was peculiar to the Christians, to expand their hands in the form of a Cross. Tertulian's words in his Book *de Oratone* Chap. 11, are these: Nos vero non attolimus tantum, sed etiam expandimus, & dominicâ passionē modulamur; We do not only lift up [our hands,] but do spread them also, and we put our selves into a form agreeable to our Lord's Passion. He says the same in his *Apologetick*, chap. 30. Valef.

CHAP. XVI.

That He issued forth a Law, forbidding his own \* Statues to be placed in Idol-Temples.

**I**N this manner therefore he represented himself praying, even in his Pictures drawn in Colours. But by \* Law he forbid, that his own Statues should be dedicated in Idol-Temples: least they should be \* polluted, even as far as the † outward Form only, with the error of prohibited Superstition.

*παῖς μὲν τὸ προσωπεῖον, εὐχράς δὲ τὸς ἱδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἐκταθῆναι; And first, he abolished the Combats of the Gladiators; then, he placed his own Statues in the Temples. But any one might with good reason conjecture, that this place of Socrates is corrupted. For, Socrates does there reckon up all things, which were invented by Constantine in order to the abolition of the Superstition of the Heathens. Amongst which he says, that Constantine placed his own Pictures and Statues in the Temples of the Gods. But by doing of this, the superstition of the Heathens was not extinguished, but rather increased, or changed. Wherefore that passage of Socrates must be rectified from Eusebius, in this manner; εὐχράς δὲ τὸς ἱδίας ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀντιθέσθαι δευτέρας. But he forbade, that his own Statues should be dedicated in the Temples. Valef. Μοῦσος δὲ γέγραπ. The two last words must in my judgment be expunged; in regard they disturb the sense. For if you blot out them, the sense is plain. Valef.*

CHAP. XVII.

His praying in the Palace, and his reading of the Divine Scriptures.

**B**UT whoever has a mind to give attention, will perceive far nobler Instances of his piety] than these; how he constituted \* a Church of God as 'twere, within the Imperial Palace; and with diligence and cheerfulness lead the way himself, to those who assembled within that Church. Moreover, he took the Bible into his hands, and with an attentive mind meditated up- on those divinely-inspired Oracles. After which words: he recited the \* usual prayers, together with \* the whole assembly of his Courtiers.

*Τὸ πλὴν that Sozomen (as he usually does,) borrowed this out of our Eusebius. But Eusebius does not say, that Constantine built a Church in the Palace. He says only this, that he constituted a kind of a Church in the Palace. See Eusebius's Panegyrick on Constantine's Tricennalia, chap. 9, where he does plainly confirm our Opinion. Valef. Ὁ τὸν ναὸν βασιλεὺς οἶκον παύσας, with which that filled the Imperial Palace, or, the Church. βασιλεὺς οἶκος is an ambiguous expression, which signifies a Church, and a Palace. And Eusebius seems designedly to have play'd with the ambiguity of this phrase, because Constantine's Palace was like a Church. And those whom at this place he calls οἶκος βασιλεὺς οἶκον παύσας, he has termed above in this chapter, τοὺς ἱδίας ἐκκαλεῖται προσεύχεσθαι. Valef.*

CHAP. XVIII.

That by a Law He commanded Sunday and Friday to be honoured.

**B**UT He ordained, that a day should be esteemed, as convenient and fit for prayers; that day namely, which really is the Chief and First of the other days, and which is truly the Lord's, and the Salutory day. Moreover, he appointed

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of the Golden Images should be carried in Pomp, (as the usage had heretofore been;) but the Salutary Trophie only.

words in the Greek, the *Fuk* and *Turneb*. Copies add two words in this manner, τὰ τῆς χυρῆς, &c. And in the following line, after the word τὸ αὐτὸν, the same Copies and *Sr. Hen. Savil's* insert the verb ἠγάγετο. But the common reading, which we have followed, is far better. *Valf.*

# C H A P. XXII.

\* *His Fervency and Earnestness in Praying, and his \* Religious Observation of the Festival of Easter.* \* Or, Honour.

very happily mended the Title of this chapter, in this manner, σπουδὴν, his fervency and earnestness in praying. For in this chapter *Eusebius* treats concerning that fervency in praying wherewith *Constantine* was inflamed. The cause of the mistake arose from the usage of the *Antiquarii* [persons that wrote Books far:] who in their writing out the Titles of chapters, were wont to omit the first letter, that afterwards at their leisure they might point it with *Permillio*. In the *King's Sheets* the first letter of the Title is always left out. But in the *Fuk Copy* 'tis sometimes added, sometimes omitted. For instance the Title of this chapter, both in the *Fukian Copy* and in the *King's Sheets*, is thus worded, τὸ δὲ αἰσχυρῶς, the first letter being omitted; which the *Fukian Manuscript*, in the body of the Book, does make good in this manner, ἐπεὶ δὲ, &c. very ill, and without any sense, as it is apparent. *Valf.*

\* Or, *Myrtles.* BUT He himself, in regard he was a partaker of the sacred \* Rites, every day at stated hours shut himself up within the inmost Rooms of his Imperial Palace, where he convers'd alone with his only God; and falling upon his knees, made his request in humble Supplications, that he might obtain those things which he stood in need of. But on the days of the Salutary Festival, he rais'd the vigour of his Religious exercises and meditations, and with his utmost strength of body and mind \* performed the Office of a Prelate or Pontiff. \* And with a cheerfulness and diligence he himself lead on all persons to the celebration of the Feast. But he turned the sacred Vigil into the brightness of day, \* pillars of wax which were of a vast height being lighted up all over the City, by those persons to whom this affair was given in charge.

He performed the divine Rites of things sacred. *Myrculus* translates it in this manner; Sacras ceremonias exprimebat, he dispatch'd the sacred Ceremonies. But neither of these two Persons perceived that this place was corrupted. I read therefore, ἡεργαυδίας ἔτελες, performed the Office, &c. For he compares *Constantine* to a Prelate or Pontiff; whence he subjoyns these words in the following chapter ἐταυτοῖς τοῖς ταῦτ' ἡεργαυδίας. In this manner therefore he himself performed the Office of a Priest to his own God; and in the chapter after that, adds, that, *Constantine* behaved himself as a Bishop; and in presence of the Bishops took that appellation upon himself. *Valf.*

\* *Or, the night.* In the *Fukian Copy* the reading is αὐτὸς δὲ. I read αὐτὸς τὴν νύκτα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἔλαττον, And with a cheerfulness, &c. So above at chap. 17. his words are, σπουδὴν ἔλαττον τὴν νύκτα ἐκκλησίαν ἔλαττον, with diligence and cheerfulness himself led the way to those who assembled within that Church. *Valf.*

\* *King's Sheets.* The Christians in the Vigil of the Feast of Easter lighted a vast company of wax Tapers. Which thing having been done by them, within the Church only; *Constantine* gave order that without the Church also Tapers should be every where lighted, in honour of so great a Festival. And whereas lights were usually kindled in the night, in great Cities, as I have remarked at the 14th Book of *Ann. Marcellinus*, pag 6. of my notes; *Constantine* would have far more, and larger Torches lighted up on that night, to the end he might induce the minds of the Heathens to a veneration of the Christian Religion. Further, those pillars of wax, which *Eusebius* makes mention of here, do excellently well denote the Paschal Taper which we are wont to light up in the Vigil of Easter: concerning which Taper *Barlaamus Brissinius* has written a particular Book. See *Gregory Nazianzen* in his 19th Oration. And in his second Oration de Pascha, chap. 676. he says, that then Lights were usually kindled both in private and publicly; in so much that, by reason of the multitude of Lights which all ages and degrees of men lighted up, that night was rendered transcendently bright. *Gaudentius Braxiensis* therefore does deservedly term that night, noctem splendidissimam, a most splendid night; as does likewise *Zeno Veronenfis* in his first Sermon ad Neophytos. *Valf.*

\* Torches likewise were kindled, which enlightened all places; in so much that this Myrtick Vigil was rendred brighter than any the most glorious day. But as soon as the day light appeared; in imitation of our Saviour's Beneficence, \* He reach'd out a bountiful hand to all Nations, Provinces, and People, and bestowed on all Persons the richest sort of Gifts.

an exposition of the foregoing words, κηρὶ ζωας, pillars of wax. But *Christophorus* distinguishes λαμπράς from these pillars of wax; whom we have also followed. *Grecians* do properly term those λαμπράς, which the Latines call *Torches*; as *Pollux* informs us Book 10 Chap. 26. In which place of *Pollux* the reading must be ἐκ ζωατέων, not ζωατέων, as 'tis commonly printed. Hence a Game amongst the *Greeks* was termed λαμπρὰνδρῶν, so called from these Torches. *Grecians* do likewise use λαμπρὰς to signify a Lamp, in which sense it occurs in the 25th Chap. of *St. Matthew*; in the same manner that φῶς is taken both for a Taper, and also for a Lamp. *Valf.*

\* This passage of *Eusebius* is to be taken notice of in reference to the *Easter-Alms*, which *Constantine* was wont to bestow yearly, in memory of that Benefit which *Christ* on those days conferred upon mankind. The Ancient Christians were heretofore wont on the Festival of *Easter* to distribute money amongst the poor; which thing was carefully performed not only by Lay-persons, but by the Clergy also. Concerning which matter there is an eminent passage in *Commodianus's* Second Book of *Instructious*, Chap. 73.

C ognovit in Pascha, de felicefimo nostro,  
L. alexius & illi qui possident sumpta diurna.  
R. rogetur eis quod possidet, Vinum & Esca-  
R. episcopi forent qui meminerint ista pro vobis.  
I. modicus sumptu deficiis Christo donare.  
C. id ipsi non facere, quando facere potestis  
U. iustitiam Legis talibus? Vel semel in anno.  
S. se ma eos urget blasphemus, sepe de Vobis.

*Commodianus* speaks to the Clergy, as 'tis apparent from the Title of the Poem, and from the first letters of every verse. And he advises them, that at least on *Easter-day* they should bestow an Alms upon the poor. He reproves them also, because, by reason of their living too high, they had nothing left which they might bestow on the poor. For that is the meaning of this verse;

Immodico sumptu deficiis Christo donare.

Concerning these very *Paschal-Alms*, *Anastasijs* (in the Life of *Pope Hadrian*) speaks in these words. Similique & in Balneo juxta eandem Ecclesiam sita, &c. As likewise in the Bath also, which is situated near the same Church, where *Our Saviour*, the poor of *Christ*, who were wont to meet yearly to receive *Alms* in the Paschal Festival and to bath; &c. *Valf.*

# C H A P. XXIII.

How He prohibited the worship of Idols; but honoured the Feasts of the Martyrs.

IN this manner therefore He Himself performed the Office of a Priest to his own God. But to all persons who lived under the Roman Empire, as well to the Commonalty as the Milice, the doors of Idolatry were shut, \* and every \* sort of sacrifice was prohibited. A Law also words was transmitted to the Presidents of Provinces, mult be rendered fac- that they likewise should pay a veneration to the Lord's day. Which [Presidents] \* by the For 'tis Emperor's Order did in like manner honour that the

Sacrifices of the Heathens were not expressly and by name forbidden by *Constantine* the Great, as *Libanius* in express words informs us in his *Oration Pro Templis*. Indeed *Constantine* by issuing forth a Law prohibited private and domestic Sacrifices, as it appears from the *Theodosian Code* de Maleficio & Mathematicis, and from the first Law de Paganis. But he forbid not the publick and solemn Sacrifices, which had been instituted by their Antecessors. *Eusebius* repeats the same thing in chap. 25. *Valf.*

\* Τὴν εὐχαρίαν βασιλικῶν. It must be made οὐ τῇ εὐχαρίαν βασιλικῶν; ἀρχαῖος being to be understood; and we have rendred it accordingly. In *Robert Stephens's* Edition a point is ill set after the word βασιλικῶν; whereas it should be placed after the verb γαίρειν, as 'tis in the *King's Copy*, and in the *Sheets* agreeably; whereto we have pointed it. *Valf.*



There is a Law of Constantine's extant in the close of the Theodosian Code, under the Title de Episcopali auctoritate, wherein the Empereur commands that the sentences pronounced by a Bishop, even in Causis Minorum, should obtain the force of a Law. The

Translater therefore has done ill, at this place to render *ſyn, Regulæ, Rules or Canons*. For the diſcourſe here is not concerning the Eccleſiaſtick Rule, which was promulg'd in a Synod by the Biſhops; but concerning Sentences pronounc'd between Perſons at Law, as it ſtood theſe words of *Euphrosin* to otherwiſe. But, that which occaſions the difficulty is, what *Euphrosin* has ſaid in the following words, *ſynæ τὰς ἐν αὐταῖς ἀποφαινεῖται, thoſe Decrees which were promulg'd in Synods.* But, avoid<sup>ed</sup> is here uſed to ſignifie an Eccleſiaſtick *Synon*, to wit, of a Biſhop and his Prebys. *Saxomen* has the very ſame term, in his *fiſt Book*, chap. 9, where he ſpeaks concerning this *Law of Conſtitution*. Which *Author's* words I do ſo much the more willingly produce, as often as the *Laws* are treated of, becauſe he was a Perſon incomparably well ſkill'd in the *Roman Laws*, as 'tis evident from his *Books*. His words therefore in the *foreſaid Book and Chapter* are theſe. *Τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τῶν δὲ ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, &c.* Moreover, he permitted *Litigants* to appeal to the Judgment of the Biſhops; if they had a mind to avoid the *Civil Magiſtrates*. And, that their [the Biſhops] Sentence ſhould be firm and valid, and that force than the Sentence of the other Judges, as if it had been pronounc'd by the Emperor himſelf. And, that the Governours of Provinces, and their Officials, ſhould pay in Execution the Sentences pronounc'd [by the Biſhops]. And, that the Decrees of Synods ſhould be unalterable. But, if any one will have the Councils of Biſhops to be meant by the term *αὐταῖς*, then *ſyn* will ſignifie the Sentences pronounc'd in a Synod againſt miſchievous Priests and Hereticks; which Sentence the Emperours do confirm in the *Second Law*, in the ſame Title de *Episcopalis auctoritate*. Valeſ.

pronounc'd [by the Bishops] And, that the Decrees of Synods should  
 be unalterable. But, if any one will have the Councils of Bishops to  
 be meant by the term *quoad*, then they will signifie the Sentences  
 pronounc'd in a Synod against mischievous Priests and Hereticks;  
 which Sentences the Emperours do confirm in the Second Law, in the  
 same Title de *Episcopali auctoritate*. Vale.

## CHAP. XXVIII.

*His Gifts [bestowed] on the Churches; and  
His Distributions of Money to Virgins, and  
to the Poor.*

**B**UT on the Churches of God He conferred innumerable Gifts, in a manner that was extraordinary and transcendent; sometimes bestowing Lands; at others, \* *Annona*, for the maintenance of poor Men, fatherless Children, and Widows. Lastly, He took all imaginable care, that even infinite numbers of Garments should be provided for the naked and such as wanted clothing. But above all others, He vouchsafed them the highest honour, who had wholly dedicated themselves to the divine Philosophy.

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his hand: *Although* (said he,) *you were possessor of all the Riches of this World, and of the whole Element of the Earth, yet you shall carry away nothing more than this space of ground which I have mark'd out, if even* \* *that be allowed you.* Notwithstanding this Blessed Prince said and did these things, yet he reclaimed no Person. But, 'twas manifestly evidenced by the very event of affairs, that the Emperours \* Admonitions were rather like Divine Oracles, than bare words.

\* Or, 'tis uncertain whether you shall be buried in the ground; in regard you may either be burnt, or drowned in the Sea, or devoured by wild Beasts. In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is *νύξας*, not *νύξας*, as 'tis here. *Vale!*

CHAP. XXXI.

*That he was laught at because of his too great Clemency.*

\* Or, Death. Further, whereas there was no fear of \* any Capital punishment, which might restrain ill Men from wickedness; (the Emperour himself being wholly inclined to Clemency, and the Governours in each Province wholly neglecting the prosecution and punishment of Crimes;) this thing exposed the publick Administration of Affairs to no ordinary blame and reprehension: whether justly, or otherwise, every one may judge according as he shall think good. Let me be permitted to record the Truth.

CHAP. XXXII.

*Concerning Constantine's \* Oration, which He wrote to The Convention of the Saints.*

\* Or, Gave the writing of this, &c. † Or, Our tongue. Under the disposition of the Magister Officiorum. *Magister Officiorum* (as the Interpreter of Offices) were the Interpreters of various Nations and Languages, as the *Notitia of the Roman Empire* informs us. *Constantine* therefore made use of their assistance in translating his Orations and Letters out of *Latine* into *Greek*. *Vale!*

CHAP. XXXIII.

*How He heard Eusebius's Panegyrick concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour, in a standing posture.*

BUT that, in my judgment, is in no wife to be silently overpast, which this admirable [Prince] did, even in Our own presence. For, when we had one time besought him, being confident of his singular piety towards God, that he would be an Auditor of a Speech of Ours concerning the Sepulchre of our Saviour; He gave us Audience with all imaginable willingness.

And a great company of Hearers standing round, \* within the Imperial Palace it self, He himself stood also, and together with the rest gave Audience. But when We entreated him to rest himself upon his Imperial Throne which was placed hard by, he would by no means be persuaded to sit; But with an intent mind, weighed what was spoken, and by his own Testimony approved the truth of the \* Theologicall Dogmata. But when much time had been spent, and Our Oration was continued to a great length; We were desirous to break off. But he would not suffer that; but entreated us to go on till we had ended our Discourse. And when we again Solicited Him to sit down, He on the contrary was urgent in His Refusal: sometimes affirming, *That it was unfit to bearken to Discourses which treated concerning God, with ease and remissness;* at other times saying, *that this was useful and advantageous to Him.* For it was [He told Eusebius's Oration] *a thing consonant to Piety and Religion, to hear Discourses about Divine matters in a standing posture.* After these things were finished, we returned home, and betook our selves to our usual Studies and exercises.

if the Emperour had heard the Speech standing in the Church; that would have been less strange, in regard the place it self requires reverence, and because in the Church the Emperour himself is one of the number of the Faithful. But, for the Emperour to stand in the Palace whilst a Bishop was speaking, that is a signal instance of Religion. See chap. 46. whence it may be manifestly gathered, that the Palace is meant here. Further, the *Christians* were heretofore wont in a standing posture to hear the Sermon of the Priest in the Church. For no body sat in the Church but the *Presbyters*, as *Optatus* informs us, Book 4. *Quoniam peccatorem arguit, & Sedentem increpat Deus, Specialist ad vos dictum esse constat non ad populum, qui in Ecclesia non habet sedendi licentiam.* *Vale!*

CHAP. XXXIV.

*That He wrote to Eusebius concerning Easter, and about the Divine Books.*

BUT He, always \* Sollicitously consulting the good of God's Churches, wrote a Letter to us, about providing [some Copies] of the Divinely inspired Oracles: as also [another Letter] concerning the most Holy Feast of Easter. For, whereas we had dedicated a Book to Him, wherein the Mystick account of that Festival was explained; in what manner He rewarded and honoured us by His answer, any one may perceive, by perusing this Letter of His.

*the Book de Ratione Computi paschalis*, which *Beda* (in his *Book de Ratione Temporum*, Chap. 42.) asserts to have been made by *Eusebius*. Indeed, the Emperour *Constantine*, in his Letter to *Eusebius*, does attest, that that work of *Eusebius's*, which is here mentioned, was a Laborious work, and that it contained the whole account, Original, and perfection of the Paschal Feast. Concerning this Book of *Eusebius*, *Jerome* in his piece de *Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis* speaks thus. *Hippolytus rationem pasche, temporumque Canonem scripsit, & sedecim annorum circulum reperit, & Eusebius qui super eodem pascha canonem decem & novem annorum circuli composuit, occasionem dedit.* Which words of *St. Jerome*, *Beda* hath transcribed in his *Book de Sex Aetatibus Mundi*; and in his *History*, Book 5. Chap. 22. *Vale!*



## CHAP. XXXV.

Constantine's [Letter] to Eusebius, wherein He commends his Oration concerning Easter.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

**I**T is indeed a mighty Attempt, and [a work] superior to all the power of Oratory, to declare the mysteries of Christ agreeably to their dignity, and in a due manner to unfold the Reason and Ground of Easter, and its Institution, and its advantageous and laborious consummation. For, 'tis impossible even to Men that are able to understand things Divine, to declare those matters according to their dignity. Nevertheless, I do highly admire your excellent Learning, and your Extraordinary diligence; and have my self most willingly perused your Book; also found, and, according to your desire, have given order, that it should be put into the hands of many Persons who sincerely adhere to the observance of the Divine Religion. Whereas therefore you understand, with how great a delight of mind we receive such Presents as these from Your Prudence, take care to please us in future with more frequent Discourses, whereunto you confess your self to have been by education accustomed. But (as the saying is,) we incite you who run, to your usual Studies. In as much as, this so great an opinion does sufficiently demonstrate, that you have not found an unworthy Translator of Your Writings, who can render Your Labours into a Latine: although 'tis impossible, that such a Person should express the dignity of Works that are so egregiously eminent. God keep You, Beloved Brother! such was his situation, Letter in reference to this matter. But, that which he wrote about providing [some Copies of the Scriptures] to be read in Churches, cannot be said runs thus.

concerning the original of a controversy. You would do better therefore to render *μὴν*, Institution, *καὶ ἐκείνη* imparte the consummation of the Paschal Feast, performe this duty, who by the Miracle of his own Resurrection, hath made a true Paschal for Christians. Valef.

After these words in the Greek, in the King's Copy, and in the Edition of Robert Stephens, these words follow, *καὶ τὸ μακάριον ἔστι καλῶν ἔργων, &c.* although 'tis impossible, that such, &c. But Scaliger, Bargeusius, and others have made up this place from I know not what Copies. The same supplement I likewise found in the Fukeian Copy, and in Moreus's Book, and indeed something more correct than it is in the Geneva Edition. For, in that the reading is, *ὁς ἀντιγράφει σωτὴς ὑμῶν ἐστί.* But it must be written *ἀντιγράφει, or ἐντελέγει.* Valef.

*Ἡ περὶ τὴν μεμνημένην, This so great a confidence, or persuasion.* He means his boldness, who by Constantine's order had translated Eusebius's Book concerning Easter: or rather, *μεμνημένη* is the opinion and judgement of the Emperour himself. The Translator understood it as meant concerning the boldness or confidence of Eusebius himself, which can in no wise be agreeable here. Doubtless, *μεμνημένη* cannot here be taken otherwise, than for the judgement and persuasion, as well of Constantine Himself, as of other Men, who highly extolled Eusebius's Treatise concerning Easter, which by Constantine's order had been rendered into Latine. This so great an opinion of all Men says he, does sufficiently shew, that you have met with no unworthy a Translator. Further, those words *ὅς ἀντιγράφει σωτὴς ὑμῶν ἐστί* construed two ways, either with the adjective *ἀντιγράφει*, or with the term *μεμνημένη*. Valef.

After these words, in Moreus's Copy there is an empty space left. Questionless the word *μεμνημένη* is wanting. The place therefore must be made good in this manner, *τὸν εἰς τὸν βιβλίον σου καὶ ὅς ποτε μεταφράσειν ἡ γὰρ σου, who can render, &c.* or rather, *εἰς τὸν βιβλίον, as Eusebius expresses himself above at chap. 32.* Indeed, in the Fukeian Copy, the reading is, *εἰς τὸν βιβλ. . . καὶ ὅς ποτε μεταφράσειν, &c.* Valef.

## CHAP. XXXVI.

Constantine's Letter to Eusebius, concerning the providing [some Copies] of the Divine Scriptures.

VICTOR CONSTANTINUS  
MAXIMUS AUGUSTUS,  
To Eusebius.

**I**N That City which bears Our Name, by the assistance of God Our Saviour's Providence, a vast multitude of Men have joined themselves to the most Holy Church. Whereas therefore all things do there receive a very great increase, it seems highly requisite, that there should be more Churches erected in that City. Wherefore, do you most willingly receive that which I have determined to do. For, it seemed fit, to signify to Your Prudence, that you should order fifty Copies of the Divine Scriptures (the provision and use whereof you know to be chiefly necessary for the instruction of the Church) to be written on well-prepared Parchment, by artificial Transcribers of Books most skilful in the art of accurate and fair writing; which [Copies] must be very legible, and easily portable in order to their being used. Moreover, Letters are dispatch'd away from our Clemency to the Rationalist of the Diocesis, that he should take care for the providing of all things necessary in order to the finishing of the said Copies. This And, at this place therefore shall be the Work of your diligence, [to see] that the written Copies be forthwith provided. You likewise are also empowered by the Authority of this our Letter, to have the use of two publick Carriages, in case of the order to their Conveyance. For by this means, those which are transcribed fair, may most commodiously be conveyed even to Our Sight; to wit, one certain of the Deacons of your Church being employed in the number of performance hereof. Who, when he comes to Us, shall Province, be made sensible of Our Bounty. God preserve you, Dear Brother!

\* Or, Humanity. *Vicarius* of the Pratorian Prefecture. For a *Præfatus* Prætor had several Dioceses under his own dispose; but the *Vicarius* had but one Diocese. Further, this word began to be used in this sense about Constantine's times, as we learn both from Constantine's Letters recorded above, and also from some Laws of the Theodosian Code. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXVII.

In what manner the Copies were provided.

**T**Hese things the Emperour gave order for. Which Order of his was immediately followed by the completion of the work it self; we having sent him *Terminions* and *Quaternions* in Volumes magnificently adorned. Which very thing another answer of the Emperour's will attest. In which Letter (information having been given him, that the City Constantia in our Countie, *quaterniones*. For Parchment Copies were usually digested into *Quaternions*, that is, four Sheets were made up together, as *Terminions* are three Sheets made up together. And the *Quaternions* had sixteen pages the *Terminions* twelve. Further, in the last page of the *Quaternions* was set the number of the *Quaternion*, to wit, 1, 2, 3, and 4 on; as I have observed in the most ancient Copies, as well Greek as Latine. In my very old Copy of Gregorius Turonensis, which was written about the year 414, in the last page of the *Quaternion* I found this mark, q. 1. that is, the first *Quaternion*. Further, the Reader is to be advertized, that in these words of Eusebius there is an Enallage. For he hath said *τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ* whereas it ought rather to have been worded thus, *τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τῷ βιβλίῳ*. Valef.

try, heretofore consisting of Men notoriously superstitious, had by an <sup>b</sup> impulse of piety receded from their Pristine error of Idolatry;) he signified, that he rejoiced, and highly approved of that Action.

<sup>b</sup> Οὐκ ἐν τῇ Εὐκλείῃ In the Eukleian Copy this place is read thus, ὁμοῦθεν ἀποβόλῃ, τὸς ἡμετέροις μεταβληταῖς ἐκδοῦναι σπάνος ἐξέστη. And so I guess it was written in Sir Henry Savil's Copy, because Sir Henry hath under-mark'd these three words, namely, ὁμοῦ ἀποβόλῃ and σπάνος, with lines. Valef.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

*How the Mart-Town of the Gazæi, by reason of [its embracing] the Christian Religion, was made a City, and named Constantia.*

FOR Constantia in the Province of Palestine having at this very time embraced the Salutary Religion, was vouchsafed a signal honour, both from God, and from the Emperour. For, it was both termed a City, which it had not been before; and likewise changed its name for a better appellation, to wit, that of the Emperour's most religious Sister.

## CHAP. XXXIX.

*That in Phœnice there was a City made [termed Constantina;] and in other Cities the Idols were destroyed, and Churches erected.*

THE same thing was likewise done in many other places. For instance, in a City of the Province of Phœnice, which is called by the Emperour's name. The Inhabitants whereof having committed their innumerable Images to the flames, changed their worship of them, for the observation of the salutary Law. Moreover, in other Provinces, they came over in great companies, as well in the Country as in the Cities, to the saving knowledge [of God,] and destroyed their Images consisting of all sorts of matter (which before had been accounted sacred by them,) as if they were nothing: they also demolished their own Temples and places of worship, which were raised to a vast height, when no Person ordered them to do it. But they erected Churches from the very foundations, and made a change of their former opinion, or error rather. But, \* to give a particular Narrative of all this pious Emperour's Actions, is not so much our business, as theirs who were vouchsafed a continual converse with him. After therefore we have in short <sup>b</sup> recorded in this work those matters which came to our knowledge, we will pass to the \* later part of his Life.

\* Or, Last time.

which I rather approve of. For it follows, τὴν τὴν διαβολὴν ἀπελθεῖν. But it would be better, were it thus written, τὰ καὶ ἀποδοῦναι. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Πραξιόντες τὴν ὑπαρξίαν. The Translator renders this place thus: nos vero quoniam breviter que nobis nota fuerunt, literarum monumentis mandavimus; but because we have in short committed to writing those things which were known to us. But I render it thus; postquam ea que nobis nota sunt breviter exposuerimus, ad extremum quæ vitæ tempus Sermonem transferemus; after we have briefly declared those things which are known to us, we will turn our discourse to the last time of his Life. Which rendition is doubtless truer, and more agreeable to the words and meaning of Eusebius. For, if Eusebius had meant for the Translator thought he did, he would bare said, ὡς ἔγραψεν. Valef.

## CHAP. XL.

*That having created his three Sons Cæsars in the three ten years of his Reign, He celebrated the dedication of the Martyrium at Jerusalem.*

THIRTY \* Years of His Reign were now completed <sup>a</sup>. Wherein his three Sons had at different times been created Colleagues of the Empire. Constantine, who bore the same name with his Father, was the first that partook of that honour, about the tenth year of his Father's Empire. His second Son Constantius, grac'd with his Grandfather's name, was declared Cæsar about the time of the celebration of his Father's Vicennalia. His third Son Constans, who by his own name denotes Preference and Stability, Robert was promoted to this honour about the thirtieth year of his Father's Reign. Thus therefore when (\* according to a likeness of the Trinity as 'twere,) he had gotten † three Sons beloved by God, and had honoured them with the Colleguehip of his Empire, <sup>b</sup> at each period of ten years of his Reign; he thought his Tricennalia to be a most opportune time, wherein he might give thanks to [God] the suprem King. And he himself judg'd it best and most agreeable, should He celebrate the dedication <sup>c</sup> of that Martyrium, which with all imaginable diligence and magnificence he had caused to be of the same erected at Jerusalem.

Βασιλεὺς, was the occasion that this whole line was omitted by the over-hasty Antiquarius [Transcriber of Books.] In the Eukleian Copy, the reading is, διαβολὴν ἡ ἀποδοῦναι ὑποδοῦναι, excellently well. Thus by the addition of one small word, this place is perfected. But Sir Henry Savil supplied this place by adding three words, as did also Scaliger and Christopherson αὐτὸς ὁ τῆς διαβολῆς, &c. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπὶ τῇ τριτῇ διαβολῇ ἡ τριτὴ διαβολή. The Translator has rendered it ill, decimo quoque anno, (even) tenth year. For Constantine did not create his Sons Cæsars, every tenth year of his Empire. For he made Crispus and Constantinus, Cæsars, in the Consulate of Gallienus and Bassus, on the Calends of March, which was the eleventh year of his Empire. But Constantinus was created Cæsar, in the third Consulate of Crispus and Constantinus, on the sixth of the Ides of November, that is, on the nineteenth year of Constantine's Empire. Lastly, Constans was proclaimed Cæsar by his Father, in the Consulate of Dalmatius and Zenophilus, on the eighth of the Calends of January, when Constantine was entered into the twenty eighth year of his Empire, as it appears from Idacius's Fasti. Wherefore Eusebius's words will be better rendered thus, singulis decennis, in each of his ten years. But neither will what Eusebius hath said, be true, even this way. For Crispus and Constantinus junior were not created Cæsars in Constantine's first ten years, but about his first ten years. Therefore, these words want a favourable interpretation. Which Baronius was in the least perceiving, has recorded Crispus to have been made Cæsar in the year of Christ 315, which is a Prochronism of two years. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> Εὐχαριστήριον αὐτῶν. I doubt not but it should be written Εὐχαριστήριον; which I wonder was not perceived by others. In the Eukleian Copy 'tis written, Εὐχαριστήριον αὐτῶν ὁ Εὐχαριστήριον; which reading I like not. Valef.

## CHAP. XLI.

*That in this interim He ordered a Synod to be convened at Tyre, because of some controversies [started] in Egypt.*

BUT the envious Devil, that Enemy to all good, \* like some dark cloud opposed against the most splendid Rays of the Sun, at tempted to disturb the brightness of this Celestial light, or, as 'twere; as I found it mended at the margin of Moræus's Copy and a little alter, the reading must be ὡς ἔμελλεν. Valef.

brity;



\* Or, *quire of God.*  
b He means *Alexander* Bishop of the City *Thessalonica*, who was present at the Synod at *Tyre*, as *Athanasius* witnesseth. By the Bishops of *Pannonia* and *Moesia*. *Eusebius* means *Orfacius* and *Valens* leading Men of the *African* faction, who were sent from the Synod of *Tyre* into *Egypt*, that they might there enquire concerning the Crimes wherewith *Athanasius* had been charged, as *Athanasius* relates in his *Apologétique*. Valef.  
\* He means *Theogenius* Bishop of *Nicas*, and *Theodorus* Bishop of *Perinthus*, which was otherwise termed *Heraclea*; which Prelates were present at the same Synod, as *Athanasius* and *Theodoret* do inform us. Besides *Theogenius*, two other Bishops out of *Bithynia* were present at the Synod of *Tyre*; namely *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Marius* of *Chalcidone*. Valef.  
\* *Athanasius* relates in his *Apologétique* pag. 788. speaking concerning this Synod, does attest, that *Constantine* sent the *Palatine Soldiers*, who were to obey the commands of the Bishops. His words are these, *ὅτι καὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι ἀποστόλοις, καὶ ἐρατοῦσι δορυφόροις διδόναι τὴν αὐτὴν ἐπιμέλειαν*. Valef.  
\* That is, *Two approved Men sent from the Imperial Palace*.  
\* This was *Marianus* the *Tribun* and *Notary*, as *Cicero* said in the Contents of this Chapter, and in *Sozomen*. He bore the same dignity as *Constantine*, as *Athanasius* attests in his *Book de Synodis Ariminis* of *Seleucia*. Valef.  
\* *Πρόεδρος* ἢ δὲ *ἀρχὴ*. It must be written *πρόεδρος* τῶν ἀρχόντων. There is the same error in the foregoing Chapter; where the reading is *ἀρχόντες* ἢ *ἀρχὴν*. instead of *ἀρχόντες* τῶν; in which manner 'tis written at both places in the *Fulgerian Copy*. Valef.

perial Letter, moved the Synod, that without any delay they would forthwith hasten their journey to *Jerusalem*. All of them therefore left the Province of the *Phoenicians*, and by [the assistance of the] *Cursus Publicus* went whither they had received orders to go. At which time that whole place was filled with a numerous <sup>a</sup> divine assembly, the eminent Bishops out of every Province having met together at *Jerusalem*. For the <sup>b</sup> *Macedonians* had sent the [Bishop] of the *Metropolis* amongst them: and the *Pannonii* and *Moesii* [had directed thither] the choicest flower of God's youth in their Country. There was likewise present the Ornament of the *Perthian* Bishops, an holy Person and one that was incomparably well vers'd in the divine Oracles.

\* The *Bithynians* also and *Thracians* \* by their own presence adorned the Convention. Nor were the most eminent [of the Bishops] amongst the *Cilicians* absent. Those of *Cappadocia* likewise who excelled for Learning and Eloquence, shined in the midst of this Congress. Moreover, all *Syria* and *Mesopotamia*, *Phoenice* and *Arabia*, together with *Palestine* it self; *Egypt* also and *Libya*, and those who inhabit the Country of *Thebais*, all [met] together, and filled up that great Quire of God. Who were followed by an innumerable company of People out of all the Provinces. There was present together with all these Persons, an <sup>a</sup> Imperial Attendance; and from the Imperial Palace it self, approved Men were sent, who, with Expences furnished by the Emperour, might illustrate the Festivity.

CHAP. XLIV.

Concerning their Reception by *Marianus* the Notary, and concerning the Money distributed amongst the Poor, and the sacred Gifts of the Church.

**B**UT, over <sup>a</sup> all these there was appointed as chief, a <sup>b</sup> Person highly acceptable and useful to the Emperour; one that was eminent for his Faith, Religion, and Skill in the Sacred Scriptures. Who having been famous for his confessions in defence of Piety during the times of the Tyrants, was deservedly entrusted with the ordering of these matters. This Person therefore with all imaginable sincerity paid obedience to the Emperours Commands, and honoured the Synod with a most Courteous Reception, entertaining them with splendid Feasts and Banquets. But, amongst the indigent and naked, <sup>b</sup> and amongst infinite multitudes of Poor of both Sexes, who stood in great need of food and other necessities,

he distributed vast quantities of Money, and a great number of Garments. Lastly, he variously adorned the whole Church with magnificent and royal sacred Gifts.

CHAP. XLV.

Various Discourses of the Bishops, in the Sacred Assemblies; as also of *Eusebius* himself the Author of this Work.

**S** But the Service performed by this Person. But the Ministers of God adorned the Festival, partly with their Prayers, and partly by their Discourses. <sup>a</sup> For some of them with Praises celebrated the <sup>b</sup> Benignity of the Religious Emperour towards the Universal Saviour, and in their Orations set forth the Magnificence of the Martyr words, *Others* \* entertained their hearers with the *Oleologic* discourses upon the divine *Dogmata*, fitted to the present solemnity, as with some splendid banquet of rational food. Others <sup>†</sup> interpreted the Lessons of the divine Volumes, and disclosed the Mystic meanings. But such as were unable to arrive at these things, appeased the Deity with unbloody Sacrifices and mystick Immolations, humbly offering up their Prayers to God, for the common Peace, for the Church of God, for the Emperour himself who was the Occasioner of such great Blessings, and for his pious Children. At which place we our selves also, who were vouchsafed <sup>||</sup> Blessings much above our deserts, honoured the <sup>||</sup> Or solemnity with various discourses uttered in publick; sometimes making descriptions in writing of the stateliness and magnificence of the Royal Fabric; at others, <sup>||</sup> explaining the meanings of the prophetick Visions, in a manner befitting the present <sup>a</sup> Symbols and Figures. Thus was the Feast of Dedication celebrated, with the greatest joy imaginable, <sup>a</sup> on the very *Tricennalia* of the Emperour.

\* Or *Deologic* discourses upon the divine *Dogmata*, fitted to the present solemnity, as with some splendid banquet of rational food. Others <sup>†</sup> interpreted the Lessons of the divine Volumes, and disclosed the Mystic meanings. But such as were unable to arrive at these things, appeased the Deity with unbloody Sacrifices and mystick Immolations, humbly offering up their Prayers to God, for the common Peace, for the Church of God, for the Emperour himself who was the Occasioner of such great Blessings, and for his pious Children. At which place we our selves also, who were vouchsafed <sup>||</sup> Blessings much above our deserts, honoured the <sup>||</sup> Or solemnity with various discourses uttered in publick; sometimes making descriptions in writing of the stateliness and magnificence of the Royal Fabric; at others, <sup>||</sup> explaining the meanings of the prophetick Visions, in a manner befitting the present <sup>a</sup> Symbols and Figures. Thus was the Feast of Dedication celebrated, with the greatest joy imaginable, <sup>a</sup> on the very *Tricennalia* of the Emperour.

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the year of Christ 335, on the *Idea* of September, *Constantinus* and *Albinus* being Consuls, in *Constantine's Tricennalia*. At which time *Constantine* was in the thirtieth year of his Empire. *Tetrazwisthes*, does properly signify *Tricennalia*, that is, a festivity of sports which were performed on account of the thirtieth year of an Emperor's Reign. The Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle*, in the Consulate of *Con-*  
*stantinus* and *Albinus*, has these words: *Τετραν ην ο αὐτοῦ ἥδον τρια-*  
*κοστῆτης*, which in *Idatius's Fasti* occur rendered into *Laune*, in this manner: *His Coff. Tricennalia edidit Constantinus Augustus die 8. Cal. Augusti*, in the Consulate of these Persons. *Constantinus Augustus* published his *Tricennalia*, on the eighth of the Calends of August. Yet sometimes *τρεκατοστήτης*, and *Tricennalia* are taken for the thirtieth year. So *Jerome* relates, that *Dalmatius* was created *Cæsar* in *Constantine's Tricennalia*, that is, on the thirtieth year of his Empire. But whereas I have said, that the Dedication Feast of the *Jerusalem Church* was celebrated on the *Idea* of September, of this matter I have *Nicephorus* my Author, in his eighth book, chap. 10. Indeed, in *Saint Saba's Typicon*, and in the *Greek Menology*, on the thirteenth day of September are placed τρεκατοστήτης τῆς ὁδοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρόδωρου. So also *Sopronius* in his *Oration* de *Exaltatione Sanctæ Crucis*; and this Festivity was observed every year, for the space of eight days. From these Authors the *Alexandrian Chronicle* must be corrected, wherein there is a mistake, as well in the day as the Consulate, in which these things were done. *Valf.*

#### CHAP. XLVI.

*That He afterwards recited his Description of our Saviour's Martyrium, and his Oration upon Constantine's Tricennalia, before the Emperor himself.*

**B**UT, what the Form of our Saviour's Church is, what the fashion is of the Salutory Cave, \* how great the Beauty and Elegancy of the Structure, and [Lastly] how \* many the *Donaria*, made partly of Gold and Silver, and partly of pretious Stones; we have, as well as we could, comprized in a peculiar Treatise, and have dedicated it to the Emperor Himself. Which Book we shall make a seasonable publication of \* at the close of this present Work: whereto we will annex that *Oration* concerning his *Tricennalia*, which, having not long after made a journey to *Constantinople*, we recited in the Emperours own hearing. This was the \* second time that we celebrated the praises of God the supream King, within the Imperial Palace. Which [Oration] the Emperor, who was beloved by God, being an auditor of, seemed like one transported with joy. And this himself manifested after the Speech was done, in regard he entertained those Bishops that were present at a Banquet, and bestowed on them all imaginable honour.

<sup>a</sup> Amongst the other *Donaria* [Sacred Gifts] which *Constantine* gave to the *Jerusalem Church*, there was a *Sacerdotal Pall* woven with threads of Gold, which the Bishop made use of in his performing the solemn Prayers, as *Theodoret* relates, *Ecclesiæ Hist.* book 2, chap. 27. *Valf.*

<sup>b</sup> Mem. τὸν ἄριστον τῆς πόλεως, after this present Subject. That is, at the close of this work. The Translator rendered it ill; *quod etiam cum videtur & alioquin opere edemus*. But our Rendition is confirmed by *Eusebius* himself in chap. 32. of this Book. *Valf.*

<sup>c</sup> For *Eusebius* had before made a Speech in the Palace, as he himself attests above, at chap. 33: where fee what we have noted. *Valf.*

#### CHAP. XLVII.

*That the Synod at Nicæa happened on Constantine's Vicennalia; but the Dedication [of the Church] at Jerusalem [was performed] on His Tricennalia.*

**T**HIS Second Synod, the greatest that we have known, the Emperor convened at *Jerusalem*, after that first Synod, which he had af-

fembled \* at the most eminent City of *Bithynia*. <sup>a</sup> That was a triumphal [Synod,] which in the *Chronicon Vicennalia* of [Constantine's] Empire paid its *Decade*. <sup>b</sup> Vows for the Victory obtained over his Enemies and Adversaries, in that very City which had its name from Victory. But this [Synod] which regarded the period of his third *Decade*; when the thing I have Emperor Dedicated to God the Giver of all followed in Good, \* the *Martyrium*, as 'twere some Sacred my Veneration; nor do I doubt but *Eusebius* wrote Monument of our Saviour.

<sup>c</sup> Further, in this place there is an ambiguity. For the words may be construed thus; ταῦτα δὲ ἄρχοντες ὡς ἐν ἱερῷ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἐκκλησία, &c. This Second Synod, which we know to be the greatest after that First [Synod] which he had assembled at the most eminent City of *Bithynia*, the Emperor convened at *Jerusalem*. Which sense *Christopherson* has followed. *Valf.*

<sup>d</sup> *Εὐχὴ τῆς νίκης*. I embrace the emendation of Learned Men, which I found written in *Morus's* Copy also; viz. *ἐὐχὴ ἐν τῇ νίκῃ*. Nevertheless, I would willingly add another word also, in this manner, *εὐχὴ νικησίου ἐν τῇ νίκῃ*, &c. and have rendered it accordingly. Further, the term *εὐχὴ* must be rendered *oasis*, *oases*. For *Eusebius* alludes to the usage of the *Romans*, who in such Solemnities made Vows for the safety and felicity of the Prince, as 'tis apparent from *Plinius's Epistle* to *Trajan*. Moreover, in old Coins we read such Vows as these thus expressed, *VOTIS XX. M. L. TIS XXX*. But in other Coins 'tis thus, *S. P. Q. R. S. P. C. X. X.* That is, So His Decennalia, So His Vicennalia. In the *Fukerian Copy* 'tis plainly written *εὐχὴ ἐν τῇ νίκῃ*. *Valf.*

<sup>e</sup> *Τὸ κασιόριον*. In the Letter of the Bishops of the *Jerusalem Synod*, (who by *Constantine's* Order met in order to the Dedication of this Church, which Letter *Anastasi* records in his *Apologick*, pag. 80.) 'tis termed *κασιόριον κασιόριον*, the Salutory *Martyrium*. *Jerome* also in his *Chronicon* terms it the *Martyrium*; as does likewise *Sozomen*, book 2, chap. 15. *Marcus* in the *Life* of *Porphyrius* Bishop of *Gaza*, and *Eucherius* in his Book de *Sicu urbis Hierosolymitane*. See Our Letter de *Anastasi*, &c. wherein we have at large proved against *Jacobus Gregerius* and *Jacobus Sirmondus*, that there was only one Church erected by *Constantine*, which was termed the *Martyrium* and *Anastasi*. Which Letter we thought good to make a second publication of, at the close of our Notes, pag. 304, &c. *Valf.*

#### CHAP. XLVIII.

*That Constantine was displeased with One, who praised Him too highly.*

**A**Fter the performance of all these things; <sup>a</sup> When the Emperor's God-like Virtue was cry'd up in the Discourses of all Men, one far as the of the Ministers of God was so bold, as to pronounce Him blessed to His very face: in regard he had both been vouchsafed the supream Empire over the whole *Roman World* in this Life present; and also, in that to come, should reign together with the Son of God. But he, much displeased at the hearing of this Expression, advised the Man, that he should not presume to utter such words; but, rather that by Prayer he would make his humble request to God, that as well in the Life present, as in that to come, \* He might appear worthy of being reckoned amongst the servants of *Jesus* Christ. <sup>b</sup> *Valf.*

#### CHAP.

CHAP. XLIX.

The Marriage of Constantius Cæsar, His Son.

When the Thirtieth year of His Empire was ended, He celebrated the Marriage of his second Son, \* having long before performed the same thing for his elder Son. Banquets therefore and Feasts were made; the Emperor Himself led His Son the Bridegroom, and in a most splendid manner, entertained and feasted the whole company, the Men apart by themselves, and the Women in separate places by themselves. \* Rich Gifts were likewise bestowed, both on the People, and on the Cities.

CHAP. L.

The Embassy and Presents [sent from] the Indians.

At the same time arrived Embassadors from those Indians who dwell at the rising Sun, and brought with them Presents. Which were various sorts of pretious Stones of an exquisite Lustre, and wild Beasts of a Nature different from those known amongst us. All which they presented to the Emperour, [thereby] declaring that his Empire reach'd \* to the Indian Ocean it self; and that the \* Roycelets, of the Indians Country honoured him with Pictures, and Statues erected to Him, and profest their acknowledgment of Him to be the Emperour and King. \* Indeed, at the beginning of his Empire, the Britains [who dwell] at the setting Sun, were the first that submitted themselves to his Government: but now the Indians whose habitation is at the rising Sun, [did the same.]

\* Further, Metrodorus the Philosopher seems to have been the chiefest Person of this Indian Embassy; who from the King of the Indians brought to Constantine very many Gems and Pearls: and pretended that he had brought many more, had not the Persian King taken them from him in his passage thorough Persia. By which lye Constantine being prevailed upon, whilst with too much eagerness he pursued what had been taken from Metrodorus, raises the Persian War, as 'tis recorded by Cedrenus and Amm. Marcellinus. But Cedrenus relates that in a place wholly foreign and disagreeable, namely in Constantine's twenty first year; whereas he ought to have placed it on the thirty first year of Constantine. For in this year the Peace between the Romans and Persians was broken. Valef.

\* Αρκεσίου μὲν τῆς βασιλείας. In the Puketian C'py τῆς ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς δὲ τῆς, &c. But in the Old Sheets the reading is, ἀρχιεπισκοπῆς, which I like better. Valef.

CHAP. LI.

That Constantine having parted His Empire betwixt His three Sons, instructed them in the Art of Governing, \* and Offices of Piety.

When therefore he had reduced both the Limits of the whole World under His own power, He divided his whole Empire, distributing some paternal inheritance as 'twere to his dearest Relatives, amongst His three Sons. To the Elder, He gave his Grand-fathers allot-

ment: to the Second, the Empire of the East: to the Third, that Portion which lay in the midst between these two. But being desirous to procure a good inheritance for his Children, and such as might be salutary to their Souls, he scattered the seeds of Piety in their minds: partly by \* cultivating them himself with divine Precepts; and partly by appointing them Tutors, who were Persons of approved Piety. He likewise set over them Teachers of Secular Learning, such Persons namely as were arrived at the height of Literature. Others instructed them in the knowledge of the Military Art. Others were their Instructors in politics, and matters Civil. And [lastly,] \* others rendered them knowing and expert in the Laws. Moreover, to each of His Sons was allotted an Imperial \* Attendance, [namely] † Scutarii; Hæstati; Protectors; Legions also, and Military Companies; and Officers that commanded them, [to wit,] Centurions, Tribunes, and † Duces: of whose skill in warlike affairs, as likewise of their good affection towards them his Sons, the Father had had experience.

CHAP. LII.

How, when they were arrived at Man's estate, He taught them Piety.

Further, during their being Cæsars as yet very young, they had (as 'twas requisite,) Ministers and Councillours present with them, who administered the publick affairs. \* But when, afterwards, they grew up to be Men, their Fathers instruction only, was sufficient for them. Who sometimes incited 'em, when present with him, by private instructions to an imitation of himself; and taught them to become exact followers of his own piety: at other times, when they were absent, by his Letters he suggested to them Imperial Precepts. The first and chiefest whereof was this, that they should value the knowledge and worship of God the suprem King, above all riches whatever, and before the Empire it self. But at length he gave them power, of themselves to do what might be of advantage to the publick: and before all things gave them this in charge, that they should take a particular care of God's Church, and commanded them openly to own themselves to be Christians. And in this manner he instructed his Sons. But they, incited not so much by Precept as by their own alacrity of mind, exceeded the admonitions of their Father; in regard they had their minds always intent upon Piety towards God, and in the very Palace it self exactly performed and observed the Rites of the Church, together with all their Domesticks. For this was the work of the Fathers Care, to assign no Domesticks to his Sons, but such as were \* worshippers of God. \* The Commanders also of the First Companies, and they to whom the Care of the State was entrusted, πρυτανες. So in the foregoing chapter Eusebius makes use of the word πρυτανι to signify Military Companies; and in many other places. So Sozomen book 1. chap. 8. τῶν ἐκείνων ἢ τῶν βασιλικῶν τῶν μαται,



CHAP. LV.

How Constantine wrote Orations to the very last day of his Life.

<sup>1</sup> Suppose amongst others, Ab. latus to be meant; who after Constantine's death, in regard 'twas believed that he attempted a Rebellion, was slain by the order of Constantius, as Eusebius does at large relate in the *Life of the Son of the Emperor*. <sup>2</sup> Eusebius has made use of the term *epitaph*, where see what we have noted. You might also read *epitaph*, as 'tis written at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*. The Translator persisting in his mistake, renders it here also, *Congressus cum amicis habere, to hold meetings with his friends*; whereas he ought to have translated it, *conciones habere, to make Speeches*, as 'tis plainly confirmed by the words following. *Victor in his Epitome says the same likewise concerning Constantine: Commodissimus tamen rebus multis fuit: Calumnias sedare legibus severissimis: nutrire artes bonas, precipue Junda Litterarum: legere ipse, scribere, meditari.* Where *meditari* has the same import with *μετασκέψασθαι*, that is, *declaimare, to declaim*. *Valf.*

<sup>3</sup> Μακρὸν δὲ γὰρ νῆας. Doubtless it must be written *καταΐκας*, having continued; as others have already remarked. *Valf.*

<sup>4</sup> Τὸν δὲ δυνάστωρ. I had rather write *τὸν δυνάστωρ*. So Eusebius does usually term the Emperors, and especially the Philosophers, who thought themselves wiser than others. In the *Enketian Copy* the reading is *δυναστωρ*. But the third syllable has a line drawn under it. *Valf.*

CHAP. LVI.

How, making an Expedition against the Persians, He took the Bishops along with him, and [provided] a \* Tent made in form of a Church.

\* Or, Tabernacle.

THIS also is worthy to be recorded, that about the forementioned time, upon his hearing of the motion of those Barbarians [who dwell] at the East, having said, that as yet there

remained to him this Victory [to be obtained] over them, he resolved upon an Expedition against the Persians. Which when he had determined to undertake, he summoned together his Military Forces; and likewise conferred with the Bishops that were about him, concerning the design of his Expedition; it being his chiefest care, that some Persons should always be present with him, who were of use in order to the worship of God. They affirmed, that they would most willingly follow him, nor would in any wife leave him; but with their incessant Prayers to God would engage and fight together with him. At which news he was highly pleased, and desirous to them a way whereby they might go. <sup>1</sup> Then he prepared a Tabernacle most <sup>2</sup> richly furnished, made in the form of a Church, for the use of this War; wherein he resolved, in company with the Bishops, to pour forth his Prayers to God the Giver of Victory.

in the *Geneva Edition*, unto the beginning of the 8th Chapter, (which passage we have inclosed within this mark [ ]), were wanting both in the *King's Copy*, and in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; and they have been added by Learned Men, from conjecture, as I think. For the Chapters which follow are too short, and contain nothing more than the very Titles of the Chapters; which is a thing altogether disagreeable to Eusebius's design. Wherefore 'tis credible, that Learned Men inserted these words from the Titles of the Chapters, which occur perfixt before the fourth Book. Further, in the *Geneva Edition*, these words *δυνὸς δὲ*, which occur after the verb *δυστάσας*, must be expunged. For the imperfection begins before these words *δυνὸς δὲ*, *δὲ* *νῆας*, &c. We have taken notice of a like mistake above. Our conjecture concerning this Supplement is plainly confirmed by the *Enketian Copy*, which (though it faithfully shews the other Supplements which are publish'd by the *Geneva-men*, as we have noted in their places; yet) has not the Supplement of this place. Nor is this Fragment written in *Turmusius's Copy*, although all the rest occur written at the margin of his Book. *Valf.*

<sup>3</sup> Socrates (book i. chap. 18.) relates the very same thing, in these words: *πῶς δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τὴν χριστιανικὴν μὲν δὲ, &c.* Moreover, *Isardus* was the *Emperor's* Love for the Christian Religion, that being about to engage in a War with the Persians. He provided a Tabernacle made of Linden, painted with divers colours, much resembling a Church, even as Moses did in the wilderness; and this he would have carried about with him, that so in the most desert Regions he might have an Oratory ready. Which words of Socrates I have the more willingly produced, because I know that Socrates is wont most commonly to make use of the very words of Eusebius, in those passages which he borrows out of Eusebius. Therefore, these words of Socrates may supply the place of Eusebius's words. For I can very hardly be induced to believe, that those words which occur in this imperfection, are Eusebius's. Further, before this, in the *Licinian War* namely, Constantine had a Tabernacle of the Cross fixt without the Camp, into which he retired to fast and pray, as Eusebius attests Book 2. But in his preparation for the *Parthian War*, Constantine did this further, that he built a Tabernacle in form of a Church. Socrates relates, that from this practice of Constantine it was afterwards derived, that each Cohort in the Roman Army had its Tabernacle furnished like a Chappel, and peculiar Priests and Deacons, who might there perform Divine worship. *Valf.*

CHAP. LVII.

That having received the Embassy of the Persians, He watch'd all night, together with others, on the Feast of Baister.

IN the interim the Persians, informed of the Emperours preparation for a War, and being extremely fearful of coming to an Engagement with him, <sup>1</sup> by an Embassy entreated him to make a Peace. <sup>2</sup> *Festus* writes the same thing in his *Brutarium*. *Constantinus reversus dominus, &c.* *Corā* *laureis* *supra* *in* *the* *Empire*, at the latter end of his Life prepared an Expedition against the Persians. For the Nations in the whole World being subdued; and he being rendered more glorious by a fresh Victory obtained over the Goths, went down against the Persians with many Troops. At whose approach the Kingdoms of Babylon trembled so much, that an humble Embassy from the Persians met him, and promised



they would do what they were commanded. Nevertheless, they deserved not to be pardoned for the continual Eruptions which they had attempted throughout the East, under Constantius Cæsar. But Socrates says only this: ἀλλ' ὁ σέβας τῶν ἀποστόλων, &c. But this War went on no farther at that time: For it was immediately extinguished by the fear which the Emperor had put the Persians into. Valef.

Wherefore, this most peaceable Emperour, gave the Embassie of the Persians a kind reception, and readily entred into a League with them. The great Festival of Easter was now at hand: wherein the Emperour paid his Vows to God, and together with others watch'd all Night long.

Who here observe the Barbarism, not of Eusebius, but of him who has made up this Chapter. For it ought to have been said, αὐτὸς ταύτας ἐκτίθεικε. Nor is it likely, that Constantine, who had drawn together all the Forces of the Roman Empire against the Persians, should have made a Peace with them. 'Tis certain, the contrary is affirmed by Rufus Festus, whose words we have produced above; as also by Eutropius, and Aurelius Victor. But Socrates intimates, that a Peace, or at least a Truce, was made with the Persian. Valef.

## CHAP. LVIII.

Concerning the Building of that termed the Martyrium of the Apostles, at Constantinople.

AFTER this He began to build a Martyrium in that City which bore his own name, in the memory of the Apostles. And when he had raised the Church to an unexpressible height, he made it Splendid and Glorious by a variety of all manner of Stones, covering it with Crusts of Marble from the Foundation to the very Roof. He laid the inner-Roof all over with Lacunaria of very small work, and gilded it throughout with Gold. Above, instead of Tyles, Bricks was laid, which afforded the whole Structure a secure defence against showers. Which [covering] being likewise over-spread with

Gold, shined gloriously: in so much that, it dazzled their Eyes who beheld it at a distance, [the Bricks] † reverberating the Rays of the Sun. But the whole Roof was encompassed round with chased Net-work, made of Bricks and Gold.

† Above, at book 2 chap 36. Eusebius terms the outward Roof of a Church, τὰ ἑξῆς ὀροῖα. Therefore do we suppose to be the Roof of the whole Church, or at least of the Altar. Such Roofs built in form of a Circle, we French-men do at this day term *Domats*. Further, concerning the magnificence of this Church of the Apostles. Grægor Nazianzenus, in his Poem de Infamio Anastasio, writes thus:

Ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ γῇ  
ἵκετον οὐρανὸν ἵκετον οὐρανὸν ἵκετον οὐρανὸν.

This is, And likewise the magnificent Temple of Christs Disciples, distinguished by four sides in form of a Cross. In this forso Churches were heretofore built, as Grægor hath remarked in his Books de Cruce, and Metast in the Life of St. Porphyry. Valef.

## CHAP. LIX.

A further description of the same Martyrium.

IN This manner was the Church itself beautified, by the Emperour's extraordinary Care and Munificence. But about the Church there was a most Spacious Area, open to the pure Air. At the four sides whereof ran Porticus's [joyned one to another,] which inclosed the Area Situate in the midst, together with the Church itself. Moreover, † Basilicæ, Baths, Rooms to lodge and eat in, and many other apartaments built for their use who kept the place, were joined to the Porticus's, and were equal to them in length.

## CHAP. LX.

That in this [Church] also, He built Himself a Sepulchre.

ALL These [Edifices] the Emperour dedicated [with this intent,] that He might consign to posterity the memory of Saviour's Apostles. But he had another design in his mind, when he built this Church: which [purpose of his] was at first concealed; but in the end it became known to all Men. For he had designed this place for himself after his death; foreseeing by a transcendent alacrity of Faith, that his own Body should after death be made a partaker of the Apostles appellation: time of his death.

\* Τὸς τῶν ἀποστόλων προσέτισις κοινόν. Eusebius alludes to that appellation of ἰσοπέταλοι, that is, equal to an Apostle, which was given to Constantine after his death, as it occurs in the Menæis of the Greeks. Which appellation I can't tell why Scaliger (in his fifth Book de Emendatione Temporum,) should so much envy him, as to say that much was detracted from the praise and glory of the Apostles, because their name is given to Constantine. Doubtless, whomever shall accurately look into those things done by Constantine, in order to the propagation of the Faith of Christ, will acknowledge that name to have been deservedly given Him. If Thecla could deserve that appellation, which Woman Basilian Seleucus and others do term ἰσοπέταλοι, how much more justly will it be given to Constantine, by whom 'tis effected, that we are now all Christians? Further, Hieronymus makes use of the same words again, below at chap. 71. The Author of the Synodicon speaking concerning the Nicene Synod; ἰσοπέταλοι, ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς βασιλεὺς ἀποστόλων, Constantine, the Apostle among the Christian Emperours. And so he is termed in the Office of the Greeks, at the 21<sup>st</sup> of May, as it occurs in the Typicon of St. Saba. Valef.

\* To the end that even after death, He might be esteemed worthy of the Prayers which should be performed there in honour of the Apostles. Having therefore raised twelve † Capse there, as some Sacred Columns, in honour and memory of the choir of the Apostles, he placed his own Ark in the midst; on each side of which lay six Capse of the Apostles. And this, as I have said, he prudently considered of, [namely] where his Body might be decently deposited after he had ended his Life. Having in his mind ordered these matters

\* Ὡς ἐν τῷ μὲν πάλαι, ἐκείνῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων μακάριον ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ἀποστόλων συνκλησίᾳ τοῦτον. In Robert Steephen's Edit. 'tis likewise worded and pointed in the same manner.

† Capse. In the Greek 'tis δέμας.

\* But Chrysostome (Homil. 26 in 2 Epist. to the Corinthians, pg. 741.) says Constantine was buried in the Porch of the Church of the Apostles, as their Porter; and that matter he magnifies according to his usual way. These things therefore must be re-nounced, as that Constantine himself would have had his dead body buried in the midst of the Apostles: but, that Constantine, or some body else, placed it elsewhere. Indeed Zonaras writes, that Constantine deposited his Father's Corps in the Church of the Apostles, in a peculiar Porticus, which he had built for that very purpose. Valef.

† Ἀνάκτα, Ὀφεία.

place



of opinion therefore, that it must be read thus: *ἡδύτατον, ἀνεκάνη τὸ τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἠρεσεν ἐν πνεύματι.* For he alludes to that verse of the known Psalm, *Create a clean heart in me, O God, and return a right spirit within me.* Further, from this place of *Eusebius* we may gather, that *Constantine* was not sprinkled in his Bed, as the sick were wont to be; but received Baptism in the Church. For *Eusebius* says, *τὴν ἡμέραν παρὰ τοὺς ἀποστόλους, &c. was by a Regeneration perfected in the Martyria of Christ.* Soon after this, from the *Eusebian Copy* and the *Old Sheets* write *quodis contemplatio, was filled with light.* Valef.

and was renewed, and filled with the Divine Light. The joy of his mind was great, by reason of his transcendancy of Faith; but he was stricken with an amazement at the manifestation of the Divine Power. After all things had been duly performed, He was clothed with white and Royal Garments, which shined like the Light; and rested himself upon a most bright Bed; nor would he any more touch the purple.

That *Neophytes* [i.e. Persons newly baptized,] should be clothed in white garments, which they afterwards laid by, on the eighth day. *Zeno Venousius* in his sixth Sermon ad *Neophytes.* *Primus eos qui in seculo educti non erant, non ardet sed agitur excepti: qui vestram nudicem vellent sui more candore vestire.* St. *Austin* in *Serm. 157. de Tempore.* *Pascualis Solemnitas bodierna festivitate concluditur. Et ideo hodie Neophytorum habitus commutatur: ita tamen, ut candor, qui de habitu procedit, semper in corde teneatur.* Bede attests the same in his *Book de Officiis.* *Septuagesima, says he, cecidit ad sabannam ante Celsas Pasche, quando hi qui in Vigilia pasche baptizantur, alba vestimenta deponunt.* Which words occur also in the *Roman Order.* In an old *Pontifical Book* of the Church of *Scmona*, written out about six hundred years since, there is a solemn Prayer extant, which the Bishop made over the *Neophytes*, at such time as they laid aside their Albes; which I thought worth while to annex here.

*Benedictio in Sabbato quando albas deponunt.*

*Deus qui calcatis inferni Legibus captivitatem nostram resoluisti carcerum compage dignatus est ad Libertatem premia revocare, ipse vobis præstet ita hanc vitam transigere, ut in illam perpetuam ipso dante possitis intrare, Amen.* Tamen prout vobis fervorem Catholicæ fidei, ut sancti adventus illius sitis expectantes securi, Amen. Ut quicumque hic meruerint purgare unda Baptismi, ibi presentari valeant pio Iudice candidati, Amen.

Farther, the *Neophytes* celebrated those eight days after Baptism with all imaginable Religion: in so much that, during those days, which were also termed *Octaves*, they look'd upon it as impious, to touch the earth with their naked feet, as St. *Austin* writes in *Epist. 119. ad Janarium.* Also, during those days they were wont to go bare-headed, which was a sign of Liberty. St. *Austin* *Serm. 4. in Dominica Octavarum pasche.* *Hodie Octavæ dicuntur infanscenti: re velanda sunt capita coram quo est iudicium Libertatis. Habes enim Liberamentum istis spirituali nativitate, &c.* On the contrary, the *Catechumens* went in publick with their heads covered, in regard they were a Type of *Adam* expelled out of Paradise, as *Justinus* says *Book 2. Cap. 16.* Which I am of opinion is to be understood concerning the *Catechumens* only, who covered not only their heads, but their faces also, as *Cyrill* of *Jerusalem* informs us in his first *Catechism.* But this covering was taken off of them in Baptism, or at least on the eighth day after Baptism. For this is rather intimated by those words of St. *Austin*, quoted by us a little above. And the same is likewise confirmed by *Decodens* Bishop of *Canterbury* in his *Lib. Penitentialis*, in these words. *In monachorum ordinatione Abbas debet missam canere, & tres Oraciones complere super Caput ejus: & septem dies velat caput ejus: septimo die absolvat velamen. Sicut in Baptismo Presbyter (septimo die velamen infanscenti tollit: ita & Abbas debet Monacho, qui secundum Baptismum est iuxta iudicium patrum; & omnia peccata dimittitur sicut in Baptismo.* Valef.

### CHAP. LXIII.

*In what manner he praised God, after he had received Baptism.*

After this he lifted up his voice, and poured forth to God a Prayer of thanksgiving. Which ended, he added these words. Now

*I know my self to be truly blessed: a now 'tis evident that I am accounted worthy of an immortal life: now I have as assurance that I am made a partaker of Divine Light.* Moreover, he termed them miserable, and said they were unhappy, who were deprived of such great

\* Blessings. And when the Tribunes and Chief Officers of the Military Forces came in, and with tears bewailed [their own misfortune,] that they themselves should be left desolate; and prayed for his longer Life: He answered them also, and said, that now at length he was vouchsafed true life, and that only He himself knew, what great Blessings he had been made a partaker of. Wherefore, that he hastned, and would by no delays defer going to his God: After this, he disposed of every thing according to his own mind. And to those Romans who inhabit the Imperial City, he bequeathed certain Annual Gifts. But he left the inheritance of the Empire, as 'twere some paternal Estate, to his own Children; ordering all things in such a manner, as he himself thought good.

### CHAP. LXIV.

*The death of Constantine on the Festival of Pentecost, about noon.*

Further, all these things were transacted in that great Solemnity of the most venerable and most sacred *Pentecost*; which is honoured with seven Weeks, \* but is sealed with \* the number one. In which Festival happened, both the Ascend of the Common Saviour into the Heavens, and also the descent of the Holy Spirit upon Men, as the Divine Scriptures do attest. In this Solemnity therefore the Emperor, having obtained those things we have mentioned, on the last day of all, (which should any one term the Feast of Feasts, he would not be mistaken;) † about Noon, was taken up to his God: leaving to mortals that part of Himself which was related to them; but joining to his God that part of his Soul which was endued with understanding, and in the Love of God. This was the End of *Constantine's* Life. But, let us proceed to what follows.

but also for the seven Weeks which follow Easter. Thus 'tis every where used, as well by Greek as Latine Writers. St. *Jerome* in his Letter to *Marcella*: *Non quæper totum annum exceptis Pentecoste jejunare non liceat.* Hence, amongst the Greeks there is a Festival (termed *ἡμερὴν ἡμερῶν*), which is the twenty-fifth day from the Feast of Easter. Besides other writers, *John Chrysostom* makes mention of this Feast, in his Fifth Homily de *Anima.* Valef.

## CHAP. LXV.

*The Lamentations of the Milice, and Tribunes.*

**T**HE *Protectors*, and the whole Body of his Guards, rent their clothes forthwith, and casting themselves prostrate on the earth, beat their heads against the ground; uttering

\* *Κοινωνοὶ φίλοι.* The left word must be expunged, although it occurs in all our Copies. Presently, it must be written τῶν συμπαθῶν ἐταρῶν, from the *Fukertian Copy*. In the *Kings Sheet* the reading is ἀπικαλῶντο. *Valer.*

\* Or, *Genuine.*

\* mournful expressions [intermixt] with Sighs and Cries; calling upon him their Master, their Lord, their Emperor; nor [did they invoke him barely] as a Master, but, like most \* obedient Children, [they accounted him] as a Father.

Moreover, the *Tribunes* and *Centurions* filed him a Saviour, a Preserver, a Benefactor. And the rest of the Army, as 'tis usual amongst flocks, with all imaginable decency and becoming Reverence, desired and wist for their Good Shepherd. The common People all ran up and down all over the City, and by Shrieks and Cries gave a manifest indication of their inward grief of mind. Others with dejected Countenances seemed like Persons astonished; and <sup>b</sup> each particular Man look'd upon this as his own Calamity, and bemoan'd himself, because the common Good of all Men was taken out of their life.

<sup>b</sup> *ἕκαστος τὸν αὐτοῦ.* It must doubtless be written, ἕκαστος τὸν αὐτοῦ.

*Valer.* Concerning the publick mourning of all Persons, at the Funeral of *Constantine the Great*, *Aurelius Victor* attests the same, in these words. *Funus relatum in urbem sui nominis. Quod sane p. quibus Rom. agerentis cultis: quippe cuius armis, legibus, clementi imperio quasi novum in urbem Rom. arbitratum. His dead body was brought into the City that bore his own name. Which the People of Rome were sorely troubled at: in regard, by his Arms, Laws, and mild Government, they supposed the City Rome renewed as 'twere.* I know indeed, that the words of *Aurelius Victor* may be understood concerning the Citizens of Rome, who took it ill, because *Constantine's* Body had been interred at *Constantinople* rather than at Rome. Nevertheless I am of opinion, that *Victor* thought otherwise; to wit, that all the Inhabitants of the Roman World were most sorely troubled at the death of *Constantine*. Which meaning is plainly confirmed by the following words: *Quippe cuius armis, legibus, clementi imperio, quasi novum Orbem Romanum in bitaretur.* For so 'tis to be read, and not *urbem Romanam.* *Valer.*

## CHAP. LXVI.

*That His Body was carried from Nicomedia to Constantinople, into the Palace.*

**A**FTER this, the Milice took His Body [out of the Bed,] and laid it into a Coffin of Gold; which they covered \* with Purple, and carried it to the City that bore his own name. And there they plac'd it \* on high, <sup>b</sup> in the stateliest Room of the Imperial Palace. Then they light up Tapers round it, which being put into Candlesticks of Gold, rendred the Sight admirable to those that beheld it, and such a one as had never been seen on earth, by

any Person that was ever under the Sun's Rayes, since the World was first made. For within, in

the very middlemost Room of the Imperial Palace, the Emperours Corps lay on high in a Golden Coffin; and being adorned with Imperial Ornaments, the Purple namely and the Diadem, was encompassed by many Persons, who watch'd with, and guarded it night and day.

## CHAP. LXVII.

*That even after his Death, he was honoured by the Comites and the rest, in the same manner as when he was alive.*

**M**OREOVER, the \* *Duces*, *Comites*, and the \* *Generals*, whose usage it had heretofore been to \* adore the Emperor, made not the least alteration in their former Custom, but came in at set times, and on their knees saluted the Emperor when dead, and laid in his Coffin, as if he had been yet alive. After these *Grandees*, those of the Senate, \* and all the *Honorati*, came in, and did the same. After whom, multitudes of all sorts of People, together with Women and Children, approach'd to the sight hereof. And these things were thus performed during a long space of time: the Milice having taken a Resolution, that the Corps should lie and be guarded in this manner, till such time as his \* *Or, Their* Sons could come, who might honour their Father by \* a personal attendance at his Funeral. *Or, Their* [In fine,] this most Blessed [Prince] was *him* the only Mortal who \* Reigned after death; and all things were performed in the usual manner, as if he had been still alive: this being the sole Person, from the utmost memory of Man, on whom God conferred this. For, whereas he of all the Emperours had been the only one, who by actions of all sorts whatever had honoured God the supreme King, and His Christ; he alone, and that deservedly, had these honours allotted him: and the supreme God was pleased to vouchsafe him this, that even his dead Body should Reign amongst Men. Whereby God clearly shew'd them, whose minds are not \* totally stupified, that the Empire of his Soul is endless and immortal. In this manner were these things performed.

\* *Τὸν βασιλέα σεβασμῶν.* Concerning the manner of saluting the Roman Emperours, consult the Learned Dr. *Hewlett's History*, Second Part, pag. 51. This Adoration was little more than what is now a day used to Princes, namely, a kneeling to them, and bowing the head.

<sup>b</sup> *Or, ἐν αἰῶνι.* That is, the *Honorati*. So the Latines termed those who bore honour, as I have at large remarked at the 14th Book of *Amm Marcellinus*. Whereto add a passage of *Gaudencius Bishop of Brisia*, in his Letter to *Benevolus*. Nam scire honoratum nostræ urbis, ita etiam dominicæ plebis, domino annuente, dignissimum caput est. *Valer.*

\* After *Constantine's* death, there was an *Interregnum*, not did any *Augustus* Reign in the Roman World. Which *interregnum* [i. e. a time when there was no Emperor,] continued not only till *Constantine's* Burial, but to the fifth of the Ides of September, as *Idatius* attests in his *Fasts*. So, for the space of three Months and an half, the Roman World was without the Empire of an *Augustus*. For during that whole time, which is between the eleventh of the Calends of June and the fifth of the Ides of September, his Sons were titled only *Cæsars*. \* *Tis certain, Constantian Junior*, in his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, which bears date after his Father's death, in the Consulate of *Felicianus* and *Tirianus*, on the fifteenth of the Calends of July, bears the Title of *Cæsar* only. This Letter is extant in *Athanasius*, in his Second Apologic, near the end. *Valer.*

\* Or, Turned into stone.

† *Τὸν δ. ἁγίου, &c.* i. Stephen's *τὸν δ. ἁγίου, &c.* and we have rendred it accordingly.

## CHAP. LXVIII.

*In what manner the Army resolved, that his Sons should be forthwith proclaimed Augusti.*

**I**N the interim, the *Tribunes* dispatch'd away some choice men belonging to the Military Companies, who for their fidelity and good affection had heretofore been \* acceptable to the Emperor; that they might make the *Cæsars* acquainted with what had been done. And these were the things which those men performed then. But the Armies in all places, as soon as they were acquainted with the Emperours death, incited thereto by Divine instinct as 'twere, with an unanimous consent resolved, as if their Great Emperour had been yet living, that they would acknowledge no other person as Emperour of the *Romans*, save only his Sons. And not long after, they determined to have them all henceforward, not stiled *Cæsars*, but *Augusti*; which [name] is the † *Cognisance* of supremacy of Empire. And these things were done by the Armies; who by Letters one to another, signified their own suffrages and Acclamations; and the unanimous consent of the Legions was in one and the same moment of time, made known to all persons wheresoever they dwelt.

## CHAP. LXIX.

\* Or, of *The Mourning* \* at Rome for Constantine, and the Honour [done Him] by Pictures after his death.

**B**UT the Inhabitants of the Imperial City, as well the Senate as people of *Rome*, when they were acquainted with the Emperours death, look'd upon that to be most doleful news, and more calamitous than any misfortune whatsoever, and therefore set no Bounds to their mourning. The Baths therefore and *Forums* were shut up, and the publick Shows [omitted;] as likewise whatever other Pleasures, as Recreations of Life, are usually followed by those who spend their time in mirth and jollity. Such also, as had heretofore abounded with delights, walk'd the Streets with dejected Countenances. And all in general stiled [the Emperour] Blessed; a person dear to God, and one that was truly worthy of the Empire. Nor made they these Declarations in bare words only: but proceeding on to actual performances, they honoured him when dead, with dedications of Pictures, as if he had been still alive. For, having express'd a Representation of Heaven in Colours on a Table, they drew him making his Residence in an *Ethereal* Mansion, above the Celestial Arches. Moreover, they proclaimed his Sons the sole Emperours and *Augusti*, without the Collegueship of any other person; and with humble supplications made it their earnest Request, that they might have the \* Body of their Emperour with them, and might deposit it within the Imperial City.

\* The same is attested by *Aurelius Victor*, in those words of his, which we quoted above, at chap. 63. vide (L.) Valef.

## CHAP. LXX.

*That his Body was deposited at Constantinople, by his Son Constantius.*

**I**N this manner, even these [Inhabitants of *Rome*] grac'd this Emperour, who was honoured by God. But the \* Second of his Sons, a *Constantius Cæsar*, when he was come to the place where his Father's Corps lay, convey'd [it] to the City whom his [that bore his own name,] he himself going Father had before the Hearse. The Companies of the *Milivour* of the *East*, made *God* licence march'd before, Troop by Troop in a *Milivour* of the *East*, and behind followed an innumerable multitude of people. But the *Hastating* of his Father's *Corps*, when they were come to the Church of our Saviour's Apostles, they deposited the Coffin great haft there. And thus the new Emperour *Constantius*, honouring his Father, as well by his pre-journey, sence, as other befitting Offices, in a due manner performed \* his Funeral obsequies.

\* Or, The things of a becoming Sanctity.

the vehemency of his disease frustrated the Son's desire. For when he was arrived at *Nicomedia*, he found his Father dead; as *Julian* relates in his first *Oration* concerning the praises of *Constantius*, pag. 29. With *Julian*; the other Writers of History do likewise agree. *Zonaras* is the only Author who relates, that *Constantius Cæsar*, who was then at *Antioch*, arriv'd whilst his Father was yet living; and that he honoured him, when dead, with a most magnificent Funeral. *Valef*.

† Τὸ πρῶτον ἔκτα ἀνεστησε. The last word save one is added by the Learned, from conjecture as I think. Nevertheless, there seems to be something more wanting; and perhaps *Eusebius* wrote thus ἵνα ἐκεῖθεν ἀνεστησε τὸν πρῶτον to the City that bore his own name. Hence it appears, that *Constantine's* dead Body was kept at *Nicomedia* with all imaginable honour and reverence, till the coming of *Constantius Cæsar*. Who, after he was arriv'd at *Nicomedia*, convey'd his Fathers Corps to *Constantinople*. Wherefore the Author of the *Alexandrian Chronicle* is mistaken, who relates, that *Constantius* came directly to *Constantinople*, and there celebrated his Father's Funeral. *Valef*.

## CHAP. LXXI.

*The \* performance of the solemn prayers in that \* Synagoga; term'd the Martyrium of the Apostles, at the sacred Assembly. † Funeral of Constantine.*

**B**UT after he had withdrawn himself, together with the Military Companies; fold sense the Ministers of God, as likewise the Multi-<sup>given of</sup> tudes, and all the Congregation of the Faithful, came forth, and by prayers performed the Rites of the Divine Worship. At which time this Blessed [Prince,] lying on high \* upon a lofty place, was celebrated with praise. Likewise, a vast number of people, together with those persons consecrated to God, not without tears and great lamentation, poured forth prayers to God for the Emperour's Soul, thereby performing a most grateful Office to this pious Prince. Further, herein also God demonstrated his singular Favour towards his Servant: because [after] his

\* A two. *Eusebius* means, that *Constantius Cæsar*, when he had deposited his Father's Ark or Coffin in the Church, went presently out of the Church with the Soldiers; or else this is his meaning only, that *Constantine* having done that, withdrew out of the middle of the Church, that he might give place to the Priests. Which meaning is in my judgment true. For *Constantius*, although he had not as yet been baptiz'd, was nevertheless a *Catechumen*, as *Sulpicius Severus* tells us in the Second Book of his History. *Valef*.

\* Εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἤλθεν. See *Gellius*, l. 13. Cap. 10.

his death<sup>b</sup> he bequeathed the Empire to his own dear Sons, who were his Successors; and because, <sup>c</sup> agreeable to his own most earnest desire, the Tabernacle of his thrice-blessed Soul was vouchsafed a place with the Monument of the Apostles; to the end namely, that it might be honoured in the same degree with the name of the Apostles; and that it might be joyed with God's People in the Church; and might be vouchsafed the Divine Rites, and Mystick Service; and might enjoy a Communion of the Holy Prayers: <sup>d</sup> but, that He himself, possessing the Empire [even] After death, managing the whole Government by a Return to Life as 'twere, <sup>e</sup> *Victor Maximus Augustus*, might in his own name still <sup>f</sup> Rule the Roman Empire.

ported] is restored to life again out of those very ashes; and raising her self by her wings, appears the same in kind that she was before. But in the same manner with his Saviour rather; who, like wheat sown, from one Grain diffusing himself into many, by the blessing of God hath brought forth an Ear of Corn, and hath filled the whole world with his fruits. In a like manner hereto, this thrice-blessed [Prince], by the Succession of his Children, from being one, has been made <sup>g</sup> many: in so much that, throughout all Provinces, Statues are raised in honour of Him, together with his Sons; and the usual name of *Constantine* \* obtains even after his death.

<sup>h</sup> *Πολύπλοκος* Sir Henry Savil at the margin of his Copy remarks, that the

\* Is in use, or is embraced.

reading should be *παραστάς*; to whom I agree: yet I had rather read *παραστάς*. Valef.

concerning *Constantine* himself, who, even dead, delivered the Empire to his Sons. And this is confirmed by the following words. Valef.

<sup>i</sup> Καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα αὐτοῦ. It must, I think, be written, <sup>j</sup> καὶ τὰ σπουδαῖα αὐτοῦ. *Constantine* had wish'd, that after his Death, he might not, like other Princes, be consecrated, and reckoned amongst the *Dead*; but, that being buried with the Apostles, he might be a partaker of the Prayers, which are wont to be offered to God by the Faithful in honour of them; as *Eusebius* has said above, at chap. 60. Whence it appears, that here it must be written <sup>k</sup> καὶ, not as it is in *Moræus's* Book, and at the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, διὰ τὰ σπουδαῖα αὐτοῦ, *throw his own self*, &c. Nor will this place be perfect, even this way, unless these words be added, ἢ ἐν τῇ αἰσῇ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῇ. &c. Which *Eusebius* confirms in the foregoing 60th chapter. The point must also be blotted out, which is set a little after, as well in the *Kings Copy*, as in the Common Editions; and it must be read in one breath, thus, οὐ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, καὶ τὴν τὴν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, &c. Than which there is nothing more certain; which makes me admire, that Translators saw not this. In the *Eusebian Copy*, the reading of this place runs thus; ἢ διὰ τὰ σπουδαῖα αὐτοῦ, τὴν οὐ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, ἢ καὶ αὐτὸν, αἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐ τὴν τὴν, &c. Nor is it otherwise in the Books of *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil*: save only that *Sir Henry* has it *τὴν οὐ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω*. &c. But in the *Kings Sheet* I found this place written thus; καὶ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, οὐ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, &c. Which reading comes nearer to our Emendation. Further, those words, αἱ ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὐ τὴν τὴν, are spoken in a Parenthesis; and this is intimated by that punctuation in the *Eusebian Copy*, which I have shewn above. Valef.

<sup>l</sup> Αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, &c. I write, αὐτὸν δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν, καὶ τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, &c.; which reading the following words do confirm. And so I found it plainly written in the *Eusebian Copy*. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Such was the Inscription, usually prefix before the Laws and Letters of *Constantine*, as *Eusebius* does every where attest. *Victor Constantinus Maximus Augustus*. He took the Pronomen [Fore-name] of *Victor*, after his Victory obtained over the Tyrants. His Sons also, by an hereditary right as 'twere, retained that name, as their Letters inform us. Further, from this place it appears, that after the death of *Constantinus Maximus*, for about three months space, that is during the whole time of the *Interregnum*, all Laws and Edicts were inscribed with the Name of *Constantine*, as if he had been living, in regard there was no other *Augustus* in the Roman world, as I have observed above. This place may also be meant concerning the Sons of *Constantine* the Great, who made use of the same Title and Name; and in whom their Father seemed to be revived. Which sense is confirmed by what follows. Valef.

<sup>n</sup> Ἡμεῖς καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. I write, ἡμεῖς, that it may answer the verb *κατατίθετε*, which occurs several lines above. Further, in the *Kings Copy*, at the margin of *Constantine*, αἱ ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, οὐ τὴν τὴν ἀποστολὴν ἀνατίθω, &c. The same Writer does in this work often sprinkle him with praises and good wishes. In the *Eusebian Copy* the reading is *καὶ τὴν*. Valef.

## CHAP. LXXIII.

In what manner they Stamp'd *Constantine* on Coyns, ascending up into Heaven as 'twere.

Moreover, \* Coyns were Stamp'd bearing <sup>o</sup> Representation of this Blessed [Prince] \* with His Head covered: But, on the † Reverse [the] was represented fitting] like a Charioteer, in a Chariot drawn by four Horses, and taken up [into Heaven] by a || hand stretch'd out to him from above.

|| Right hand. n. The last word

is, in my judgment, to be blotted out; which in all probability crept out of the margin into the Text. For *Constantine* had been written in the margin, which might explain the following word *ἀνατίθω*. But, that which occurs in the margin of the *Geneva Edition*, namely *Constantine*, is in my judgment most egregiously foolish. For the propriety of the Greek Tongue admits not of that expression. Besides, in most Coyns *Constantine* appears with an Helmet on his Head. Valef.

## CHAP. LXXIV.

That whereas God had been honoured by Him, He was on the other hand deservedly honoured by God.

These [Miracles] the suprem God laid before our very eyes, in [the person of] *Constantine*, who was the only [Prince] of all the preceding Emperors, that had openly profest himself a <sup>p</sup> Christian; whereby God, <sup>q</sup> manifestly declared, <sup>r</sup> How great a difference there is between Him and the Idols. Valef.

<sup>s</sup> It must be made *χρῆσται*. It is also to be written, *μὲν τὴν πόλιν τὴν αἰσῇ αὐτοῦ*, &c. or at least those words are to be understood. Further, *Eusebius* excepts none of the Roman Emperors, whilst he says, that *Constantine* was the first of them all, who was plainly and openly a Christian. Which doubtless is most true. For although the Emperor *Philipus* is by some reported to have been a Christian; yet he did not openly profess the Christian Religion, as *Constantine* did. *Orosius* (Book 7.) writes in a different sense concerning *Constantine*, in this manner; *Primus Imperatorum Christianus*, &c. the first Christian of the Emperors, except *Philipus*, who in my judgment was made a Christian during a very few years, for this reason only, that the thousandth year of Rome might be dedicated to Christ, rather than to Idols. Valef.

<sup>t</sup> O μὲν οὖν ἢ ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ, &c. that is, How great a difference there was between him, or, how great a difference he made. Valef.

he

## CHAP. LXXII.

Concerning the Bird [termed] the Phoenix.

NOT like that Egyptian Bird, which being the only one of her kind, is said to die upon [an heap of] Spices, at her death making her self a sacrifice: and presently [as 'tis re-

he made, between those who thought good to worship him and his Christ, and them that had embraced a contrary [opinion.] Who having brought a War upon God's Church, thereby rendred him their Enemy and \* Opposer. And indeed, the disastrous and unfortunate close of every of their Lives, has produced a most convincing Argument of the greatness of the divine hatred towards them: in the same manner that the death of *Constantine* has rendred the pledges of God's favour in reference to him, manifest and apparent to all men.

## CHAP. LXXV.

*That Constantine was more pious than [any of] the foregoing Roman Emperours.*

WHO being the Sole Emperour of the Romans, that had honoured God

the Supream King with a Transcendency of piety; and the only one that had freely and boldly \* published the Doctrine of Christ to all men; and the only person (as I may say, that had raised his Church to such a degree of Honour and Glory, as no one had ever done before; and the only person that had totally destroyed the Errour of Poly-<sup>† Or, Had</sup>theism, and confuted all the Rites and Modes of [such a] Superstition: is the only person also, that was vouchsafed such [honours,] both in this Life, and after death, as no one, either amongst the *Gracians* or *Barbarians*, is reported ever to have obtained; Nor can there be any one mentioned, amongst the ancient *Romans* themselves, from the Remotest Times to this present Age; who may be compared with this [our Prince.]

THE



28 SE 60







But, to whom shall I make my supplication, that he may declare to me the occasion of my Calamity, and may vouchsafe me a deliverance from it? Let us suppose, that an answer has been given us by Oracles and Prophecies: "but, that these things are not in their power, but belong to another God. What is the Compassion then? Of what sort is the providence of God towards Man? Unless perhaps, some one of them, inclinable to be kinder, being more forcibly moved, shall give assistance against another, who is not in the least kindly disposed towards Men. Moreover, Anger, and Discord, and Railing; and in fine, a confusion of all things would follow from hence; whilst not one of them would perform his own part; but, through covetousness not satisfied with his own affairs, would invade those that belong to others. What therefore will be the consequence hereof? Questionless, this discordant cord amongst the Celestial powers, would ruin all things under Heaven, and things on earth; the Order and Vicissitude of Seasons and times would vanish, as likewise the delight and life of those fruits produced at the several seasons of the year; the day would be destroyed, and the Rest of the night which follows the day. But enough concerning these matters. Let us now return to those reasons which can in no wise be re-

desse;] and who charge them with Adulteries, and Acts of Incontinency? We do confidently assert this also, that the very Honours and \* Acts of worship, attributed to them by Men, are mixed with uncleanness and Lust. Now therefore, some skillful Person, and a Statuary, having conceived in his mind the Form [of his future work,] frames it by the Rules of Art, and soon after, a forgetfulness falling [upon him,] as 'twere, he flatters his own work, and worships it in place of an immortal God: whereas notwithstanding, he himself, the Father and Framer of that Statue, must confess himself to be mortal. Moreover, they themselves do shew the Sepulchres and \* Arks of those Immortals, and honour the dead with Divine Honours: being wholly ignorant, that that which is truly Blessed and Immortal, stands not in need of Honour from Mortals. For, that which can be discerned by the mind only, and comprehended by the understanding, requires neither a Form whereby it may be known, nor admits of a figure, as its image or Resemblance. But, all these things are done in favour of the dead. For, they were really Men, whilst they lived, \* and were endued with Bodies.

\* Or, The Error in reference to Idols.  
\* Or, Birth.

examined all things with more of attention, at length I found out the true meaning of this place. This therefore is what Constantine says. If there be many Gods; when I shall fall into calamity, to which of them shall I address my self, that he may acquit me with the cause of my Misery, and free me from it. Let us suppose (says he,) that for instance, Apollo has answered me, that 'tis not in his power to deliver me, but, that that belongs to another God. What is more plain than this? It must therefore be written, *Δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἡ σωτηρία*. But belong to another God. Many such Oracles as these are extant in the Histories of the Greeks; where Apollo answers those who Consult him, that they must appease Bacchus, or Saturn, if they have a mind to be delivered from their Calamity. Valef.

#### CHAP. IV.

\* Or, The Error in reference to Idols. Concerning \* their Error who worship Idols.

Whatever had a Beginning, must necessarily have an End also. Now, a temporal Beginning, is termed a \* Generation. But, the things produced by a Generation, are all Corruptible. Besides, Time defaces their Form and Beauty. How then can they, who [have their Original] from a corruptible Generation, be immortal? Now, such an Opinion as this hath been divulged amongst unthinking People, namely, that Marriages are usually made amongst the Gods, and Children begotten. But, if they who are begotten, be immortal; a d if [our Gods] are always begotten, \* their Kind must necessarily be exceedingly numerous: after which Accession made, \* what Heaven, what manner of Earth must it be, that can be capable of containing such a growing swarm of Gods? But what can any one say in reference to those Men, who join the Brethren-Gods in a society \* of Marriage [with the Sister-Gods]

\* Andρον τὸ θεῖον. In the Fugkerian C.P., after the first word, there is an Empty space, capable of one word. I write therefore, *ἀνδρῶν θεῶν* ἄνθρωποι. *τῶν τῶν θεῶν*, ever kind, &c. Valef. \* Τις ὁ θεῶν. It must be, *ὡς ἔστιν*, as I found it mend it the margin of M. A. C. Copy. In the Fugkerian Copy the reading is *ὡς ἔστιν* without the Conjunction Valef.

reference to those Men, who join the Brethren-Gods in a society \* of Marriage [with the Sister-Gods]

#### CHAP. V.

That Christ the Son of God framed all things, and has appointed to every thing the term of its Existence.

BUT, why do I defile my tongue with impure expressions, when I am about to praise the true God? I am resolved in the first place to \* wash away that bitter poison as 'twere, with \* Or, me that is pure. Now, this pure potion is Purgatory, drawn out of that \* ever-flowing Fountain of Vertues, of that God who is extolled by Us. Poured. Indeed, I account it my proper Business, to praise Christ [both] by [an holiness of] Life, and a thanksgiving also, which is due to him from us, for those his many and signal benefits. I assert therefore, that 'tis he who hath settled the Beginnings of this Universe, and who hath \* Created Men, and \* who hath established \* Or, these things by a certain Law and Order. And immediately, when \* they were newly \* That is, brought forth, be removed then \* in our first Parents. rendered to a certain blessed and flourishing Parents.

\* Καὶ τῶν λόγων νομοθετήσας. The three former words have been added by Learned Men from M. S. Copies. Nevertheless, they occur not, either in the Kings Copy, or in the Old Sheets. But I have [a point after the word νομοθετήσας. From the authority of the Kings, and Fugkerian Copy, and from the Old Sheets. Which Christophorus having not perceived, he joined this with the following period. Now, the meaning of this place, is this. I affirm, says he, what as well Men, as the other things which are in the World, are his workmanship, who hath constituted all these things in order; that is, the workmanship of the Supreme God. It must therefore be written, *ἐπεὶ δὴ ἔκτισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός*, &c. as 'tis in Sir Henry Savile's Books, and as Christophorus seems to have read. Then I read, *τὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ λόγους νομοθετήσας*, and who hath established, &c. than which exclamation there is nothing more certain. In the Fugkerian Copy the reading is *καὶ τὰ λόγους τὰ αὐτὰ νομοθετήσας*. Therefore, *λόγους νομοθετήσας* is the same opinion with *λόγους διατάξας*, an expression which he makes use of hereafter. Valef.

\* Here Constantine seems to place that Paradise, wherein God



How can these be said to proceed from Fortune or Chance, and not from justice rather, which

\* Or, Even is the property of the  
that which  
is agreeable occurs, on account of  
mens living in this, or that man-  
ner.

ner. = Τὸν παῖον. Make it παῖον, with the accent in the last syllable, as I found it set at the margin of *Moravian's Copy*. I read also, *χὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαρτῶ*, from the Manuscript. 'Tis certain, the *Fuketian Copy* gives us this reading; *διὰ τοῦτον παῖον ἐστὶ ἀρπαγέντων βίον χὶ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἀπαρτῶ*. Valcl. In *Robert Stephens* 'tis, *τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν ἐπαρτῶ*.

\* Or. Good inclinations.

boldness; and an arrogance which raises it  
self higher than is becoming a Creature. The  
proofs of all which matters, although they  
are very pernicious, and do lie before our  
eyes; are yet then more apparently mani-  
fest words, as often as, making a descent into Our  
I found a Selfe, and as there contrasting Our minds,  
blank in its weigh with Our Selves the Cause of them,  
the Fable, capable of one word. It must, I think, be made up  
thus, by means of it, &c; and we have rendred it accordingly.  
Fable.

<sup>b</sup> *Tetragramma pto. viciosa*. The shaft word must be blotted out; in regard its not to be found, either in the *King's Copy* or in the *Slovecz*, or *Stephens's Edition*. The place was rather to have been mended in this manner: *Quoniam nonnulli non quodvisque calumniant*: That is; *Although* be certain, and evidenced by many instances, that *Famulus*, *Papillence*, and such sort of Calumniators, are sent from Heaven in order to the punishing of men wickedness; yet, that does much more manifestly appear, as often as those Calumniators happen to be sent home to Our selves, and unnumbered the Causes of those wrongs. Nevertheless, the reading in the *Fukerian Copy* is, *nonnulli viciosa*. *Psalm*.

It must, I think, be *ποῦλος*, or, if you had rather, *πυλαιόνης*. In the *Tuketian Copy* the reading is, *δοῦλος ἀν. . . συναφελοῦς*. And in the end of the period, *λαζήδουσα*; excellently well. It must therefore be written, *δοῦλος ἀν ἡμῶς συναφελοῦς*, as often as, *recollecting our selves*. Vale!

Therefore, 'tis my *affection*, that we ought to  
 \* Or, *Molested* lives that are \* *soler* and *calm*, not  
 raising Our  $\dagger$  *thoughts* above the condition of  
 Our Nature; but taking this into Our serious  
 consideration, that God the Inspector of all Our  
 Actions is continually present with Us. More-  
 over, let us another way examine, whether this  
 affection be true, namely, that the dispose of all  
 \* Or, *Mind*.

k'Ek nūnēs nū tē dēkēnāt  
 sūpēr. I had rather read, *super*,  
 vīstēr, or sūvēr, has had a de-  
 pendence upon, &c. Further, in  
 the *Fuketan* and *Turner* Copies,  
 the reading of this place runs  
 thus, *as ē ē mēnē* &c. ... dī-  
 tūnēs ē tē nōēs, &c. *Patē*.  
*affairs* <sup>2</sup> *does depend upon*  
*Fortune and Chance. Whe-*  
*refore, therefore, the Celestial*  
*Bodies, and the Stars, the*  
*Earth and the Sea, the*  
*Fire and the Winds, the*  
*Water and the Air, and*

\* Or, *Respectfully*, the Pleasitude of times, and the seasonable Returns of Summer and Winter; wherby [I say] it ought to be believed, that all these have happened <sup>without reason and fortuitously</sup>, rather than were created. 'Tis certain, some persons, wholly void of understanding, do affirm, that men have found out many of these for their own use and advantage. And truly, whereas Nature does plentifully supply us with

† Cr. PAR, all manner of riches; we may grant, that, in  
 takes of reference to things which are terrene and cor-  
 ruptible, this Opinion † wants not something of  
 all.

reason. But, are then things immortal and immutable, the Inventions of men also? For, of these, and of all other things of this nature, (which are removed from our senses, and can be comprehended by the mind only;,) not man,<sup>1</sup> but a Creature made of matter, but the intelligible ὁ οὐκ ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπου  
and Eternal Essence of God is the Framer. Besides, the Course and Order of that Constitution, is the work of providence also; [namely,] that the day is bright, being enlightened by the Sun; that the night succeeds the setting of the Sun; and, that, when it has succeeded it, it is not left

Write, ὅτι ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ  
πρὸς τὸν μαρ., &c; But Chrysophor<sup>on</sup> read, ὅτι ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ αὐτῷ  
ἀνθρώπου, not the life of man, which consists of matter; but which reader I condemn not, but the former Emendation pleases me best. — Nevertheless, the Fuguetan Copy does plainly to Value Chrysophor<sup>on</sup>'s Version.

wholly <sup>m</sup> void [ of Light, ]      m Mid *ἀνεργον* αὐτῆς. Un-  
derstand *νε φως*, of light.  
by reason of the *Quare* of the  
the Stars. But, what shall  
we say concerning the Moon;  
which, when at the greatest  
distance from the Sun, being  
in a direct opposition to him, is  
at the Full; but, is lessened

\* as often as 'tis in a Con-  
 junction with the Sun: do not  
 these things manifestly declare  
 the † knowledge of God, and  
 his sagacious wisdom? Far-  
 \* Or, By reason of its Con-  
 vergence with him at a nearer di-  
 stance.  
 † ἄγαν νοήσιον - Oυ, God's  
 conception of mind; Valefius ren-  
 ders it *intelligentiam*.

ther, "the useful and season-  
able warmth of the Solar  
Rayes, whereby the Fruits are  
brought to maturity;" the  
Blazes of the winds, which  
are of great use in making  
the year fruitful and heal-  
thy; the refrigerment of  
flowers, and the admirable  
Harmony of all these ac-

according to which they are all managed in a due and well-ordered manner: [lastly,] that perpetual Order of the Planets, which at fit and stated times make their Returns to the same \* point; is not the Command of God hereby manifested, and likewise the perfect and entire dutifullness of the Stars, which pay an Obedience to the Divine Law? Moreover, the Tops of Mountains, and the hollow depths of

Valleys, ° and the smooth  
 Levels, ° of far-spreading  
 Fields; do these seem to exist  
 without the providence of  
 God? The prospect whereof  
 is not only ° grateful, but  
 the use also is delightful  
 and pleasant. The

and † Breaks of the Waters and the Earth, (which  
 are of use partly for tillage, <sup>a</sup> and partly for a Kad <sup>the</sup>  
 conveyance of those things we stand in need of ἀνάγκης  
 from foreign Regions;) do they not most clear-<sup>ly</sup> <sup>ly</sup>  
 demonstrate the accurate and exact care of ΧΡΕΙΑ <sup>careful</sup>  
 God? For, the Mountains contain water within <sup>ερείσαν</sup>  
 their Bowels; whilst when the Plain has received, <sup>λαβὴν</sup>  
 and <sup>||</sup> by the moisture thereof has sufficiently re-<sup>ceived</sup>

ἡμεῖς ἢ ἐν τῇ μακρῇ ζωῇ καὶ ἰσχυρῇ τοῦ ἀποστόλου  
 ἐκμετανοῦμεν, &c.; & than which, nothing is more certain. In the  
 Fickesian and Turneb. Copies 'tis, ἐν τῇ ἀποστολῇ γράφει  
 ἐκμετανοῦμεν. Further, I have rendered *μαρτυρίας, discordia*, fol-  
 lowing the authority of *Ambr. Marcellinus*, who somewhere ex-  
 presses himself so. *Christophorus* has likewise rendered it well,  
*divortia Terrarum*, the divorcements of the Earth. — Val-f.

|| Or, this sufficiently moistened the ground in order to a refreshment.

*fred'g*

fresh'd the Ground; it pours forth the residue of it into the Sea: and the Sea transmits it to the Ocean. And, dare we yet affirm, that all these things come to pass fortuitously, and by accident? Whereas notwithstanding, we are in no wise able to declare, with what Shape or Form Chance is endued: a thing which has no subsistence, either in the understanding, or sense; but is only the empty sound of a name || without the thing, which makes a noise about our Ears.

|| Or, without a subsistence.

## CHAP. VII.

That, \* in things which we can't understand, we ought to glorify the Creator's Wisdom; nor must we suppose Chance, or any thing else [save God,] to be the cause [of them.]

FOR Chance, 'tis most certain, is a Term [invented] by Men, whose thoughts are rash and inconsiderate; and who cannot understand the cause it self: but, by reason of their weakness of apprehension, suppose that all these things, whereof they are unable to give a reason, have been framed and ordered without any thing of reason. There are indeed some things endued with an admirable nature, the certain and evident knowledge of the Truth whereof, lies deep: of which sort is the Nature of warm Waters. For no Person can readily assign the reason of so great a Fire. And 'tis strange, that [that fire,] though encompassed round with cold Water, nevertheless, should not lose its Native Heat. And these things are found to be very rare, and few in number throughout the whole World; for this reason, as I persuade my self, that Men might easily know the power of [Divine] providence; which has ordered two most contrary Natures, Heat namely and Cold, to spring from one and the same Root. Indeed, the things are many, and almost innumerable, which God hath bestowed on Men, in order to their Comfort and Delight; but, the Fruit of the Olive-tree and of the Vine, are chiefly [to be accounted such.] Of which two \* this has a power of recreating and exhilarating the mind. But the other is fit not only for delight: but of use in order to the curing of Bodies. The perpetual and everlasting course of Rivers deserves likewise the highest Admiration; which, by their flowing Night and Day, give a Representation of an eternal and never-ceasing Life. Also, the continual vicissitude of Night and Day, is in the same manner admirable.

## CHAP. VIII.

That God does plentifully supply Men with those things that are useful; but, with such as are for delight, [He furnishes them] in an indifferent manner only; bestowing both sorts, so as may be agreeable to their profit and advantage.

\* **A**L These words have been spoken by \* Or, **L**et Us, in confirmation of this Truth, that all these things have been done without reason, or with word; be, out understanding: but, that Reason it self, and &c.

also \* Providence, are [the Works] of God. Who has likewise † produced the several kinds of Gold, Silver, Brass, and of the other Metals, in a manner and measure that is fit and agreeable. For with those things,

the use whereof was like to be manifold and various, [Men] are by his order plentifully furnished: but, such things as are of use \* for the delight of the World, and for Luxury only, [them] be bath † bestowed, both liberally, and also sparingly; [observing a Mean] between a parcimony and for the delight of the

World, and for plenty only. The word ἀπορίαν is corrupted; in the place whereof I would rather put ἀσύναν, Luxury. Yet, the ordinary reading may be borne with. Valef. the nature of Gold, &c.

the same plenty of those things which were made for ornament, had been granted; the Searchers after Metals, by reason of their over-much avarice, would have despised those [Metals] that are of use for Husbandry, and Building, as well of Houses, as Ships; Iron namely, and Brass; and would have neglected the gathering of them together: but would have made it their whole business, to provide such things as serve for delight, and a vain and fruitless superfluity of Riches. Wherefore, there is (they say) more of Difficulty and Labour, in finding Gold and Silver, than in finding all other Metals whatever: for this reason namely, that the soreness of the Labour may be opposed to the vehemency of the Desire. How many other works of Divine Providence may besides be reckoned up; whereby, in all those things which it has plentifully conferred on us, it does plainly incite the Life of Men to Modesty and the other Virtues, and draws [them] off from unreasonable and importunate desires? To find out the reason of all which things, is a greater Work than can be performed by Man. For, how can the understanding of a corruptible and infirm Creature, arrive at the Accuracy of Truth? How can it apprehend the pure and sincere Will of God from the Beginning.

written in the Fugesian Copy, after I had long before conjectured, that it was so to be written. Moreover, I point the whole place thus: πῶς δὲ ἀντὶ τῆς ἀσύναντος ἀνθρώπου ἐπιταῖς ἡ, &c. Πῶς δὲ τῶ ἐξ ἀρχῆς, &c. Valef.



## C H A P. IX.

Concerning the Philosophers, who, because they desired to know all things, erred as to their Opinions; \* and some of them were exposed to dangers. Also concerning the Opinions of Plato.

<sup>a</sup> In the very Title of the chapter

there is a fault. For what can these words mean. *ὅτι ἀποδίδωμι ἐντοὶς περὶ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁμοιωμάτων.* But I think the place must be made good in this manner; *ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν φιλοσόφων ὁμοιωμάτων.* Also, concerning the Opinions of Plato; and so 'tis plainly written in the Eusebian Copy. But, both in the Eusebian Copy, and also in the Kings Sheets, this chapter is begun from these words, *πολλὰ δ' ἄλλα τῆς δόξης ἀποδείξας, ὅταν πολλὰ ἄλλα ἔργα, &c.* Valcf.

**W**herefore, we ought to attempt those things that are possible, and which exceed not the capacity of Our Nature. For,

<sup>b</sup> *Τὸν ἐν τοῖς διαλέξεσι γινώσκοντες.* In the Enk, and Turneb. Copies 'tis truer written, *γινώσκοντες.* But in the Kings Sheets that word is omitted. I had rather write also, *τὸν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῶν ἐν τοῖς, &c.* and have rendered it accordingly. Valcf.

<sup>c</sup> *Ἀποδείξας.* In the Sacred Scriptures this verb is used in such a sense as to signify, *to exercise his Wit; as Jacobus Talamus has long since observed.* Valcf. See Psal. 119. 15. where this word occurs.

\* Or, Hide.

pass, that their Sentiments are contrary, and that they oppose one anothers Opinions: and that [they do] when they would pretend to be wise. From whence [have been occasioned] Commotions of the People, and severe Sentences of Princes [against them;] whilst they think, that the usages of their Ancestors are subverted by them. And their own Ruin has very frequently been the Consequence hereof. For Socrates, proud of his Knowledge in disputing;

<sup>a</sup> *καὶ τὸν ἡλικιωτέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.* when he would undertake to render reasons that were weaker, more strong; and would frequently make Sport in contradicting; was killed by the Envy of those of his own Tribe, and of his fellow-Citizens. Moreover Pythagoras, who pre- requires, that these attend highly to the Exercise of Temperance words and Silence, was taken in a Lye. For, he should be clared to the Italians, that \* those things long added, & before predicted by the Prophets, which he had heard whilst he was a Traveller in Ægypt, were given; and revealed by God to him as 'were in particular, the strongest, more weak. This was the device of Protegoras, who promised young Men, that he would make that reason which was stronger, more weak; and on the contrary, that which was weaker, more strong; *ὅτι καὶ τῶν ἑλλήνων ἡλικιωτέρων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν τῷ πνεύματι.* Against the Sophists who promised these things, Socrates disputed continually, that he might convince them that they knew nothing; and he pursued them with their own Weapons, that is, Arguments of Logic. Valcf.

<sup>c</sup> *Πλάτωνος τῶν.* It must be made *πλάτωνος* from the Eusebian Copy. — What Constantine says (namely, that Pythagoras, after he was come into Ægypt, and had heard what the Prophets had heretofore predicted; divulged those things afterwards all over Italy, as if God had revealed them to him;) seems to me scarce probable. Indeed, that Pythagoras came into Ægypt, and there received from the Priests, the Mystick Rites and Ceremonies of their Religion; this, I say, is attested by Porphyrius in his Life, and by many others. Moreover, we are told by Aristobolus, Clemens, &c. Eusebius, that Pythagoras had many things out of the Books of Moses. But, that he had learned the Prophecies of the Jews in Ægypt, and had afterwards divulged them amongst the Italians; is a thing affirmed by none of the Ancients, that I know of. And perhaps this place is to be understood, not concerning the Prophecies of the Jews, but those of the Egyptians. For there were

Prophets amongst the Egyptians, as I have observed in my notes on Eusebius's Ecclesiastical History. See book 4 chap. 8. note (c.) Which thing perhaps led Constantine into a mistake. Who having read, that Pythagoras had learned many Secrets from the Prophets of the Egyptians, that is their Priests; understood that as meant concerning the Prophets of the Hebrews. Valcf.

Lastly Plato, the mildest and sweetest tempered Person of them all, and the first Man that drew off Mens Minds from the Senses, to things intelligible, and such as always continue in the same State; accustoming Men to look upwards, and instructing them to raise their Eyes to things sublime; in the first place taught, that God was above every \* Essence, wherein he did well, To Him he subjoyned a Second; and in number distinguished the two

Essences, although the Perfection of them Both be one; and notwithstanding the Essence of the Second God, \* proceeds from the First. For, He † Or, His is the Framer and Governor of the Universe, and therefore transcends [all things.] But He who is the Second from Him, ministering to His Commands, † ascribes the Constitution of \* Or, Re- mits the all things to Him, as to the Cause. Therefore, Cause of according to the most accurate way of Philo- sophizing, there will be but One who takes the fullness of Care of all things, and consults their Good; all things God The \* Logos namely, who has beautified \* Or, Him all things. Which Logos Himself being truly Word. God, is also the Son of God. For, what other Name shall any one impose upon Him, besides the appellation of a Son, who at the same time shall not commit a Sin of the deepest Dye? For, He who is the Father of all, is deservedly esteemed the Father of His own Word also. Thus far Plato's Sentiments were right. But, in those things which follow, He is found to have wandered far from the Truth; whilst he both introduces a multitude of Gods, and also ascribes different Forms to each of them. Which was the occasion of a greater mistake amongst unthinking Men: who do not consider the Providence of the most High God; but pay a veneration to Images framed by themselves, made according to the likeness of Men, and some other Creatures. And thus it hapned, that that excellent \* Wit, and

that Learning worthy of the highest Commendation, being mix'd with some such errors as these, had in its left of Purity and Perfection. The same Person seems to Me, to reprove Himself, and to correct that discourse; whilst he attests in express Words, that the Rational Soul is the Spirit of God. For, † He divides all things into two sorts, intelligible namely and sensible: [the Former sort is simple and uncompounded;] the Later consists of a Frame of Body.

And, that is apprehended by the understanding; but this is perceived by Opinion with Sense. Therefore, that which partakes of the Divine Spirit, in regard 'tis unmix'd and immaterial, is also eternal, and has for its Allotment an endless Life. But, that which is sensible, because 'tis dissolved the same way whereby it was at first framed, has no Portion in an endless Life. But, the Doctrine which \* be delivers \* Plato in the following words, is highly admirable; that those who have lived well, the Souls namely of holy

\* He means Plato himself, whose excellent Wit, all the Ancients, yea the Christians also, were admirers of. Valcf.

<sup>b</sup> *Διόνυσος δὲ μέγας.* Christophorus seems to have read *Διόνυσος*. The Place in Plato, which Constantine means, occurs in his *Timæus* pag. 23. Valcf.

\* be delivers \* Plato in the following words, is highly admirable; that those who have lived well, the Souls namely of holy

body and good Men, after their departure out of the Body, are consecrated in the most beautiful [Mansions] of Heaven. [Which Assertion of his does not only deserve Admiration,] <sup>1</sup> but is also highly useful. For, what person giving credit to him, and expecting such a Felicity, will not order his Life in the best manner, will not exercise Righteousness and Temperance, and will not have an Aversion for Wickedness? Agreeably to these Words also, he has subjoined, that the Souls of wicked Men are tossed up and down in the Streams of Acheron and Pyriphlegon, floating <sup>2</sup> like the Remains of a Shipwreck'd vessel.

<sup>1</sup> Ἄλλοι δὲ ἐκ τῶν βαρύνων, which assertion, Sec. Christophorus, Scaliger, Bonargius, and Gruter put in these words, as 'tis remark'd at the margin of that Edition. I likewise found the same emendation in Moræus's Book, in Tinebuli's Sir, Henry Scul's, and in the Fukestian Copy; in which Copies also 'tis βαρύνων.

<sup>2</sup> Ναυαγίων ἑσθλῶν. I have rendered it, Navis fraëte reliquias, the Remains of a Shipwreck'd Vessel; that is, The Tackle or Furniture of the Ship. For after a Shipwreck, these provisions and utensils of the Vessel, are tossed up and down in the Sea. But Christophorus renders it, Meret, the Wares or Goods of the Merchant; a rendition that can in no wise be agreeable here. For when a Vessel is lost at Sea, most commonly the Goods sink to the bottom. Valef.

## CHAP. X.

<sup>1</sup> Concerning those Men, who do not only reject the Dogmata of the Sacred Scriptures, but them of the Philosophers, also: and, that we either ought to give the Poets credit in all things, or in nothing.

<sup>1</sup> Πῶς οὖν καὶ πόρῃ τῶν ποιητῶν. It must be καὶ πόρῃ, not only, as the Learned man, at the margin of Moræus's Book, had conjectured it should be. And thus Christophorus read; nor is it otherwise written in the Fukestian Copy. Valef.

NEVERTHELESS, there are some Men so depraved as to their Minds, that, when they read these very discourses, neither care, nor are abashed with any thing of Fear: but, as if they heard some forged Stories and Fables, they condemn and laugh [at them.] They highly extol a Variety and Fluency of Expression; but abominate the Solidness and Severity of the

<sup>2</sup> Dogmata. <sup>3</sup> But, yet the same Men give credit to the Fables of the Poets; and fill all Greece and the Barbarous Regions with vain and <sup>4</sup> false Stories. For the Poets affirm, that some Men, Sons of the Gods, do judge Souls after death; and they constitute them the Inferiors and Triers of those departed, and celebrate their Sentences, and Judiciary proceedings. But these very Poets commemorate the Fights of the Dæmons, and <sup>5</sup> Rights of War amongst them. They

drivage the Fates of the same [Gods] also. And affirm, that some of them are by nature cruel and austere; that others of them are strangers to all Care over Men; and, that some of them are morose. Moreover, they bring in [the Gods] lamenting the slaughter of their own Sons; as if they were unable to give relief, not only to Strangers, but to them also

whom they love most entirely. They also feign them hyable to the same Passions and Troubles with Men whilst they sing their Wars and Wounds, their Joys and Mourning. And they seem worthy of credit, when they affirm these things. For, whereas they attempt Poetry, incited thereto by some Divine Motion; 'tis fit we should believe, and be persuaded by them, in reference to those things which they utter,

† when moved by a Divine Spirit. They likewise relate the Calamities of the Gods and Dæmons. Indeed, their Calamities are <sup>1</sup> wholly agreeable with Truth. But some body will say, that 'tis lawful for Poets to lye. For this

[ 'tis asserted ] is the Property of Poetry, to recreate the Minds of the Hearers: but, [that is said] to be Truth, when what is spoken, is in it self no otherwise, than so as 'tis delivered. Let this be the property of Poetry, sometimes to conceal and withdraw the Truth. But, they who lye, never lye in vain and for nothing. For they do this, on account either of Gain and Profit; or else, being (as 'tis likely) conscious to themselves of some ill practice, they hide [the Truth,] out of a fear of that danger which the Laws threaten them with. <sup>2</sup> But doubtless, it might (in my judgement) be possible for them, when relating nothing save the Truth concerning the Divine Nature, neither to lye, nor act impiously.

and have rendered it accordingly.

## CHAP. XI.

Concerning our Lord's Coming in the Flesh what it was; and for what reasons it has happen'd.

IF therefore there be any Person unworthy of [an acquaintance with] the best way of <sup>1</sup> living, <sup>2</sup> and be conscious to himself, that he <sup>3</sup> hath lived wickedly and in a disordered manner; may be repent and look towards the Deity, having first clear'd the eye of his Mind, and being made a Stranger to his former most vicious courses. Nevertheless, he ought to rest satisfied, if, even in his declining Age he may <sup>4</sup> attain wisdom himself; But no Learning [that has proceeded] from <sup>5</sup> Men, was ever any assistance to Us. But, whatever things are commendable in Mens Lives and Morals, amongst those that have understanding think of.

Further, from the beginning of this period, that is, from these words <sup>6</sup> ἐν τῇ ἐκτῇ ἀρχῇ, the eleventh chapter begins, both in the Sheets, and in the Fukestian Copy. And in this Manuscript, wherein the Contents are prefixt before each Chapter, this is the Inscription of this Chapter; <sup>7</sup> καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν κειμένων, ἡ ἐν δὲ τῇ ἐκτῇ ἀρχῇ, καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς τῶν κειμένων, &c. Concerning our Lord's coming in the Flesh, what [it was] and for what reason it has happen'd. And concerning those who knew not this mystery; &c. But in the Kings Sheets, and in Robert Stephens's Edition, which Christophorus has followed, this chapter is divided into two, and concerning those who knew, &c. is the title of a new chapter. Valef.

<sup>1</sup> τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκταύσαν. Doubtless it must be ἐκταύσαν, or ἐκταύσαν, may attain; which I wonder neither Christophorus, nor Scaliger, nor others perceived; who have rendered it τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκταύσαν. But 'tis not Greek to say ἐκταύσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν, but ἐκταύσαν τὴν ἀρχὴν. Yet in the Fukestian Copy the reading is τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκταύσαν. Valef.



9 and Preservation, the Effect. In the same manner as the Father is the cause of the Son, and the Son, the Effect. Now, that Christ Himself existed before all things, we have already proved sufficiently. But in what manner He came down to Men, and [why descended into] the World? The Intent and purpose of His coming, as the Prophets have predicted, proceeded from His care over the Universe.

\* The ancient Divines, those especially amongst the Greeks, affirmed, that our person in the Trinity, God the Father mainly, was the Cause; but, that the other Two, to wit the Son and Holy Spirit, were the *Causata*, i. e. the Effects. In *Antiphonius in question Second*, Chap. 11. and 12. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αἰτία αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ διὰ τοῦτο, But the Son is not the Cause, but the Causatum. So also *Johannes Damascenus* in his first Book de *Imaginibus*, not far from the beginning. *Imago*, says he, *Dei invisibilis est ipse Filius &c.* The Image of the invisible God is the Son Himself, who bears the Father in Himself, and is in all things the same with Him, save in this one, that He is from Him, as from the Cause. For the Father is the Cause, from which the Son proceeds. Also *Gregory Nazianzen*, Chap. 29, which is de *Dignitate*, does in express words affirm, that the Father is the Cause of the Son, and the Holy Spirit. But, amongst the *Latines*, *Martinus* *Capellanus* has expressed himself in the same manner, in his first Book against *Arius*. — Valde.

Yet I would rather read *ἡς καὶ τοῦ*, that is, *of the Lord's Advent*.  
Valef.

For 'tis requisite, that the Framer should take care of His own Works. But, when he was about to <sup>as</sup> assume a terrene Body, and to stay <sup>at</sup> Ours, upon Earth for some time, (necessity requiring preach to this;) He deified for Himself a new way of a worldly being born. For the Conception [was] without a Marriage; and the <sup>of</sup> Child-birth of a <sup>pure</sup> Virginity; and a <sup>of</sup> Virgin the Mother of <sup>of</sup> Birth. God; and a Temporal Beginning of an Eternal Nature; and a <sup>of</sup> Perception of an <sup>of</sup> Intel-<sup>of</sup> Sense.

lignible Essence; and a matter of an incorporeal Brightness. All things therefore, which then were seen, were agreeable hereto. "A bright Dove, [such a one as heretofore] flew out of Noah's Ark, descended into the

\* *unspotted* \* Mar-  
 riage, which is pur-  
 ver than all Chastity, and

*Apocryphal Books*, wherein 'twas related, that the Holy Ghost, under the shape of a Dove, descended into the Bosom of Mary, according as the Angel had foretold to her. And perhaps; these things were related in this manner, in the *Gospel of the Hebrews*. But *Christophoros* supposes that Dove to be meant here, which Noah heretofore sent out of the Ark : and that that Dove was a figure of the Holy Spirit, which was afterwards to come upon the Virgin Mary. But I would rather read here *dispositus sicut erat in sinu eius* the verb *disposuit* or *arrangavit* &c. A Bright Dove, &c. Thus the sense is plain and elegant. Vale.

† *Typhaceo*. After this word, as plac'd in the Greek Text, I have set a point, from the authority of the *King's Copy*: which *Christophorus* having not perceived, corrupted the meaning of this whole passage by adding some words. For thus he read; *ὑψηλῶς, ἀνωθεν καὶ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ὁπλίζω ὑμᾶς*. Nevertheless, the *Fugatese Copy* does plainly confirm this reading and punctuation of *Christophorus*; save that it has, *ὁ ὢν ὁπλίζω*. As it is also in *Turnebus's Book*. Vale!

\* Or, modestly served by the \* Sovereign and most prudent Nations and People? Who being posselt of all manner of Power, and always continuing firm to his own purpose, has not made the least abatement of his innate Clemency. Be gone therefore, Ye impious! (For that is permitted to You, in as much as no punishment is now inflicted on Your wickedness.) Be gone, I say, to your slaughters of Victims, and to Your Banquets, Festivals, and Drunken Debates,

of Religion, you make pleasures and intemperances your Business. You pretend indeed to perform Sacrifices; but in reality you serve your own Lusts. For you know nothing of Good, not so much as the first Command of the Great God; who has both prescribed Laws to mankind, and also given it in charge to his Son, that he should form and govern the Lives and Morals of Men: to the end that they who shall lead their Lives well and soberly, may, according to the Judgement of His Son, have a second Life allotted them, which will be blessed and

10 He means the Decree of God concerning the assuaging manhood, or concerning the Incarnation, by which the life of Men was repaired. 'Tis apparent therefore, that the Chapters are well digested by us; unless any one should have a mind, to say, that the Chapter reach to these words; which I should willingly yield to. *Kalef.*

and He is wholly a Stranger to all Mixture and Copulation. But, it ought to be considered, that Generation is twofold; the one from † Conception, which is known to all Men; the other, from an Eternal Cause. The manner of which [Generation,] by the favour of Divine Providence that Person sees even amongst Men.

\* Ὁς ἀγαπᾷ πᾶσι ἐν ἑαυτῷ.  
Robert Stephens, in those various Readings which he has marked at the close of his *Epistolæ*, does not, in the former Copies this place is read thus; Ὁς ἀγαπᾷ πᾶσι ἐν ἑαυτῷ, who is dear to him, that is, to God. Which doubtless is the true writing. For Constantine says, that the manner of a Natural Generation is know to all; but, that very few know the way of the Divine Generation; those namely whom God shall have a peculiar affection for. In the same manner, the reading is φιλῶν. But, in the *Sloane's* writing, Ὁς ἀγαπᾷ πᾶσι, is ἐκείνῳ πᾶσι, of *Sauli*, and *Turner*, Copies give the true reading, *Υἱὸς*.

P. THE *ἀρτὴν αὐτῶν τῆς σω-* Preservation ] of things  
 πλάς. The Geneva-men did  
 ill, in admitting the two last words into the Text from the conjecture  
 of Scaliger, as 'tis noted at the margin. But 'tis plain enough, that

more excellent than Contingency it self. The [wonderful] Wisdom of God from his very Cradle: and Jordan, [the River] which afforded Him Water for Baptism, receiving Him with a Reverence.

\* Or, A Gion \* joyed with greatable. A Doctrine also, wonderful things,

† Καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀνδραγαθίῳ ταύτῃ, ἀντιπαρὶς τῷ βασιλείῳ; which Vasefus renders thus; Mira denique celeritas in bonum precibus audiendus, Lastly, a wonderful swiftness in hearing mens prayers.

\* Ταῖς πολιτικῆς ἀρεταῖς. Philosophers make two sort of Virtues; the one *πραγματικῆς*, practical; which Constantine does here term *πολιτικῆς*, Civil; and the other *θεωρητικῆς*, contemplative, which lead our minds to the contemplation of God. Whence, some of Pythagoras's disciples were termed *πολιτικοί*, others *θεωρητικοί*, as the Old Author concerning the Life of Pythagoras, in *Plotinus's* Bibliotheca chap. 259. informs us. Farther in the *Fukesian* Copy the reading of this place runs thus; ἀδελφοὶ τοῦ κόσμου, ἡ τῆς πολιτικῆς λειτουργίας ἀρετὴ διδόνου ἐκκαθαίρων, ἀλλὰ τὰς αἰετὶ τὸν νοῦν ἡμεῖς ἀρετῆς ἀναστὰς οὗ τοῦ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, &c. The same also is the reading in the Books of *Turnebus* and *Sir Henry Savil*. But I agree with *Sir Henry*, who, after he had written this reading at the margin of his own Book, blotted it out again, having added this note; *Lexito vulgata retinere posset, paucis immutatis;* the common reading may be retained, a small alteration being made. Valef.

† Ἀντὶ τῆς ταύτης, instead of *foundations*. Doubtless it is to be written, *ὑπερβολῆς*, Blindness. Presently, from the *Kings* Copy I have mended it, ἀντὶ τῆς ταύτης, instead of a *faintness* and *weakness* of body. And so it is in *Sir Henry Savil's* Copy. A little before, I had rather write, τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἐξουσιαστικῆς, &c. instead of τὸ γὰρ τῆς, &c. Valef. In *Robert Siropien's*, instead of *περίστασις*, the reading is *περίστασις*.

amongst Men, that hath ever praised Thee according to Thy worth? For Thou art said to have created things of nothing;

\* and to have given them light; and with Order and Measure to have beautified

† Or, Dis- t confused heap of the Elements. But this is the eminentest Gift of Thy Clemency; that Thou hast rendered

Men, endued with a good Disposition, and Admirers of a Divine and given, &c. Blessed Life; and hast taken order, that, \* ha-

In the *Kings* Sheet, and in *Sir Henry Savil's* Book, the reading is οὐδὲ γὰρ; &c. But the *Fukesian* Copy, has it, οὐ γὰρ. Valef.

\* Καταλείπει δ'. *Christophorus* does here understand the verb *παύειν* in common. Which though I condemn not, yet it does not seem to collate. In the *Fukesian* Copy, this place is thus read, ἀποκαταστήσει δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἐν τῇ ἀρετῇ, &c. without those words τὸν κόσμον παύειν ἀποκαταστήσει. Valef.

ving been made Merchants of those things which are truly good, they should impart their own wisdom and happiness to many others; and that they themselves should reap the immortal fruit of Virtue; being freed from Intemperance, but made partakers of Clemency; having mercy before their Eyes, but hoping for the \* Promises

of Faith; Lastly, \* embracing Modesty and all manner of Virtue, [instead of injustice,] which the former

Life of Men had cast upon their Morals, [that it might be cut off] from him who makes provision for all things. For no other person could be found, who might

be a fit Physician for the curing such great Evils, and that injustice, which had prevailed in that Age. Providence therefore coming even to the Earth it self, easily composed and beautified all things, which by wickedness and intemperance had been disordered. Nor [did Christ perform] this secretly and in a concealed manner. For he knew, that there were some Men, who with prudence and understanding would \* contemplate his own

Power; but, that others, in regard as to their Nature they were like irrational creatures, would \* Or, \* rely upon their Sense to own senses rather.

\* Wherefore, that no person, whether good or ill, might be in doubt; [be performed it] openly, and hath exposed this Blessedness and admirable Cure to publick view: restoring again to Life, those that were dead; and commanding, that such as had been deprived of their senses, should again recover their former soundness of sense. But that he rendered the Sea solid, and in the midst of a Storm ordered a Calm to arise; and in fine, that (after he had performed wonderful works, and from an incredulity had brought Men over to a most strong Faith;)

He† ascended up away to, &c. into Heaven;

whose work was this, save God's, and [a performance] of a most transcendent power?

Nor did that time, which was nearest to his Passion, want those Signs that were highly admirable; when the darkness of night obscured the brightness of day, and \* totally eclipsed the Sun.

For, a terror had seized all the People every where, [who believed] that the end of all things;

\* I was now come, and that a Chaos, such a one as was had been before the Composure of the World, would again now prevail. Moreover, the Cause of so great a calamity was inquired into, and what horrid immen-

sity that might be, which had been committed by Men against the Deity. \* Till such time as, according to a pleasing greatness of mind, God had by

\* Or, Ex-

pectation. After this word in the Greek, something seems to be wanting. Nor can it be made sense, unless you add these words, ἀντὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς, &c. Which writing I have followed in my Version.

who might be a fit Physician for the curing such great Evils, and that injustice, which had prevailed in that Age. Providence therefore coming even to the Earth it self, easily composed and beautified all things, which by wickedness and intemperance had been disordered. Nor [did Christ perform] this secretly and in a concealed manner. For he knew, that there were some Men, who with prudence and understanding would \* contemplate his own

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sity that might be, which had been committed by Men against the Deity. \* Till such time as, according to a pleasing greatness of mind, God had by

with

with contempt look'd upon the contumely of the Impious, and had restored all things, and beautified the whole Heaven with the usual \* course of the Stars. The Face therefore of the World, which \* in a manner had been wholly covered with Mourning and Sadness, was again restored to its † Native beauty.

† Or, Own.

\* Or, Dawne.  
† Or, Own.  
The Learned, who make it *αἰῶν*; in regard *αἰῶν* may also be used adverbially, instead of *ἐν αἰῶνι*. Yet in the *Fuk* and *Turneb. Copier*, 'tis *αἰῶνι*. *Valf.*

## CHAP. XII.

Concerning those who knew not this Mystery; and, that their ignorance is voluntary; and, what great blessings await those who know it, and especially them who have died in Confession.

\* From these words the God was able to have made the will of Men better? and more tractable and mild. [I demand] therefore, what better method, what more effectual attempt in order to the amendment of ill Men, than God's own speaking to them? Has not He, when present and rendered visible to all, taught them modestly and sobriety of Life? If therefore the Command of a God who was present, but grieved nothing; how could [the admonition] of one absent and unheard, be of force? What therefore was the Obstacle of that most Blessed Doctrine? The perverse, untractable, and fierce stubbornness of Men. For, when with an angry and displeased Mind we receive those things which are well and fitly enjoined, the \* acuteness of our understanding is dull'd as \*twere, and clouded.

\* Or, Sobriety of mind is payed and de-fac'd.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

their companions; and that the observance of God's Command might thus continue true and firm. For, from such an observance, and from a pure Faith, and a sincere Devotion towards God, springs a scarleness and contempt of Death. [Such a mind as this] therefore, gives a resistance to the Storms and Tumults of the World, \* being fortified in order to Martyrdom, by an inexhaustible strength of Divine Virtue. And when with a magnanimity it has conquered the greatest Terrors, it is vouchsafed a Crown from Him, † to whom with courage and constancy it hath born witness. Nevertheless, it does not boast in respect thereof. For it knows I suppose, that even this is the Gift of God, that it has both endured Tortures, and hath also cheerfully fulfilled the Divine Commands.

Farther such a Life as this is followed by an immortal Memory, and an Eternal Glory; and that most deservedly. For, both the Life of a Martyr is found to be full of a Religious observance of the Divine Commands; and \* his Death full of magnanimity and \* Gallantry. Wherefore, Hymns, Psalms, Canticles, and Praises are after this manner sung to God the Inspector of all things; and must be such a \* Sacrifice of thanksgiving as this is performed in memory of these Persons: [a Sa-crifice] not polluted with Blood, and void of all manner of Violence. Neither is the Odour of Frankincense required, nor a kindling of the Funeral-pile: but a pure Light only, as much as may be sufficient for the enlightening them who pray to God. Sober Feasts and Banquets are likewise celebrated by many, made for the relief and refreshment of the indigent, and to help them who have been deprived [of their Estates and Country.] Which [Banquets] should any one think to be burthensome and inconvenient, his Sentiment would be repugnant to the Divine and most Blessed † Discipline.

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

\* Or, Own.  
† Or, Own.  
I have rather write, *ἐν αἰῶνι*. See *Defenses*. For *Constantine* brings two reasons, why the Heathens embraced not the preaching of Christ. *Valf.*

abolished, as St. *Austin* attests, *Epist.* 64. In the *Fukerian Copy*, the reading is *απογοιζομεν* ἢ πᾶσι, ὡς *αὐτοῖς*, &c. not *πᾶσι*, as 'tis in the ordinary Editions. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIII.

That a difference of the Parts of the Creation is necessary; and that a propensity to Good and Evil, springs from the will of Men: and therefore, that the Judgment [of God] is necessary, and agreeable to Reason.

**B**UT now, some Persons do boldly and inconsiderately presume, to find fault with God even in this matter. What was his meaning [say they,] that he has not framed the nature of things, one and the same; but has commanded, that even most things should be produced different, and therefore should be endued with a nature and disposition that are contrary? Whence springs a diversity of the Morals and Wills of us Men. It had peradventure been better, both as to what respects the Commands of God, and as to an accurate \* Contemplation of Him, and in reference to a confirmation <sup>b</sup> of the Faith of every particular person, that all Men had been endued with one and the same Disposition. But [we answer,] 'tis altogether ridiculous to desire, that all Men should be of one and the same humour and disposition: [and 'tis absurd] not to consider and remark this, that the constitution of the whole World is not the same, with that of those things which are in the World: or this, that Natural things are not of the same substance with those that are Moral: Or Lastly this, that the Affections of the Body are not the same with those of the Mind. <sup>a</sup> For, [the rational Soul does far excel] this whole World; and is in much more blessed than Creatures that are earthly and lyable to Corruption, by how much it is nobler and more divine: neither is mankind void of the divine goodness. Nevertheless, all Men are not promiscuously and without any good of difference [partakers of the Divine Goodness:] but those only, who have search'd into the Divine Nature, and who have propos'd to themselves this, as their chief purpose of Life and primary Study, the knowledge namely of things Divine.

\* Knowledge, or, Comprehension.

<sup>b</sup> Καὶ τὸν ἕκαστον ἄνθρωπον. It must, I suppose, be τὸν καθ' ἕνα ἄνθρωπον, of the faith of every particular person. *Valef.*

\* Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο τὸ ἕκαστον διὰ τῆς φύσεως. I had rather make it, οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ τὸ ἕκαστον διαφορά, αὐτῶν ἢ τῆς κοινότητος; which we have express'd in our Version. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> Τὸν μὲν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἡσυχία. After these, there are many words wanting, as 'tis apparent from the Contents of the Chapter. We chose to get out any sense from a corrupt and imperfect place, rather than with *Christophoros* to expunge the whole passage. St. *Henry Savil*, in his Copy, has also expunged this whole period, as far as these words, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀποδοκίματον, &c. Neither is *Markland*, &c. Indeed in the *Fukerian Copy* that whole period is wanting. *Valef.*

## C H A P. XIV.

That a created Nature is at a vast distance from an Essence which is uncreated: and, that Man \* approaches nearest to God, by a virtuous Life.

Or, is made a neighbour

to it; that is, to an uncreated essence, by a life according to Virtue.

**M**OREOVER, to compare things that are made, with them which be eternal, is unquestionably the highest degree of madness. For these have neither beginning, nor end. But those, in regard they are brought forth and begotten; and because they have received a beginning both of their existing, and of their living for some set time; must consequently of necessity have an end also. But, how can those things which are \* begotten, be any ways compared with him, who hath commanded them to be begotten? For, if these things were equal to him, the Command whereby he ordered them to be produced, would in no wise fit and be agreeable to him. But, neither can things celestial be compared with him; in the same manner that the sensible world [is not to be compared] with the Intelligible; nor Images, with the Originals. <sup>a</sup> But, is not the confusing and mixing of all things, a thing wholly ridiculous? in regard the dignity of the Divine Nature would be

\* clouded, <sup>a</sup> by a \* Or, comparing of it with Men, or with Beasts. And, is not a desire of power, which might strive to equal the power of God, is not [I say such a desire] to be esteemed as peculiar to Mad-men and such as abhor a sober, modest, and virtuous course of Life? For if with earnestness we strive to attain divine felicity, we ought to lead our lives according to the Command of God. For by this means, when we shall have lived in Conformity to that Law appointed by God; being made superior to all Fate, we shall take up our Residence in immortal and eternal Mansions. For, this is the only strength in Man, which is like to the divine power, [namely] a sincere and unfeigned worship paid to God; and a Conversion to him; and a Contemplation and knowledge of those things which are acceptable to the Deity: not to be enclined towards the Earth; but as far as we are able, to raise our minds to things sublime and celestial. For by such an endeavour

<sup>a</sup> Ἡ δὲ οὐρανὸν ἡσυχία. *Markland* seems to have read οὐρανὸν, which I am extraordinarily pleased with; For he renders it; *Quomodo autem omnium comparatio non ridicula est*, &c. But, how is not the comparing of all things ridiculous, &c. Certainly, 'tis either thus to be read, or to be understood thus. For *Constantine* terms that equaling of all things, a confusion. *Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> Ἐὶ μὲν γὰρ θεὸς οὐρανὸν. Without doubt it must be οὐρανὸν. For thus *Constantine* argues. Even things Celestial, says he, cannot be compared with God. Much less things Terrestrial, and Brute. This is the meaning of this place. But the Manuscript Copies of *Christophoros*, St. *Henry Savil*, *Gruter*, and Mr. *Fokri*, word this place thus; *Ἐὰν γὰρ θεὸς οὐρανὸν*, in regard the dignity of, &c. Which reading seems to me better, and more elegant. *Valef.*

For by such an endeavour

† To *triumph* endeavour  
 as this a Victory is procured for  
 † Or, In place of many  
 † Or, Both as to digni-  
 ty, and in a diversity of  
 power.  
 as this a Victory is procured for  
 † of equal value with many Bless-  
 ings. The cause therefore of the dis-  
 similitude of things, † which is plac'd  
 in a distance both of dignity  
 and power, has this reason. Wherein they  
 who are wise, do willingly acquiesce,  
 and are eminently thankful. But  
 the ingrateful, and the foolish, re-  
 ceive a punishment † befitting their Arrogance.

Chapter of the Revelations; where God says: *Vincens dabo Coronam, &c.* To him that overcometh I will give a Crown, &c. Indeed, the life of a Christian Man is wont to be compared to Champions, as it frequently occurs in St. Paul's Epistles. But the word *quæ* is redundant, after the usual manner of Græcians, as 'tis well known to those skill'd in the Greek Tongue. Vale.

The *evangelium*. In the *Kings Copy* 'tis *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, as *Robert Stephens* has also remarked in his *Various Readings*. I read therefore, *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, befitting, or agreeable to; with *Christophorus*, *Scaliger*, *Gruicer*, and others: or *τὸ ἱερὸν εὐαγγέλιον*, which comes nearer to the inoffensiveness of the written reading. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis, *τὸ εὐαγγέλιον*, *Παλσι*.

## CHAP. XV.

What Precepts Our Saviour delivered, and what Miracles He wrought; and how beneficial He hath been to those who own a subjection to Him.

**F**arther, the Son of God exhorts all Men to  
Vertue, and constitutes himself a Teacher  
to such as are prudent, [instructing them]

<sup>a</sup> Τὰς τὰς ἐπιταγὰς τοῦ Σωτῆρος. <sup>a</sup> in the Father's commands.  
 τῶν, in the Saviour's Commands. Unless we forget our selves,  
 I should I think, be made, <sup>b</sup> ὅτι <sup>b</sup> being wretchedly ignorant,  
 τὸς σωτῆρας τοῦ Θεοῦ, in the Preserver of the sake of our ad-  
 of Salvation, as it is noted in the vantage, that is, on account  
 margin of the text, ὅτι τὸς σωτῆρας of Mens blessings, He tra-  
 You may as well write, ὅτι τὸς σωτῆρας <sup>c</sup>avelled up and down on  
 τῶν, &c. in the Father's Com- Earth; and having called  
 mands. For the mistake seems together to himself the best  
 to have arisen from a contracted Man of <sup>d</sup> those times, be  
 way of writing. In the Kings, delivered them a most use-  
 and Eusebian Copy, and in the ful Doctrine, the prefer-  
 Sheets, at this place 'tis thus <sup>e</sup> written. <sup>e</sup> ὅτι τὸς σωτῆρας τοῦ Θεοῦ.

\* *Or. Adversus Nativitatem.* Ecce  
 Confessorium has rendered this  
 place that: *Ecce illi qui quidem  
 propter hominum vero adjuvamento  
 fuerunt, longè optime adjuvatores  
 ad se, and had called to himself,  
 by far the best of those Men,  
 who at that time were an affi-  
 niance to the life of Men. But,  
 who ever exalteth himself in this  
 manner, nonne seipsum propter  
 deum Men of the most useful?*  
 Wherefore, I doubt not, but this  
 place is thus to be mended and  
 improved. *Et quoniam deus beatus  
 non solum propter homines  
 transiit mundum, and having  
 call'd together unto, &c. as we  
 have rendered it. In the Epistle  
 and Tornebeau Poem, the reading  
 is non transiit. Peace.*

Ω δαλκίζων νῦν. In Thucydus's, and Muretus's Book, 'tis printed δαλκίζων κ' ἐξαπατῶν. See *de sūmme et dēvōte*, &c. But the *Fukgeian* Copy has it truer written, ὁ δαλκίζων κ' ἐξαπατᾷ. *Valef.*

At 1 Tim<sup>2</sup> 2:15, *ἡ γεννησιμὴ ψευδος*, which reading is confirmed by the *Kings and Feketer* Copy, and by the *Sheets*. But in *Moreau's Book* I found it mended *ἡ γεννησιμὴ* and I don't understand why the *Geneva* men admitted this emendation into the Text. This *γεννησιμὴ ψευδος* has the same import with *ψευρο-γενεσιμ*. St. Paul calls it *ψευρε ad substantiam*, to think falsely, or, *ψεβριτυ*. Vale.

mand, that with a Courage and Patience of Mind, we should bear all manner of injury, and every sort of contempt: teaching us, that the Visitation of his Father

is of this sort: so that, they who could magnanimously endure accidents, might always obtain the Victory. For he affirmed, that this is the most superlative degree of strength, [namely] a constancy of Mind ymned with Philosophy; which is nothing else but a knowledge of what is True and Good, accustoming those who get riches fairly and justly, to impart what they possess, by a kind and liberal distribution to the poorer sort. But he mho-

ly, forbids mastership, and bearing sway over others; openly declaring, that as he came to give assistance to the humble, so he would desist from favouring those, who should disrespect the humble. Having therefore made Trial of the Faith of those People subject to him, by such and so powerful an Experiment, he rendered them not only Consumers of the terriblest and most formidable things, but most genuine disciples also of an hope and confidence in himself. Moreover, he once sharply rebuked, and by his words repress one of his Companions, who had \* been over much heated with anger. That [ Disciple ] had \* with a drawn

sword made an assault upon  
 some body; exposing his own  
 life, that he might assist our  
 Saviour. But [his Lord]  
 commanded him to be quiet,  
 and to put up his Sword;  
 reproaching the Adam Generals,  
 & *ἄρχοντες τῶν ἀνθρώπων*,  
 I read *ἔμφρον*, as 'tis in Mo-  
 raeus's Book; wherein 'tis al-  
 lowed that *ἄρχοντες*, not ill  
 in the Fugitian Copy 'tis like-  
 wise *ἔμφρον*, *τὴν ἀντιπαρτίαν*,  
 and we have rendered it accordingly:  
 Vale.

because he had despised of a defence and refuge in Him Himself. And he enacted a Law in express words, that <sup>b</sup> whoever should begin an assault upon another with the hands of Violence, or should attempt to injure him who had begun, or [whoever in general] should make use of the sword, should perish by a violent Death. This is most un-

<sup>b</sup> Πάντα τὸν ἀδικῶν χερσὶν κτανέσθαι. This place it thus is to be restored from the *Pinkettian* and *Turkish* Copies, τοῦ ἀδικῶντος, μέγα τὸν ἀδικῶντα, &c. As to the following clause, ὁ ἀδικῶν τὸν κληρονομήσαντα ἀδικῶντα, I had rather write thus, ἀδικῶν τὸν ἀδικῶντα, or should attempt to resist him, &c. *Yale.*

doubtedly the Celestial wisdom, to choose to be injured, rather than to injure; and, as often as necessity shall require, to be in a readiness to undergo, rather than do evil. For, whereas the mischief of being injurious is very great; not he, who suffers the wrong,

ἡ μάχης τῆς ἐν τῷ ὄντι ἀδελφικῆς μαχίης. In *Moran's* Book the Learned Man hath fed these words at the margin, ἐπαινεσθῆναι

\* Or, *Is encompassed with.*

\* 'tis in the power of him  
 who pays an obedience to  
 God, neither to do, nor suf-  
 fer an injury; provided he  
 places his confidence in the  
 protection of God's  
 arm.



who is present with, and gives him Assistance; to the end no one of His Subjects may receive any [harm]. But, how should he [endeavour] to assist himself,

<sup>1</sup> Ἀυτὸς ἐαυτῷ βοηθεῖν. Scattered, Gruter, and others have mended it, βοηθεῖν δὲ βοηθῶν, which emendation I likewise found written in Moræus's Book. It might also be written, βοηθεῖν βοηθῶν, the two last words being left out; which, as every one sees, are not very necessary here. But the Fukeian Manuscript agrees with those Books of Scaliger and Gruter. Valef.

<sup>2</sup> Μὴ δὲ σὺ. I doubt not but it should be written, ὅπως γὰρ καὶ σὺ τῷ περὶ τοῦ θ. Where ὅπως is made use of instead of εἰ, or ὡς, or ὡς. But the Translator who rendered this Oration of Constantine into Greek, had but little skill in the Greek tongue, and was careless enough, as 'tis apparent from many places. Constantine gives a reason here, why the worshippers of the Supreme God would never revenge themselves, nor resist force by force. For, should they do that, faith he, they must fight with their adversary, but they would be uncertain of the Victory. But, if they shall in no wise defend themselves, then they have a most certain Victory; for God fights for this place. This is the meaning of this place, which I admire at it, neither Chrysostom nor Augustine understood. Valef.

<sup>3</sup> Μὴ δὲ σὺ. By the mill of the mill of the mill. It might be made εἰς, Sc. by the mill. Sc. as I found it in Moræus's Book. And a little after I read περὶ τοῦ θ. as 'tis in the same Book. For Augustine is understood. In the Fukeian Copy and Old Suerz, the reading is περὶ τοῦ θ. Valef.

<sup>4</sup> Ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ. I would rather write μέγας in the Non-Inter-Cale. For that seems to me far more elegant. Presently, the reading most doubtless be, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, Sc. For the verb ἀρχαίᾳ is understood, which is used a little before. In the Fukeian Copy, and in the Suerz, 'tis reading it, ἀρχαίᾳ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, Sc. when any trial of Calumnies falls out, Sc. Valef.

<sup>5</sup> Μὴ περὶ τῆς. In the Fukeian Manuscript 'tis ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, Valef.

<sup>6</sup> ὅτι ἀνθρώπων. At the margin of the same Copy 'tis mended, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, Sc. Which reading Chrysostom has followed. And so 'tis written in the Fukeian Manuscript. Valef.

<sup>7</sup> ὅτι ἀνθρώπων. I read ὅτι ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, Sc. where ὅτι is taken adverbially, for ὅτι. Valef.

For, by this means a Fight between two would ensue, and a doubtful and uncertain Victory. But, no Man of understanding prefers dubious matters, before those that are fixt and certain. But, how will he make any scruple about God's presence and assistance, who has had experience of so many perils, and has always been easily delivered from dangers, by the sole will and pleasure of God; who has walk'd thorough the Set, which by our Saviour's command was paved, and afforded a solid and firm way to the People that pass'd over it. For this, as I suppose, is the most evident and

\* Ground-firm \* Basis of faith, this is the Foundation of Confidence; when we behold these admirable and incredible things performed and perfected by the command of the provident God. Hence likewise it happens, that when any one falls into the trial of Calumnies, he does not repent himself of his Faith and retains his hope in God firm and unshaken. Which habit being once firmly fixt in the mind, God takes up his Habitation in the inmost thought.

And whereas he is invincible; that mind also, which in its inmost thought possesses him that is thus invincible, can never be vanquish'd by those dangers that surround it.

\* Besides, we have learn'd this very thing from God's own Victory; who, whilst he was making provision for the good of all Men, when reproach'd and insulted over by the impious and unjust, received no damage from his Passion, but obtained a most Glorious Victory over Wickedness, and was encircled with an immortal Crown: having brought to effect the design and purpose of his own Providence and Love, towards the Just; but, trampled upon the Cruelty of the unjust and Impious.

## C H A P. XVI.

That the Coming of Christ is foretold by the Prophets; and, that He was appointed for the destruction of Idols, and idolatrous Cities.

Moreover, his Passion was long since foretold by the Prophets; and his Corporal Nativity foretold. The very time likewise of his Incarnation was predicted, wherein the Shoots springing from injustice and intemperance, which are hurtful to just Actions and Morals, might be destroyed; and wherein the whole World might be made partaker of Prudence and Modesty; that Law namely, which our Saviour has promulg'd, prevailing upon the Minds of almost all Men; the worship of the Deity being confirm'd and establish'd; and Superstition wholly abolished. On account of which [Superstition,] not only slaughterers of irrational Creatures, but Sacrifices of humane Bodies also, and detestable pollutions of Altars were exercised: for according to the Assyrian and Egyptian Laws, in-  
\* Or, just, nocent Men were Sacrificed to Brazen or Earthen Statues. Images. Wherefore, the Fruit they say, be agreeable to such a Religion. Memphis [says he] and Babylon shall be made desolate; and both of them, with the Gods of their Countries, shall be left uninhabited. Nor do I relate these things from report and hear-say; but I my self was present and saw them; and was made an Eye-witness of the miserable and calamitous fortune of those Cities. \* Memphis lies desolate, that Pride, Can and Glory of the then most powerful Pharaoh, saimne

he himself had been a spectator of the ruin and destruction of those two Cities, Memphis namely and Babylon, which had heretofore been most potent. We must therefore make enquiry, at what time Constantine might go to those places. Whilst he was but a youth he went into Egypt; at such time as he had a Military Employ in the Count of Dioclesian, by whom he was kept as an hostage. For Dioclesian waged a War many years in Egypt, against Achilleus who had rebelled in Egypt, as Eutropius relates. Out of Egypt, Constantine went afterwards, in company with Dioclesian, into Syria, and pass'd through the Province of Palestine, where he was first seen by Eusebius, as he himself attests. Now Dioclesian had made a journey into Syria, that with his own Forces he might assist Galerius Cæsar, who waged a War with the Persians. And he made a long stay in Syria, in order to his making a Peace with the Persians, as we are informed from the History of Pictus Particus. At that time therefore Constantine might take View of the Rubbish and Remains of the City Babylon. Valef.

I am of opinion, that the place is corrupted merely by the misplacing of the words. For the sense is most apparent, if you relate the words in this manner: καὶ οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ πόλει, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, Sc. What is more plain than this word? The import of ἀνθρώπων here, is glory or magnificence, that boasting, wherein namely Pharaoh put himself up. Away therefore with the conjecture of Chrysostom, Gruter, and others. And this was heretofore our conjecture concerning the reading of this place. But after we had gotten the Fukeian Copy, we found out the true and genuine reading. For in that Manuscript, this passage occurs worded thus: ἐν τῇ πόλει, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, ὅτι ἀνθρώπων ἐξ ὧν, Sc. And thus 'tis plainly read in Turneb's and Gruter's Book; save only, that that punctuation we have made use of, is peculiar to the Fukeian Copy only; wherein, after the word καὶ, a point is set. The Translator therefore of this Oration has used καὶ, in the Non-Inter-Cale, whereas he ought to have laid καὶ. Moreover, ἀνθρώπων is put instead of ἀνθρώπων. This then is the import of this reading; and was made an Eye-witness of Memphis the miserable and most unfortunate of Cities. But besides, according to the Divine Command, has laid waste the Country of the then most powerful Pharaoh, Sc. Farther, according to this reading, Constantine affirms, that Memphis only was seen by him; which I do indeed look upon to be true. For he could never see Babylon, in





## СНАР

## C H A P. XIX.

That this Prophecy concerning Our Saviour, was not forged by any of the *Christians*; but was written by *Sibylla Erythraea*, whose Books *Cicero* rendered into Latine Verse, before the coming of Christ. And, that *Virgil* makes mention of this *Sibyl*, as also of a Virgin delivered of a Child: but He fang of this Mytery, \* obscurely; out of a fear of those then in power.

\* Or, In Riddles.

<sup>a</sup> In the *Fuketan* Copy, and *Sheets*, yet ) disbelieve [this prediction.] For they suspect, that some body of our Religion, not unskilled in the Art of Poetry, made these Verses, and put a false Title to them, and affirmed them to be the Predictions of the Sibyl; in regard they contain Sentences that are of great use to the Life of man, whereby both the immoderate use of pleasures is restrained, and a way also is opened to a sober and temperate Life.

<sup>b</sup> But, the Truth it self is apparent and exposed to the view of all men; in as much as the diligence of \* those who profess our Religion, hath made so accurate a Collection of the Series of Times, that no body can now suspect, that that Poem was composed after the Coming and Condemnation of Christ; [nor can it be now supposed,] that the common Report is false, namely, that these Verses were long before by way of Prophecy uttered by the Sibyl. For,

<sup>c</sup> Cicero, after he had read this Poem, translated it into Latine, and inserted it into his own Works. This Cicero was taken off by Antony, whilst he was in power. Again, Antony was vanquished by Augustus, who reigned six and fifty years. His successor was Tiberius: in which time the presence of our Saviour shined upon the World, and the Mystery of the Most Holy Religion began to flourish, and a new Progeny and Succession of people was

<sup>d</sup> Begun, † established. Concerning which, 'tis my Sentiment, that the Prince of the Latine Poets speaks, in these words.

<sup>e</sup> The passage in Cicero, which Consero means, is extant in his second Book de Divinatione, where he makes mention of some Verses of the Sibyl, and of an Acrostick. But, that Acrostick spoken of by Cicero, can no way be proved to be the very same with this which Constantine produces here. Yet, the contrary may be gathered from Cicero's words. For, in that Acrostick mentioned by Cicero, the Romans were warned, that they should choose themselves a King, if they would be safe; as Cicero does there attack. Therefore, the first Letters of these Verses shewed, as 'tis probable, the name of Julius Cæsar. But in this Acrostick produced by Constantine, there is no such thing extant. Wherefore 'tis not to be doubted, but Cicero meant an Acrostick different from this, though Sebastianus Cassiodorus thought otherwise, as did likewise several other persons. Besides, what Constantine adds is false; namely, that Cicero rendered this Greek Acrostick concerning Christ, into Latine, and inserted it into his own Books. Valef.

<sup>f</sup> Near the Sibyl's Temple. Here also we must acknowledge the unskilfulness of the Transliterator, who has made use of *sipus* instead of *Idus*. For *sipus* & *Idus* is no good expression; but it should be *Idus* & *Idus*. Valef.

<sup>g</sup> Now from high Heaven springs a new progeny. In the *Fuketan* Copy, and in the *Sheets*, I found it written *via* *plaudis*. Valef.

And again, in another place of His Bucolics. *ΕΒΑΛΕΝ ΤΗΝΑ*. 'Tis apparent that it must be made *ΕΒΑΛΕΝ*, place. And so 'tis in the *Fuketan* Copy. Further, neither the *Fuketan* Manuscript, nor the Old *Sheets*, begin a new chapter here. Valef.

Sicilian Muses, Sing we one Note higher.

What is plainer than this? For He adds,

Last times are come, Cumæa's Prophecy.

Meaning namely Sibylla Cumæa. Nor is he content herewith; but has proceeded farther; as if necessity it self required His Testimony. What says He therefore?

And Time's great Order now again is born. The maid Returns, Saturnian Realms return.

Who therefore is that Virgin which returns? Is it not She, who was full of, and great with child by the Divine Spirit? And what binders, but She who is great with child by the Divine Spirit, should always be a maid, and continue a Virgin? [The wish'd-for King] \* shall also return again, and by His coming shall comfort the world. For the Poet adds,

words *ὁ ἑστέρων βασιλεύς*, the wish'd-for King; of whom mention is made in the last Verse

\* *Ἦναι τερψίνων ᾠδῆν, ἄψιν ἑστέρων βασιλῆα*.

Nevertheless, in *Virgil's* Verse there is no such expression as this. But Constantine, as it may be supposed, had altered *Virgil's* Verses a little; and had designedly expunged *Saturn's* name, that he might serve his own design. Valef.

<sup>b</sup> To th' infant, chaste Lucina, favouring be, Who ending iron ages, through all lands Shall golden plant: —

If any prints of our old Vice remain'd By Thee they're void, and Fear shall leave the land. in the *Fuketan* Copy, and in the *Sheets*. But Turnebus had noted at the margin of his Book, that perhaps it should be written *maior*. Valef.

<sup>c</sup> *Καὶ σὺ καὶ τῶν*. This verse is in my judgment to be restored thus;

\* *Ἀλλὰ τὸ σὺ καὶ τῶν καὶ ἑστέρων ἀλγῶν*.

But the verse which precedes this, wants no mending. Yet, in the *Fuketan* Copy and Turnebus's Book, 'tis written thus,

*Τὸ μὲν δὲ ἔρχομαι τὰ μὲν ἔλθωσι πάντα βέλτε*. Valef.

Which words we perceive to be spoken plainly, and also obscurely by way of Allegory. For, *τὸ μὲν δὲ* "to those who make deeper Researches into the *Causes*, force and meaning of the Verses, [to them I read this say] they give a clear prospect of Christ's Divinity. But, least any one of the *Grandees* in the Imperial City, might take occasion to accuse the Poet, because he had written [what was] *ἔλεος* and repugnant to the Laws of his own Country, and a little abridg'd overbrow'd the Opinions concerning the Gods, which had in former times been delivered by their Ancestors; [on this account] he designedly obscures the truth. For he knew, *ἡμεῖς* Divinity; these words seem necessary to be added *ἡμεῖς τὸ μὲν δὲ*. In the *Fuketan* Copy, 'tis written, *τὸ μὲν δὲ ἡμεῖς τὸ μὲν δὲ*; and so 'tis in Sir Henry Savile's Book. Valef.

<sup>d</sup> *Ὀντως τὸ μὲν δὲ*. I write, *Ὀντως τὸ μὲν δὲ*, &c. But, least any one, &c; which is an amendment wholly necessary, and 'tis strange to me, that neither *Scaliger*, nor any of the other Correctors saw it. For whereas these words, *τὸ μὲν δὲ ἡμεῖς τὸ μὲν δὲ*, &c. went before; of necessity it must follow here, *Ὀντως τὸ μὲν δὲ*; &c; that the sense may be complete. For Constantine says that *Virgil* spoke both plainly, and obscurely. And, that he had obscurely intimated the Divinity and Advent of our Saviour; but, had spoken plainly and openly after the manner of the Heathens, and had named Altars and Temples. The *Fuketan* Copy confirms our conjecture; wherein 'tis written exactly so, as I had long before guess'd it should be. Valef.

suppose,



of the Greek Translatour, who renders this Verse of *Virgil* thus, ἀειδὲν τ' ὀψέσθαι δάμνην ὃ καὶ τίμω ἀνέμω. For so this Verse is worded in the excellent *Fuketian Copy*, and exactly according to *Constantine's* mind. Farther, as to this whole *Eloge* of *Virgil's*, the *Christians* always affirmed, that it was translated out of the *Sibylline Vests*, and ought to be understood concerning *Christ's* Birth: Nor can these words be spoken of any body else, but of *Christ*.

*Hoc duce, si qua maxent sceleris vestigia nostri,  
Irrita perpetua solvent formidine terras.*

Thus, besides *Constantine*, *St. Austin* understood these words, in his *Epistle* to *Volusianus*, and in his 115 *Epistle*. In his *Epistle* to *Volusianus*, he gives this interpretation of the *Affrian Amomum*, namely that thereby is meant the Opinion of *Pherecydes* the *Affrian*, who was the first that asserted the Immortality of the Soul. But this interpretation of *St. Austin* can't be born with, in regard *Pherecydes* was not an *Affrian*; but, a *Syrian*, that is, of the Island *Syros*. Wherefore, *Constantine's* explanation is to be preferred, who says, that by the name *Amomum* the *Faithful* or the *Christians* are meant; because they are ἀμωμοί, that is without fault. But, that 'tis therefore termed *Affrianum*, because from the *Affrians* sprang the first beginning of Faith. For *Abraham* an *Affrian*, was the first who believed in God; whence he had the Name of the Father of Believers. *Valf.*

\* Or, *Our And* whereas he says, that \* *Amomum* shall grow every where; ' he gives the multitude of the *Christians* that appellation. Which [multitude] like a vast number of branches flourishing with most fragrant flowers, springs from one and the same root. Most Learnedly spoken, O *Maro*, Thou wisest of Poets! And all the following words are likewise agreeable hereto.

*Savil's* conjecture, who at the margin of his Book has noted, that perhaps it should be ἀμωμοί. *Valf.*

As soon as Thou the *Hero's* praise shalt know  
And read Thy Father's Acts,  
And unto Virtue's knowledge can'st attain :

By the praises of the *Heroes*, he means the Works of just Men: and he terms the Constitution of the World and its accurate composure which is to last for ever, the Virtues or Acts of the Father. Perhaps also [he means thereby] the Laws, which the Church, beloved by God, does make use of;

\* Or, *Following*.  
† Or, *Enlargement*. Men (who stand in some middle rank between the Good and Bad,) " to things more sublime, is worthy of admiration also; when, as notwithstanding, [such a life] admits not the Possession of any sudden alteration.

added, which by mistake was omitted in *Robert Stephens's Edition*; and thus, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμωμον. For so 'tis written in the *Kings Sheers*, and in *Turnebus's*, and *Morus's* Book. But I am better pleased with that reading, which is propoled from the Books of *Scaliger* and *Bongarsius*; which I likewise found in the *Fuketian Copy*; viz. ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμωμον. For, ἀμωμον is a Verb proper to the *Platonick Philosophy*, out of which several passages in many places of this Oration are taken. Hence comes the *Sensu Anagogico*, the *Mythick Sense*, which occurs frequently in *Proclus*; and that saying of *Plinius*, extolled by *Synesius*, δὲ ἀνέμω τὸ ἐν ἡμῶν θεῶν αἰετὶς τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν. *Valf.*

The Fields shall mellow wax with golden grain.

That is, the Fruit of the Divine Law shall be produced for the use [of men.]

The blushing grape shall hang on Thorns, unset;

Which things were not at all visible in the wicked and depraved life [of men.]

And th' hardned Oaks with dewy honey sweat.

[In which words] he describes the folly and

hardned temper of mind, of the Men who then lived. And perhaps he likewise shews, that those who on God's account have been exercised with Labour, shall receive some sweet fruit of their own patient sufferance.

In the *Fuketian Copy* the reading is, τὸν αἰετὶς τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀποσώζω. I write therefore, τὸν αἰετὶς τοῦ θεοῦ πόνον ἀποσώζω, these who on God's, &c. which emendation is most undoubtedly certain. *Constantine* explains that Verse of *Virgil's*;

*Es dura quereus sudabant roscida mella.*

He says therefore, that by this Verse is meant those who undergo most sore labours for God's cause, or on God's account, shall receive most sweet fruit of their Labours. *Valf.*

Some steps of ancient fraud shall yet be found:  
Thetis to tempt with Ships, and to surround  
Cities with Walls, bids Earth in furrows tear.  
A second Typhis, a new Argo bear  
Choice Heroes: and another War, imply  
Again a Great Achilles sent to Troy.

Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! For \* *Exord.* Thou hast \* advanced \* Poetick Licence as far as, or, as it was becoming. For, it was not Thy design to use to utter Oracles, in regard Thou wert not a \* *Propheet*. I suppose likewise, that the present danger was an hindrance, which danger hung over \* *their heads*, who would go about to confute those like *Pite Rites* instituted by their Ancestors. As marvellously therefore, and as safely as 'twas possible, He has represented the Truth to those who are able to understand it, whilst he lays the blame upon *Towers centiam*, and War, which at this very present are really better than visible in the Life of Men; and describes our *Christ's* Saviour going to the Trojan War. Now, by Troy [He means] the whole World. \* For [Christ] who transaged a War against the opposed Forces of wickedness; His Mission into the World being occasioned, sioned partly from the good will and pleasure of his own providence, and partly from the Order of the Supreme Father. But, what says the Poet rendered it after these words?

For *Greecian* that *ἑσέων*, which the Latines call *Poeticam Licentiam*, Poetick Licence; as I remember, it frequently occurs in *Themistius*. Further, the Old Sheers begin a new Chapter here, from these words, ὅς δ' ἀσφατὸς πόνον. Incomparably well, Thou wisest of Poets! Which in my judgment is better. Here therefore the sweetest chapter is to be placed. *Valf.*

\* *Ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμωμον ἀνέμω τὸ ἐν ἡμῶν θεῶν αἰετὶς τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν*. In the *Fuketian Copy* and *Turnebus's* Book, this place is written thus; ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμωμον πόνον τοῦ θεοῦ ἀνέμω τὸ ἐν ἡμῶν θεῶν αἰετὶς τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν. But Sir Henry Savil had mended it in his Copy, ἐπὶ τὸ ἀμωμον καὶ τὸ ἀνέμω τὸ ἐν ἡμῶν θεῶν αἰετὶς τὸ ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν. *Valf.*

Here when full years shall make Thee perfect Man,

That is, when, after Thou art arrived at Man's Estate, Thou shalt have pluck'd up by the roots those *Mischiefs*, which infect the Life of Men; and shalt have adorned the whole World with Peace,

\* *Ὁδὺς σου ἀνέμω.*  
Nor navigable pines shall traffick Ware;  
But each part of the World shall all things bear.

be written, ὅς δ' ἐπὶ τὸν πόνον, &c. In the third verse from hence, I read αὐτὸν δ' ἀμωμον: for γὰρ is understood. *Valf.*

\* Nor earth feel harrows, nor the vine the hook; \* After this verse, there is one of *Virgil's* Verses left out, in this quotation of *Constantine's*, this namely; *Robustus quoque jam curvis iuga solvet Arator*; that is, Nor shall his Steers the branny Tiller yoke. Besides this, some other verses are left out hereafter, in this quotation.

Nor

Nor wool with various colours shall deceive.  
But in the meadows Rams \* shall scarlet have;  
And changing, sometimes golden fleeces wear.  
And feeding Lambs shall native purple bear.—  
Attempt great honours, for the time draws near,  
Dear Race of God's, great Stock of Jupiter!  
Behold! The world shakes on its ponderous axle,  
See, Earth, and Heavens immanent, and th' Ocean's

(traſts;

How all things at th' approaching Age rejoice!  
Oh that my ' Life would laſt fo long, and voyce,  
As would ſuffice Thy Actions to rehearſe:  
Not Orpheus then ſhould vanquiſh me in Verſe,  
Nor Linus, though their Parents preſent be;—  
Should Pan ſtrive with me, by *Arædis*'s doom,  
Although a God, Pan ſhould be overcome.

A little after, I would rather read *ἔγε σὺ μνηστὴρ Διὸς ἐλάττω*, in the Imperative. For 'tis a rendition of this Verſe of *Virgil's* *Aſſiæ conſpectu micantem powder mundum*. Valeſ.  
I *ἔγω γὰρ ἔγχετο* *ἔγω*. In *Moræus's* Book, the Learned man hath mended it, *ἔγω γὰρ ἔγχετο*. But, neither is the Verſe made good this way. Wherefore, I ſhould rather read *ἔγω γὰρ*. For theſe words are ſpoke in the *Operative Mode*. In the following Verſe write words from *Moræus's* Book. This Amendment admits of no doubt. But, concerning the former we muſt think further. For that place may, I think, be reſtored with leſs trouble, if you alter the puſtation only, in this manner,

*Ἰνδὸς μνηστὴρ τὸν Διὸς ἀντιπρὸς ἄλσιν κῆρ  
ἔστιν ὡς γινέσθαι, ἔγω γὰρ ἔγχετο* *ἔγω*.  
*ἔστιν ὡς γινέσθαι* *ἔγω γὰρ ἔγχετο*, &c.

Nothing more certain. \* *ἔγω* is put for *ἔγω*. In the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is, *ἔγω γὰρ ἔγχετο* *ἔγω* *ἔγω* *ἔγω*, &c. without the Verſe *ἔγω*. Further, the Reader is to be acquainted, that all theſe Verſes of *Virgil*, as well in the *Fuketian* Copy, as in the *Sheets*, are not written from the head; but the firſt words only of every Verſe are ſevered (ome little ſpace from the preceding. Which is therefore done, becauſe theſe Verſes are not recited without intermiſſion, but with frequent interlocations of *Conſtantine's*. Valeſ.

\* Or, *Behold, ſays he, the Joy of the \* tottering World, and of all the Elements.*

## CHAP. XXI.

That 'tis impoſſible for theſe things to be ſpoke concerning a meer Man: and, that unbelievers, by reaſon of their ignorance of the divine Worſhip, know not even whence they have their being.

Some one of their number, whoſe Sentiments have leſs of Prudence in them, will perhaps ſuppoſe, that theſe things are ſpoke concerning

the Birth of a Man. \* But, what reaſon can there be aſſigned, that upon the Birth of a Son of Man, the Earth ſhould be unſown and unplowed; and, that the Vine ſhould not need the edge of the Plow, nor any other care or cultivation? How can theſe things be thought to be ſpoke concerning the Off-ſpring of a Man?

For Nature is the Handmaid of the Divine Will, and does not execute humane Commands. Beſides, the Joy of [all] the Elements denotes the Advent of God, not the Birth of any Man. And this, namely the Poets praying that the term of his Life might be prolonged, is a certain Evidence of Divine Invocation. For,

'tis our uſage to aſk life and ſafety of God, not of Men. Thus therefore *Sibylla Erythraea* [ſpeaks]

to God. *Why, O Lord, ſays She, doſt Thou lay upon Me a neceſſity of Propheſying; and not rather keep Me raiſed on high from the Earth, until the day of Thy Moſt Bleſſed Coming? But Maro adds theſe Verſes alſo, to thoſe we have quoted above.*

\* Begin Sweet Child, with ſmiles Thy Mother \* *Ἀρχὴ*  
(know) *ἡδονῶν*  
Who ten long Months did with thy burthen go.  
Sweet Child begin: \* cheer'd by no parents look,  
To's Board no God, & Her Bed no Goddeſs took.

I publiſhed this Verſe in this manner, from conjecture as I ſuppoſe. For in the *King's* *Sheets* and the *Fuketian* Copy, it is written thus, *ἄρχῃ μνηστὴρ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ*, &c. From which words it was moſt eaſie to reſtore the true reading of this place. Thus therefore I mend it:  
*Ἀρχῇ μνηστὴρ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ τὸν κρητὶς καλὸν*  
*ἡδονῶν*.

That which emendation, there is nothing more certain. Valeſ.  
\* *ἄρχῃ μνηστὴρ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ*. Neither *Conſtantine*, nor the *Greek* *Translator* apprehended the true meaning of *Virgil's* words. For, he underſtood them in this manner: as if *Virgil* had ſaid that the Parents had not ſmiled on the child; nor, had a God taken him to his Table, nor a Goddeſs to her Bed. *Conſtantine* ſuppoſed, that that verſe of *Virgil*.

*Incipe, parve puer, cui non riſere parentes*, &c. was to be read in one breath, without any diſtinction or ſtop: whereas nevertheless, after the word *puer*, a point is to be ſet: a thing which even Boys know. *Chriſtophorus*, becauſe he perceived not this, interpolated *Conſtantine's* following words, by adding a Negative, againſt the mind of the Author, and contrary to the Authority of all Copies. Farther in the *Fuketian* Copy the reading is *ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς ἔχοντες*; which is truer, if I miſtake not. Indeed, in the *Sheets* it is *ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς*. Valeſ.

For how ſhould his Parents have ſmiled on him?

\* For God, who is His Father, is a Power void of \* *Ὁ ἀπὸ*  
Quality. And He Himſelf wants all figure, but *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
[exiſts] in the Circumſcription of others; \* *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
is endued with an humane Body. Who like- *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
ment to any *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
wiſe is ignorant, that \* the Spirit of God is ought to be  
\* unconcern'd in a Marriage Bed? *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.

For, what deſire, what \* Appetite can *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
there be] in the affection of the chief- *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
eſt Good, whereof all other things are *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
deſirous? What can be wholly com- *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
pact to Wiſdom and Pleaſure? \* But, it may be *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
permitted them to ſpeak theſe things, who [ſeign] *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
to themſelves \* a certain humane Generation *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
Chriſt: \* and who make it not their buſineſs, to *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*.  
cleanſe their mind from every ill ſact and word. Valeſ.

\* *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*. By the Holy Spirit *Conſtantine* ſeems to mean the Divinity; or the Divine Nature, as we have already remarked in the foregoing chapter. For he explains thoſe words tranſlated out of *Virgil*, *ἡ ἀσύνθετος*, which are ſpoke of Chriſt, not concerning the Holy Spirit. Therefore, at this place I choſe to render it the Spirit of God, rather than the Holy Spirit, as *Poreſius* and *Chriſtophorus* have done. Valeſ.

\* From theſe words it appears, that that miſtake, which we have taken notice of above, was not committed by *Conſtantine* himſelf, but by the *Greek* *Translator*, who miſunderſtood *Virgil's* laſt Verſe. For *Conſtantine* himſelf took thoſe Verſes of *Virgil* in their true ſenſe, as 'tis viſible from hence. For, when he had quoted *Virgil's* words; (which run thus;

*Cui non riſere Parentes,*

*Nec Deus hunc Menſis, Dea nec digna cubili eſt.*) preſently, finding fault with the Verſe as 'twere, he adds theſe words. Now, ſays he, could his Parents ſmile on him, in regard His Father is God, who wants both a body, and figure aſſe. Beſides, how can a Bed and a Table be any way agreeable to God, who, 'tis manifeſt, is wholly void of a Marriage-bed, nor is he affected with the pleaſures of meats. Then he adds theſe words, (whence what I have ſaid, plainly appears, namely that *Conſtantine* underſtood *Virgil's* Verſes excellently well;) *Verdum illis qui humanam quandam Generationem exponunt, concedamus ut ita loquantur*; But, let us permit ſome, who ſeem to ſet forth a certain humane Generation, to ſpeak thus. In which words he excludes *Virgil*, in regard he was ignorant of Chriſt's Divine Generation. But in the *Greek* *translation*, wherein *Virgil's* Verſes are expounded ill, this period has no coherence with the foregoing words. Valeſ.

\* *Ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσύνθετος*. I embrace the conjecture of Learned Men, which I likewiſe found noted in *Sir Henry Savil's* Book; *Ὁ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀσύνθετος*, &c. and who make it not, &c. Valeſ.

I here



I here appeal to Thee, O Piety! I implore Thy Assistance in reference to those things which are spoken: Thou, who art [nothing else but] the Law of Chastity [and Holiness] the most defensible of all Goods; the School-mistress of a most Holy Hope; the most certain and unfeigned Promise of immortality! Thee I adore, O Piety, and Clemency! To Thee we owe eternal Thanks, for the benefit of thy Cure, which we stood in need of! But, the Generality of Men, void of Thy Assistance, by reason of their innate hatred towards Thee, have an Aversion for God also. Nor do they understand, that the very Cause, as well of their Life and Being, as of all other Persons who are impious, depends upon that Service and Worship, [which is paid] to the Deity. For the whole World, and whatever is contained therein, is His Possession.

gion; but <sup>1</sup> is basely corrupted by an ill punctuation. I read therefore; *ἡδύων*  
*τα εἰς αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐκτεταμένῃ, ἐλπίσιν* *ἐν* *ἐσθλαῖς* *οὐκ ἐκτεταταῖς, ἀδυνατοῖς*  
*ὑπὸ πονηρῶν ἀνέλεσθαι* *the most desirable of all Goods, &c.* Nothing  
certainer than this reading, nothing more elegant. *Conflantius* terms  
Religion the School-mistress of a most Holy Hope, in regard She  
teaches us to hope for things Celestial, and to place all our hope in  
God, not in earthly and frail Goods. In the *Fukerian Copy* the reading  
is, *ἐλπίσιν* *οὐκ ἐκτεταταῖς, ἀδυνατοῖς* *ὑπὸ πονηρῶν ἀνέλεσθαι*. There is  
punctuation in the *Sheets*. Valet.

the same punctuation in the *Sheets*. *Value*.  
 Of *ia* *ia* *ia*, we stood in need of. It must questionless be writ-  
 ten, *oi* *ia* *ia*, whereby they were healed. For 'tis elegantly  
 said *oi* *ia* *ia*, That is, healed by Thy Remedies.  
*Value*.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκεῖνε κτήμα. I had rather write, ἐκεῖνε κτήμα, *His Work* or, *his instrument*. Valef.

## CHAP. XXII.

The Emperor's Thanksgiving, wherein  
He ascribes His Victories, and all His  
other Blessings, to Christ; also a Reproof  
of *Maximinus* the Tyrant of those times,  
who by the severity of his Persecution  
had increased the Glory of the *Christian*  
Religion.

**I**Ndeed, I my self do ascribe mine own Felicity, and all that I am possess of, to Piety, as to the Cause thereof. Whereto the Event of

\* Τῶν κατ' εὐχὰς ἀπάντων.  
Any one might with good reason  
guess, that it ought to be writ-  
ten, πάντων κατ' εὐχὰς ἀπαν-  
τώντων, But whereas the sense is  
plain without this Emendation, I  
think no alteration is to be made  
here. *Vale!*

Μεγαλάνης. So the Greeks are wont to call Rome, as may be made appear by innumerable instances. Thus Tatianus terms it, in his *Oration adversus Græcos*, where he speaks concerning the worship of *Jupiter Latiaris*; and also Porphyry, in his *Book de abstinentiâ*. Moreover Eusebius, in his *Tricennal Oration concerning Constantine's praises*, terms Rome thus, as we shall see there. *Psalm.*

look upon these things as unfit to be mentioned now; by Me especially, who am directing My Discourse to Thee, [O Piety!] and who do

ε Πῶς αὖ ἀφραῖς. I had rather write, ὅπως αὖ ἀφραῖς &c.

\* Or, *Cast and good.*

Nevertheless, I will say something, which shall neither appear foul nor indecent. A fierce and implacable War, abounding with

[instances of] Madness and Cruelty, was by the  
Tyrants [waged,] both against Thee, O Piety!

and again! all Thy moſt  
Holy Churches. Nor, were  
there ſome Perſons wanting  
in the City Rome, who re-  
joyced in ſuch great and  
publick Miſchiefs. A Field  
was likewiſe pitch'd in or-  
der to an Engagement. But  
Thou cameſt forth, and diſ-  
voluntarily deliver up Thy-  
ſelf, being ſupported by a  
Faith in God. <sup>a</sup> Then the  
Cruelty of the impious, ha-  
ving, like ſome furious fire,  
without intermiſſion preyed  
upon all things which it met  
with, procured for Thee an  
admirable, and ever-to-be-  
celebrated Glory. For, on  
this account [it was,] that  
a Generation [of Thee] ſei-  
z'd the very Spectator  
themſelves. Thou might'ſt  
indeed have ſeen the Execu-  
tioniers and Tormentors, wear-  
ied out with torturing the  
<sup>a</sup> Bodies of the Pious, and

jorely perplext at the La-  
 mors and Trouble they met  
 with: but the Bonds [you  
 might have beheld] broken;  
 and the Engines of Torture  
 loosed; and the fires which  
 were brought, extinguished  
 but, [on the contrary,] the  
 Consistency and Boldness [of  
 the Pious] not in the least  
 weakened or abated.  
 What advantage therefore  
 hath Thou made, by at-  
 tempting these things, O  
 Thou weakdest of Men? What  
 was the occasion of this thy  
 outrageous Fury; Thou wilt  
 per adventure say, that [thou  
 performest these things  
 in honour to the Gods. What  
 Gods were those? Or what  
 Notion conceivest thou in  
 thy mind, that is worthy of  
 the Divine Nature? Diddst  
 Thou suppose the Gods to be  
 angry in the same manner  
 with Thee? If therefore they  
 were such, it was expedient  
 to wonder at their Resolution,  
 rather than obey their im-  
 pudent Commands, where-  
 by they \* order-  
 ed \* just Men to be  
 unjustly slain.

erved before, that many ill corrections are found in that Copy. Valer.  
 b Τα νυν ευσεβεισ μαρτυροι. After these words *Chrysostomus*, *Se-*  
*liger*, and others add *in eisδν*, you might have seen : as I also found  
 it in *Moran's* *Book*, and in the *Fulgentian* Copy. But there is no  
 need of adding these words here, in regard the term *Seu* is the  
 whereto all these words, ought to be referred. Nevertheless, I do  
 acknowledge, that the discourse would be far more periphrastic, if  
 you should add these words. Valer.

<sup>i</sup> He speaks to one of the persecutors; *Maximianus* namely, as in the Title of this Chapter. For he persecuted the *Christians* with more of Cruelty, and Malice, than the others. *Vale!*

<sup>d</sup> Καὶ μέντοι τῆς ἀποστολῆς.  
Before these words there is an  
Affix placed in Robert Ste-  
phen's Edition, whereby 'tis  
shown, that some words are  
wanting here in the *Manuscript*  
Copies. But the *Geneva*-  
Edition has taken out those  
Affixes which had been diligently  
noted by Robert Stephens, es-  
pecially in the end of this book.  
Further some words are wanting  
here, which I made good thus,  
οὐκ ἔστι μέντοι τὰς ἀποστολῆς  
σε βιβλίου; But against this,  
&c. For, he speaks to the Cor-  
inthian Religion. *Kalef*

• He means the field, where in the Martyrs underwent their last-punishment. For, it was the usage, as amongst the *Quacians*, as *Romans*, that Criminals should have punishments inflicted on them, without the Gates; as I have at large remarked in my notes on *Amm. Marcellinus*. Whence it was, that Offenders led to punishment, were said *ad campum duci, to be led to the field*. So Saint *Anselm* in his first *Book* against the *Epistle of Parmenianus*, chap. 8. *Vulgi*.

† Ἐπιθυμῶν ἐκείνῳ ἑμπεδοκλήῃ. It must be, *overlaid* ἑμπεδοκλήῃ, &c. That is, and *drift* voluntarily deliver up thyself, being supported, &c. *Constantine* alludes to the courage of the *Martyrs*, who voluntarily offered themselves to the Judge, and ran to death on their own way without compulsion. Indeed, *ἐπιθυμῶν* is not said, but concerning *Him*, who does any thing voluntarily; as for instance, concerning *Christ*, who of his own accord delivered Himself for the Salvation of Mankind. *Christophorus* therefore has rendered this place ill, thus, *εὐψυχῶν ἀποφασίῃ*, thou hast offered thyself against the adversaries. Our conjecture is confirmed by the *Εὐαγγέλιον* *Ἁγίου*, wherein it is written, *Ἐκείνῳ ὁσὺν ὁσὺν ἑμπεδοκλήῃ*, &c.

§ 2. *On the Justice of the sentence, the cruelty of unrepentant sinners.*—In mine own judgment I have happily found out the emendation of this place. For, whereas before these words, the term *there* occurs, the two last Letters of this word being repeated; I have restored the place thus: *§ 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824*

After these words *Chrysostomus*, *Steu* might have seen; as *I* also found in the *Fuketian* Copy. But there is no *Steu* in regard the term *Steu* before, it is to be referred. Nevertheless, *I* do think it would be far more perspicuous, if *Steu* were used.

*Steu* is a verb; *Maximianus* namely, as *Steu* for he persecuted the *Christians* with the others. *Valef*.

In the reading, *I* think, ought to be *Steu* in the word *Steu*. *Valef*.

*Rur*.

But, Thou wilt perhaps affirm, [that these things were done by Thee,] on account of the institutions and establishments of Thy Ancestours, and by reason of the Opinion of Men. I pardon Thee. For those institutions are exactly like to the Actions done by Thee, and [flow from] one and the same [Fountain of] ignorance. Thou thoughtest perhaps, that thee was some excellent power and virtue in Images made in the shape of a Man, by Workmen and Artificers. Wherefore, Thou paidst a worship to them; making it Thy whole business, that they should not at any time be polluted with filth; those Great and Eminent Gods, forsooth! standing in need of humane Care.

1. *Flavus* need of humane Care. The last word must be blotted out, in adding which, *Christophorus, Scalliger, and Grueter* did ill. I found the same term added likewise, in the *Engelstein and Morcan Copies*. But it is not at all necessary; only, alter the verb *perhibere*, or *polluere* with *scire*, a *Semecum* must be placed. And thus *Portius* understood this place; who has indeed rendered these words more happily than *Christophorus*, in this manner. *Omnia illa Cura sunt, Omne studium sordidum opprobrum. Ita Magni primarique Dii humanis specie sustinebant; sicut diligentiam requirebant.* And to *Mosellum* alio. *Valf.*

## CHAP. XXIII.

Concerning the Polity of the *Christians*:  
and, that the Deity rejoices in those who  
lead Vertuous lives: and, that we ought  
to expect a Judgment, and a Retribution.

**C**ompare Our Religion with Your [Rites.] Is there not amongst Us a genuine Concord, and a lasting Humanity and Goodness of Nature? Is there not amongst Us such a Reprehension for a fault, as may produce amendment, not ruin? <sup>a</sup> And a cure, which [may bring forth] Safety, not Cruelty? Is there not amongst Us, a <sup>b</sup> sincere Faith also, in the first place towards God; and then, towards the Natural Community of Men? Do not We exercise a Compassion towards those, against whom Fortune has waged a War? Is there not an honest, plain and sincere life, and such as does not cover wickedness with [the mask of] any subtil fraud; and a knowledge of him that is truly God, and of his Monarchy? This is true Piety; this is a Religion that is sincere, and wholly uncorrupt. This is the most prudent course of life; and they who have embraced it, tend directly to an eternal life, making their passage through some splendid High way as were. For no person, who enters upon such a course of life, and who purifies his mind from [all pollution of] his Body, does wholly die: but he must be said to perform the Office appointed him by God, rather than to die. For he who has confessed God, <sup>c</sup> does not grieve place, either to Contumelie, or Rage.

It appears from the following words, that instead of *misg*, *faith*, it should be *ḥesed* or *agape*, *Love*. For *Love* is in the first place towards God, then towards our Neighbour. But *Faith* is not but in the one and only God. Therefore *misg* can't in any wife be agreeable here. Believers, in regard he treats at this place concerning Repentation; on that account *Charity* or *Love* is a fitting term. For a kind rebuke begets *Charity*. But, 'tis better to read here, *ḥe misg alidnek* *me*, as I have did already. And fo *Miscellus* read, as it appears from his Version. *Faith*.

<sup>c</sup>Ὁν πῖνον ἀνέστησαν ὄφιοι. What the import of this term ὄφιοι is, we have observed in the foregoing *Books of Constantine's Life*: (See *Book 1. Chap. 27. note (b.)* and *Book 2. Chap. 52. note (a.)*) For *Trasilous* have in no wise hit the meaning, of this

term; which nevertheless, was easie to have been done here. *Chrysostom* renders it thus. *Quia deum ingenue confiteor, non consumeliam, non iracundia sponte succumbam.* From which words, there is no body but would extract this sense, *that he who confesses God, is not angry, is not Consumeliam.* But, the meaning of the Greek words is far different; namely, *that he who confesses the Name of Christ before the Judge, does not yield to the Reproach and fury of the persecutors.* Vals.

But, courageously enduring necessity, has the Trial of his sufferance as his <sup>a</sup> Viaticum, in order to his procuring himself the Divine Clemency. <sup>a</sup> Nor is it to be doubted, but the Deity gives a kind reception to \* Men endowed with Vertue. For it would be most absurd, that as well \* Persons in great power, as Men of an inferior Rank, should show themselves grateful to those, and should compensate their favours, by whom they are either revered, or have kindnesses shown them: but, that he who is above all, and who is the Ruler over all, and is the Chiefest good it self, should be negligent in making a Retribution. <sup>a</sup> Who does account us thoroughout all Our Lives, and is present with us, as often as we do any good. And forthwith commends and rewards Our Fortitude and \* Obedience: but defers the complement and perfection [of that Reward till another ended time.] For, the whole Account of Our lives shall then be cast up. And if all things be found well and right, the Reward of an Eternal life shall follow: but, a condign punishment shall be inflicted on the wicked.

shall be inflicted on the wicked. Marcellinus expresses, Book 29. pag. 392. *Cæsar Dictator aiebat, mirum esse frustumznum senectus, recordantem crudelitatis.* Where he what I have long since remarked, at pag. 389. of my notes. I have rendered it *Pitaticum, Voyage-Provision, or, all things necessary for a journey.* Petrus Musculus rendered it untidily, in this manner: *tolerantem experientiam compendii vice habet ad consequendum Dei Benevolentiam.* He has his Suffrance, in place of an advantage, in order to his obtaining Gods favour. Valsef.

Ὁὐδὲ β' ἀμφέβηλον. In *Moræus's Book*, the Learned Man had set these words at the margin; ἀμφέβηλον ἐκ τῆς ποσειδῆας; that is, a *passage of Plato's taken out of his Common Wealth*, B. 10. Indeed, in that Book, *Plato* disputes concerning those Rewards, which are given, by God to just Men, both in this life, and after death. But the argument whereby *Constantine* proves that, occurs not in *Plato*; at least I don't know that it does. *Vale!*

[illegible]

For, 'tis referred to τὸν ὃ ὑπερ πάντας, *He who is above all*, that is the Supreme God. Whom though he has termed τὸ ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸν, *the Good it self*; yet, ἐς in the Masculine Gender, ought to follow. *Valef.*

to *Κυβερνησις*. *ἡγεμονία* renders it *Propensum Voluntatem*, ready will. *Ἀδελφότης* translates it *Benevolentiam*, Benevolence. I chose to render it *obedientiam*, obedience. For, this is the import of the Verb *εὐδοκῆσαι*, morem gerere, obsequi *Voluntati* *Divine*, to follow, to obey the Divine Will. *Ἐυδοκῆσαι* therefore, to render it exactly, is *alacrescentia*, a willingness to please. In which sense 'tis taken in Saint Luke, in that Anthem of the Angels, after our Lord's Birth; *οὐδὲν ἄλλοις εὐδοκῆσαι*. This term occurs frequently, in both Testaments, as others have already observed. In the *Fukettian Copy*, 'tis, *εὐδοκῆσαι*. *ἡγεμονία*.

## CHAP. XXIV.

Concerning *Decius, Valerianus, and Aurelianus*, who ended their lives<sup>a</sup> miserably, because of their Persecution of the Church.

<sup>a</sup> In the very Title of the chapter there is a fault, but such a one as may easily be mended. For, instead of ἀδίκως, it must be written ἀδίκῃ, miserably; as 'tis in the *Fulgentian Copy*, and the *Kings Sheets*. Valef.

**I** Ask Thee now, *Decius*! who heretofore didst insult over the Labours of the Just; who basest the Church; and didst inflict punishments on those who had lived holily: what dost Thou now do, after this life? With what, and how afflictive Miseries art Thou now prest? Indeed, that interval of time, which was between Thy Life and Death, has sufficiently demonstrated<sup>a</sup> Thine Infelicity: when, having been overthrown with Thy whole army in the Scythick Fields, Thou didst expose the Roman Empire, so highly celebrated in all places, to the contempt and scorn of the † Goths. Thou also, *Valerian*! After Thou hadst declared the same Bloodiness and Cruelty towards God's Servants, hast made a manifest discovery of God's Holy and Just Judgment; being taken Prisoner by the Enemy, and carried up and down in Bonds, drest in thy purple, and thine other Imperial Attire; but as length, by the order of Sapor King of the But in the Persians, Thy skin was pull'd off, and preserved in Sheets 'tis, from corruption by salt, whereby Thou wert made an Eternal Trophy of Thine own Calamity. Valef.

And Thou *Aurelian*! The chief promoter of all impieties, by how manifest a Stroke of Divine Vengeance, 'tis his† raging with bloody Thru rancor nest thorow Thracia, wert Thou slain in the midst of the High-way, and filldest the Tracks of the publick Road with Thine impious Blood?

The *Geneva mss* did ill in inserting the particle εἰ, from the Books of *Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruet*; as they tell us, that particle I likewise found added in *Moræus's Copy*. But, whereas that conjunction does disturb the sense, and occurs not, either in the *King's Sheets*, or in *Stephen's Edition*; I am of opinion, that 'tis to be removed. Yet the *Fulgentian Copy* retaineth it. Valef.

## CHAP. XXV.

Concerning *Dioclesian*, who with infamy resigned the Empire; and, by reason of his persecuting the Church, was stricken with Thunder.

**B**UT *Dioclesian*, after that Bloody Cruelty of his Persecution, being condemned by a sentence which be pronounc'd against himself; as be- cause of the harm be received by the loss of his wits, *clelian* re- was punished by being shut up in one despicable House.

<sup>a</sup> For what reason *Dioclesian* was punished by being shut up in one despicable House. Some tell us, that *Dioclesian* (in regard he was a Curious Searcher into things

future, when he had found by the Answers of the Soothsayers, that most fore Calamities hung over the Roman State;) voluntarily relinquish'd the Empire. This is attested by *Aurelius Victor*. Others write, that *Dioclesian* being grown old, when he perceived himself to be less fit for the management of the Government, both by reason of his age, and on account of his unhealthiness; took this Resolution. Thus *Eusebius*, a most faithful, and most elegant Writer. The same is recorded by that unquenchable Author, in the Panegyrick which he spoke to *Maximianus Hercules* and *Constantine*. Sed tamen, says he, necquæquam fuit fuerit, cum principem quem annis egeremus, et valens desisteret, receperit eam. It variis quo ad hoc factis, integre folsuque vires. &c. There are those who write, that *Dioclesian*, when he saw the Christians could not be overcome by him; by reason of grief and impatience, resigned the Empire; as we may read in *Zonaras*. But *Constantine* does affirm in express words here, the *Dioclesian* voluntarily removed himself from the Empire, on account of the loss of his wits. And who is he, that dars contradict *Constantine's* Testimony, in regard he had lived in *Dioclesian's* Court; nor could any of these affairs be unknown to him. *Eusebius* relates the same also, in the Eighth Book of his History. But, there are many things, which may make us doubt concerning this matter. For first, although *Dioclesian* survived his Resignation of the Empire a long while, yet he never gave any indication of a distracted mind. Even that very one saying of his, (which was his answer to *Herculus* and *Galerius*, inviting him to re-assume the Empire,) how much of wisdom is there in it? Utinam Salomæ posses visere olera nostris manibus sacra, I wish you could come to see the Father's farm with our hands at Salomæ. Therefore, in that Retirement he was always honoured by all the Emperours of that time, who paid a dutiful observance to him, as to a Father. Hear *Eumenius* in the Panegyrick which he spoke to *Constantine*. Atenim divinum illum virum, &c. But, that *Divine Person*, who was the first that was sponsor of and resigned the Empire, repents not of his own Resolution and Deed. Happy and truly Blessed Man, to whom now a private Person, your discontents, who are so great Princes, do pay an honour! Would *Dioclesian* have been so highly honoured by four Emperours that were Augusti, had his Intellectuals been depraved? Or, would *Eumenius* have termed him a Divine Person, on this account especially, because he was the first that had resigned the Empire, if that had been done by him, by reason of his madness and dotage? Lastly, *Dioclesian* had taken a Resolution of resigning the Empire, long before the Persecution; then namely, when he triumphed over the Persians and other Barbarous Nations, at Rome. For there, in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, he required an Oath of his Colleague *Herculus*, that they should both resign the Empire on one and the same day. This *Eumenius* informs us of, in the Panegyrick now cited. Hunc ergo illum qui, &c. This Man therefore was ashamed to imitate this Person, who had been made a Brother (in the Empire) by him; it repented this Man, that the other had sworn in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. Now, *Dioclesian* triumphed at Rome, with his Colleague *Herculus*, on the eighteenth year of his Empire, as *Jerome* relates in the *Chronicon*; that is, on the year before the Persecution was raised against the Christians. 'Tis certain, the Author of the Panegyrick spoken to *Maximianus* and *Constantine* does attest, that that Resolution was taken by *Dioclesian*, and communicated to *Herculus*, long before his Resignation: his words are these. Tale est Imp. quod omnibus nobis incasso gemitu mentis in sacra Poliusis: non quidem in Regni negligentia, aut Laboris fuga, aut desidia cupiditate ductus, sed consilio, ut res esset, inter vos pacis constantia, &c. Which things being so, how can that which *Constantine* says, it stand good, that *Dioclesian* ran mad after the Persecution of the Christians, and for that reason voluntarily removed himself from the Empire? Indeed, I might be easily induced to believe, that *Dioclesian* was seized with a sickness, after the Persecution was begun, and was for some time distracted; especially, in regard to *Constantine* and *Eusebius* do constantly attest that. For this usually happens to sick People, and specially to melancholick Persons; of which fort *Dioclesian* was, as may be guessed from his Copy. But, I deny, that for this reason he resigned the Empire. Further, in the *Fulgentian* and *Turneb's Copies*, the reading of this whole place runs thus. Εὐαὐτὸς καὶ ἀποστρέφεται, & ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκ τῆς περὶ τὸν βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν διαπραγμάτευσιν ἀποστρέφεται, ὡς δὲ τὸ πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς χειρὸς τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς ἐκείνου. Βίαι, ἡ δὲ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐτοῦ τῶν αὐτῶν ἀποστρέφεται, &c. Valef.

What was the advantage therefore which he got, by his raising a War against our God? This, I think; that he might finish the remaining part of his Life, in a continual fear of being Thunder-struck. The City *Nicomedia* does attest this: nor, are they silent, who saw the thing with their own eyes; of which number I my self am one. The Palace was destroyed, and *Dioclesian's* own Room; Thunder, and a fire. Or, of Heaven ruining and devouring it. House.

He treated the Palace of *Nicomedia* which was consumed by an accidental fire, a little after the Persecution against the Christians was raised by *Dioclesian*. And the Emperours then first,

fellows, and the rest of the Heathens, blamed the Christians as the Authors of this fire, and therefore raged against them with severe punishments: as our *Eusebius* relates in the *English Book of his Ecclesiastical History*, Chap. 6. about the close of the Chapter. But *Constantine* himself was present, when those things were done at *Nicomedia*. And *Dioclesian*, although by his clap of Thunder, seems till his death to have continued *in* *Constantine*, always fearing he should be struck with Thunder. 'Tis certain, this Narrative of *Constantine*'s seems to intimate this. From hence it appears, how egregiously mistaken *Christopherson* is, in translating the Title of this Chapter. For he thought, that *Dioclesian*'s Palace had been burnt, after his resignation of the Empire: whereas, nevertheless that happened whilst *Dioclesian* as yet held the Empire, and made his Residence in the Palace of *Nicomedia*. *Valf.*

Indeed, the event of those things had been predicted by prudent Persons. For they were not silent, nor did they conceal their lamentation of affairs, which were managed with so much of indignity: but with freedom spake their minds openly and in publick, and discoursed one with another [in this manner.] What outrageous fury is this? How extravagant is this arrogance of power, that Men should dare to wage a War against God; and should resolve to insult over and reproach the most holy and most righteous Religion; and [should not scruple] to Plot and Contrive the Ruine of so numerous a multitude, and of such just Men, when there is not the least fault in them?

Ο Ζηλωτής διδοικαίαν. The last word is wanting in the *Fuketian Copy*. *Valf.*

That care which the Army bore towards their own Citizens! The Breasts of their own Countrymen were wounded by those, who had never seen the backs of their Enemies in a fight. But at length, Divine Providence insisted on them the punishment of such impious facts; and yet, without damage to the Empire. 'Tis certain, the slaughters committed were so numerous, that had they been made [in Battels] against the Barbarians, they might have been sufficient to procure us a perpetual Peace. *Valf.*

Ο Τόπος γὰρ ἐξήντιστο ἐργαζοί. This period is removed out of its place. For, it ought to have been placed immediately after the word *ἀποκαταστάσεως* in this manner: περὶ τὴν ἀποκαταστάσεως τοῦτο γὰρ ἐξήντιστο ἐργαζοί, ὅπου αἱ ἐπὶ βαρβάρων ἐξήντιστο, ἡ δὲ αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐκείνων τοῦτο γὰρ ἐργαζοί. That is, who had never seen the backs of their Enemies in a Fight. 'Tis certain, the slaughters committed were so numerous, that had they been made [in Battels] against the Barbarians, they might have been sufficient to procure us a perpetual Peace. But at length, Divine Providence insisted on them the punishment of such impious facts; and yet, without damage to the Empire. For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperor, &c. What can be clearer than these words, what more plain? Questionless, he must be very obstinate, who shall deny, that these words are thus to be restored. *Valf.*

Οὐρα αἱ ἐπὶ βαρβάρων ἐξήντιστο. There may be a double meaning on this place. For, either it may be rendered thus, as *Porreus* has turned it. *Sandæ cædis et sanguinis tanta viis suis, ne si barbarorum esset, ad cadus sempiternum sufficeret.* Indeed, so great was the abundance of slaughter and blood, that had it been of the Barbarians, it might have sufficed for a perpetual League. Or, else, with *Christopherson*, it may be translated in this manner. *Too placide factis iuxta cades, quot si in barbaros factæ fuissent, factis viis ad æternam pacem constituendam*

*videri possent.* So many slaughters were committed, that had as many been made against the Barbarians, they might have seemed enough to have established an Eternal Peace. And this latter sense pleases me best. *Lucan*'s opinion is wholly the same, in the beginning of his *Pharsalia*, when he says;

*Hec quæ civiles hauserunt sanguine dextra!*

Yet, instead of *ætas*, it would be better written, *æra*. For it follows, *icardis* *id*. *Valf.*

For, that whole Army of the forementioned Emperor, when afterwards it came under the Command of a worthless Person, who by force had seized upon the Empire of the Romans, (a Divine Providence having at length set at us, as 'tis Liberty that great City;) was totally ruined in apparent many and those \* Bloody Battels. Moreover, the Cries to God of those that were oppressed; and who ardently desired their Native freedom; the Praises also and Thanksgivings paid to God, after a deliverance from those Mischiefs, when my should Liberty and contrasts with Justice were restored to them; do not these things all manner of ways declare the Providence of God, and his Paternal Love towards Men?

cult to guests. After the Resignation of *Dioclesian*, *Galerius Maximianus* received his Forces; part whereof he delivered to *Severus Caesar*, for the defence of Italy. Some little time after, when *Maxentius* had seized the Empire of Rome, *Galerius* sent *Severus* with his Forces against him. But *Maxentius* having corrupted *Severus*'s Army by fraud, and with promises, brought them over to his own side. After this, when *Galerius* had made an Expedition against *Maxentius* with a greater number of Forces, he also was defeated by a like Revolt of his Soldiers. Thus *Dioclesian*'s Forces came under the Command and Power of *Maxentius*. *Valf.*

ἀποκαταστάσεως τὸν τὸν μὴδαν πάλιν. In the *Fuketian Copy*, and in *Turnebus*'s Book, this place is read thus, ἀποκαταστάσεως τὸν τὸν μὴδαν πάλιν ἐκ τὴν ἐργαζοί. *Valf.*

Ἰδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ. It must be *ἰδὲ γὰρ αἱ αὐτῶν τὸν τὸν ἐκ τὴν ἐργαζοί* &c. and we have rendered it accordingly. In the *Fuketian Copy* 'tis *ἰδὲ γὰρ ἐπὶ αὐτῶν*. *Valf.*

Καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀποκαταστάσεως. *Constantine* does glory because, having restored the Tyranny of *Maxentius*, he had restored to the Romans Liberty and Contracts with justice. For, after the slaughter of the Tyrant, whatever things had been done, either by Him or his Judges, were null'd. Therefore, if any one had been preferred to a dignity by him, he was reduced to his former condition, and was forc'd to bring in the *Codices* [or, *Patene*] of the dignity he had obtained, to the Lawful Prince. The Sentences also, and Decrees, which the Judges had made in those times, were taken away out of the Publick *Scrinia* and Offices of Record. Lastly, that whole time of the Tyranny was accounted for nothing, in the same manner as if it had never been. Wherefore, neither wait of advantage for the prescription of a long time. Compacts also and Bargains, and Contracts of what sort soever, which had been made between private Persons during that space of time, were in like manner null'd, and that even with the strictest authority and power. But Lawful Princes; after they had gotten the Victory over Tyrants, and had rescind'd all their Acts; were wont to confirm Bargains, Sales, Donations, Manumissions, and such like Acts of private Persons, by granting an indulgence of a publick constitution: least, if all these should be made null, the quiet and security of private Persons might be disturbed. Heretofore we have information, from the Emperours Laws in the *Theodosian Code*, B. 15. *De usurpandis his que sub Tyrannic gestis sunt.* Whence we understand, why *Constantine* says, that he had restored Contracts to the Romans. In the *Fuketian Copy*, the reading is *ἐνυπόλοιπον*, not *ἐνυπόλοιπον*. To this usage *Rufinus* seems to allude, in the end of his ninth Book, when he says, *Edictis namque frequentibus per omnem locum promissis, non solum tyrannicas adversus Christianos depulatas leges, iuxta civile reddiderat, &c.* *Valf.*

## CHAP. XXVI.

That God is the Cause of the Emperor's Piety; and that we ought to seek prosperous Events from God, and to impute them to Him; but must ascribe faults to our own sloth and negligence.

But, when they commend my Labour and Service, which took its rise from the Inspiration of God; do they not plainly avouch, that God is

the Author of my Valorous Actions? \* Nothing more certain. For, 'tis God's property to do whatever is best: but, 'tis the property of Men, to pay an obedience to God. Farther, this is, I suppose, the best and most excellent Ministry; when a Man, before his taking an affair in hand, makes such provision, that all things be done with the greatest safety. Indeed, all Men know, that the most Holy Ministry of these very hands, is owing to God, together with a pure and most sincere Faith; and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected: in regard, so much of utility has redounded to all Persons, both privately and publicly, as each Man could have desired, not only for himself, but for his dearest Relatives.

Christophorus's Version, who renders it, *Manuum ad celos sublatarum cultum, the worship of hands lift up to Heaven*. I doubt not, but *ἀεψία* here has the same import with *Ministerium, Ministry*. For Constantine says, that Men ought to give the Ministry or Service of their own hands to God; and that, with a pure and sincere Faith. He has made use of *διακονίαν* and *ὑποταγήν* above, in the same sense. Truly, I can't perceive, how *ἔγχεις* can be taken in such a sense, as to signify hands lift up to Heaven, or, Prayers. Besides, the following words do most apparently refute Christophorus's Version. For Constantine adds, *ἡ εὐχὴ καὶ ἡ προσευχή*, &c. and, that whatever has been performed for the advantage of Men, by Prayers and Supplications joined with Labour of the hands, hath been happily effected. For, after Constantine hath said, that Men ought to give the Service of their hands to God, he adds, that not only the hands are to be lent to God, but Prayers also and Supplications are to be used, that the affairs which we have undertaken to perform, may succeed happily. This is what *Græcians* are wont to say in a common proverb, *ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἡ ἔργα καὶ αἱ εὐχὴ*; whereby they shewed, that together with prayer the hand was to be put to the work. Farther, when Constantine says, *οὗτος ὁ τῶν χειρῶν ἀσπασμός*, he speaks concerning himself, in the same manner that *Aeneas* does in *Virgil*.

— Si Pergama dextra  
Defendi possent, dextra hæc defensa fuissent. Valef.

\* *Ἦδε γαυρόνους ἀσπασμός*. It must be written in one word, *ασπασμόνους*; which I admire Scaliger and the rest did not perceive. So 'tis certain, the reading is in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

They have likewise seen Fights, and have been Spectators of a Battle, when Divine Providence bestowed Victory on the People: and they have beheld God favouring and assisting our Prayers. For righteous Prayer is a thing invincible; and no Man ever mist of his design, who besought God holily. For, there is no pretence left for a Repulse; save only where Faith is wavering. For God is always favourably present, and gives a gracious Reception to the probity of Men. Wherefore, sometimes to slip and stumble, is a thing common to Men; but God is in, no wise the Author of blameful Lapses and Mistakes. All Persons therefore, whatever, who are followers of Piety, ought to give thanks to the universal saviour, both for our safety and their own safety, and for the flourishing posture of the publick affairs: and with holy Prayers, and continual Supplications, to render Christ propitious to us, that he would preserve and perpetuate his own Favours. For he is the invincible Assistant and Defender of the Just: He is the best Judge; the Prince of immortality; the Lord of Eternal life.

that there is something of a fault here. And perhaps the reading should be, *τὴν εὐχὴν τῶν ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ*, bestowed Victory on my Army. Valef.

\* *Προεξιόντος χόρου*. At this place *χόρου* is made use of to signify *pretentum*, a pretence or colour; which term in Constantine's Latin Oration being not understood by the Translator, he rendered it in this manner: but, would have done better, had he made use of the word *excusans*. Christophorus therefore, and Porteus have done ill, in rendering it *mundum, the World*. Valef.

\* *Ἀντὶ τῶν ἀσπασμάτων*. Errors, or mistakes; as I found it mended in Moreau's Book. And this the Geneva-men have already put us in mind of, from the Books of Scaliger and Bongarsius; whereto agrees the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

\* *Τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσπασμόνους*. I am not of the same mind with Scaliger, Bongarsius, and Gruter, who mend this place thus, *τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσπασμόνους*, for our own safety. I had rather read, *τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἀσπασμόνους* which reading I have followed in my Version. In the Fukeian Copy 'tis written, *τὴν τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀσπασμόνους*. But in the Sheets 'tis, *τὴν τῶν ἑαυτῶν ἀσπασμόνους*. Valef.

Eusebius Pamphilus's  
ORATION  
IN PRAISE OF THE  
EMPEROUR  
CONSTANTINE,  
SPOKEN AT HIS  
Tricennalia.

The <sup>a</sup> Prologue [to the Oration] in Praise of *Constantine*.

<sup>a</sup> It was heretofore the usage of the *Sophists*, before their Oration to make a kind of a Flourish as 'twere, in a short Preface; after the manner of Harpers, who before the Song, sing some thing for Tryal sake. This Preface was commonly termed *mesæweia*. So in *Themistius's* fifteenth Oration, and in *Libanius's* Declarations, it often occurs. Hence, *mesæweia* is by *Theodoret* taken to signify a Prologue. Valc.

**I** Come not hither with a *Composure of Fables*, nor with an *Elegancy of Expressions* framed to captivate the Ears; that by the Voice of Syrens as 'twere, I might charm [my Hearers:]; nor, that in Golden Cups, namely the beautiful flowers of words beset'd with the most exquisite art of Rhetorick, I might present the delicate potions of pleasure, to persons in Love with those things. But rather, paying an Obedience to [the Precepts of] the Wise, I persuade all men, to *spurn and avoid the publick Roads*; and entreat them, that they would not herd with The Many.

\* Or,  
Nemur,  
\* Or,  
Dance,  
\* Hop-som,  
or, Sub-  
titled.

I am come therefore, that I might begin amongst You a \* New Song of the  
Emperour's Praises. And although numerous persons have attempted to tread  
the same path with me, yet I will decline the Foot-steps of men, and will  
go in an untrodden way, into which 'tis impious to enter with unshod feet. Indeed,  
they who affect Vulgar Discourses, and Expressions worn with the || Witticisms  
of Lads, and who Court a pleasing and popular Muse; may dash mens Ears  
with humane Narratives; whilst they submit the Arbitrage [of all things]  
to pleasure. But such as be initiated in the Mysteries of Universal Wisdom it  
self, (in regard they are Masters of the knowledge of things Divine and  
Humane;) accounting the choice of what is better, to be the highest felicity;  
[such I say] esteem and prefer the God-lov'd Vertues of our Emperour,  
and his Pious Actions, before his humane accomplishments and Deeds, leaving  
those His Secondary Excellencies, to be celebrated by inferior persons. For  
whereas the Emperour's mind is endued with a knowledge of matters Divine  
and Humane; and whereas those have a reference to God; but these  
to Men: Let them, \* whosoever namely are fit for the performance of this

<sup>b</sup> Ἐπαξόμυϑ: Write ἡ  
παξόμυϑ: from the Fuketian  
Copy. Vallef.

Ἦσαν ἀνδραγαθὸν ἀλκιῶνα.  
It must be made *πάντα ἀνδραγαθὸν*  
*παντα, the parts, or footprints of men.*  
For 'tis a noted half-verse of  
Homer's concerning *Bellerophon*,  
which Cicero renders in the very  
words I have made use of in my  
Version; namely, *Hominum Ve-*  
*lignitatis*. 'Tis certain, in the  
Fakelian Copy 'tis plainly writ-  
ten, *πάντα ἀνδραγαθὸν ἀλκιῶνα*.  
Father, Eusebius has defignedly  
befrisked this Prologue, with  
many pieces of verses taken out of  
the Poets, as with flowers; that by  
this kind of Elegance he might

and *Om̃* 3 *om̃s* 3 *om̃s* 3 *om̃s* 3. I doubt not but *Eusebius* wrote, *Om̃s* 3 *om̃s* 3 *om̃s* 3 *om̃s* 3, whoever namely are fit, &c. The Verbs *are*, must be understood. But *Christopherson* the Translator of this Oration, in regard he perceived not these things, has confounded the whole meaning of this place, in his Version. In the *Fukettian* Copy, these words *om̃* 3 are wanting; excellently well. *Valef.*

Office, suggest things Human to such as stand without the Sacred Rails. For, even these things are both illustrious and transcendent, and of great use to mankind. Yea, all the perfections visible in our Emperor, are eximious; nevertheless, they are far outdone by His Diviner Excellencies. But, let those persons, who are within the Holy Sanctuaries, and who have entered into the Adyta and inebriate Recesses [of the Church;] (after they have shut the doors against profane and impious Ears,) unfold the secret Mysteries of the Emperor, to those men only who are initiated therein. Farther, when they have cleansed their

\* ΠΑΝ ὅτι ἀποκάλυψε. So also the reading is in the Fukeian Copy; yet I had rather read, πᾶν ὅτι, nevertheless. Valef.

Ears in the Fountains of Piety, and mounted their understanding upon the sublime wing of the mind it self, let them lead a dance about [God Himself] the supreme King, silently learning the Divine [Mysteries.] And let the Oracles, not those which are the products of Divination, or rather of rage and madness; but them that are uttered by the illumination and inspiration of the Divine [Spirit,] \* be our Instruſters in the Sacred Rites: [let them give us information] of words useful concerning the Kingdom it self; and concerning the Supreme King; and concerning that Divine Guard which surrounds the Universal Governour: as also, concerning that Copy of Royal Power which is amongst us, drawn from that Original of the Celestial Kingdom; and concerning that other false one, which does counterfeit the Impress thereof: and lastly, concerning those things which do accompany \* each sort of Empire. Having therefore learned the Divine Mysteries Royal, Presently, from these [Oracles,] as from some Hierophantæ, we will thus begin our Divine Discourses.

ing in the Fukeian Copy is ἐπαγοίαις, not ἐμπνοίαις. Doublets it is to be written, τῶν πνεύτων, in the Sacred Rites, or Mysteries, which emendation is confirmed by these words which follow presently, οἱ δὲ τὰς διδασκαλίας πνεύτως ἱεροφαντεύμενοι. Having therefore learned the Divine, &c. For Eusebius says, that the Sacred Books, wherein are contained the Divine Oracles, are our Teachers of the Sacred Mysteries, and are as 'twere some Hierophantæ. Valef.

\* ἱεροφαντεύμενοι. It has the same import with what he has said above, namely πνεύτως, learning the Divine Mysteries. For ἱεροφαντεύειν signifies the same with πνεύτως. Wherefore ἱεροφαντεύμενοι will import the same with πνεύτως. The Chief-Priests of the Eleusinian Sacra were, at Athens, termed Hierophantæ, who delivered and consigned the Rites of Ceres. Whom, persons initiated did so highly Revere, that they would never call them by their own names. Eusebius tells us this, in His Life of Maximian the Philosopher, in these words: τῶν ἱεροφάντων κατ' ἐκείνου τὸ χρεῖον, ὅτι: ὅν τινα, ἢ καὶ τίνας λέγειν, &c.; But, what his name was, who at that time was Hierophantæ, it is unlawful for me to declare: for, he had initiated me who write these things; and had enrolled me amongst the Eumolpidae. Lucian (or whoever else is the author of it) attests the same in Lexiphanes; where one Megalonymus an Athenian says, that when he had gone out one day to visit the Magistrate, he found the Daduchus [Torch-bearer,] and Hierophantæ, and some other Ministers of the Sacred Rites, who bade one Dintias before the Magistrate, accusing the man because he had called them by their own names; whereas it was unlawful to call them by their own names, after they had been consecrated: ἡλλήματα ἐμύρομεν, ἢν ἀδελφεὶς ἐμὸς. ὃ πῶτον ἐμὸν εἶδος, ἢν ἐμὲ ἱερὸν ἀποδείκνυμι, ἀνέγνωκεν τὴν αἰσὶν, ὃ ἐκείνους ἐμύροσε. Although Lucian says more than Eusebius. For Eusebius has told us, that it was unlawful only for those who had been consecrated at Eleusina, to call that Hierophantæ by his proper name, from whom they had received initiation. But Lucian affirms, that that was forbidden to all persons in general. Hence 'tis, that amongst Libanius's Epistles, some occur with this Title, τῷ ἱεροφάντῃ, to the Hierophantæ. And in the Fifth Book of Symmachus's Epistles, the first three are inscribed, Τῷ εὐμολπίδῃ Hierophantæ. For, in regard both those persons had been initiated at Athens, they look'd upon it as a thing unlawful, to call the Hierophantæ by his own name. Valef.

\* Οὐκ ἔστιν ἱεροφάντης. The Geneva-Printers had left out a word, which we have supplied from the Fukeian Manuscript thus, εἰς τὸν ὅριον ἱεροφάντης, we will begin our Divine Discourses, or Mysteries. Valef.

# EUSEBIUS PAMPHILUS'S [ORATION IN PRAISE OF] THE EMPEROR CONSTANTINE, SPOKEN AT HIS TRICENNALIA.

CHAP. I.

THIS is the Great Emperor's Solemn Festival; wherein We who are the Servants of the Emperor, inspired with the Instructions of Sacred Discourses, do rejoice. He who gives beginning to, and Rules this Our Festival, is the Great Emperor Himself. Him I term The Great Emperor, who is truly Great. Him I mean, (nor will the Emperor, who is here present, be offended thereat, but will rather, together with Us, highly approve of this Our Discourse concerning the Divinity;) \* who is beyond the Universe; the Supreme over all; the Highest; the most Immense. The Thrones of whose Empire, are the Celestial Arches; and the Earth, the Footstool of His Feet. Nor can any one perfectly comprehend Him in His mind. For, the Glorious Light which surrounds Him, by the unspeakable Splendor of its Rays, drives off all persons, and binds them from beholding written, His Divinity. || Him the Celestial Hosts do en-

\* Τὸν ἱεροφάντην. These words are wanting in the Fukeian Copy. Valef.

any one, &c. Nevertheless, something seems to be wanting here in the Fukeian Copy, the reading is, ἐν τῷ τῷ πνεύματι νοήσαι τὸν θεόν, &c. which it is right. Valef.

|| Or, About him the Celestial Hosts make their Rounds. compass:





the Off-springs of Intellectual Light, do pronounce Him their Parent and their God.

\* Or, Which were before all Time. Those Ages \* unlimited by Time, which were before this Heaven and this World; and besides, infinite other Ages, before all constitution of things visible, do acknowledge one sole and

supream Master and Lord. Lastly, He Himself, who is in all, before all, and after all, His only-begotten Son and preëxisting Word; the Great High-Priest of the Great God; ancienter than all Time and all Ages; \* de-

voted and consecrated to the worship of His Father, is the First and Only Person who makes

Supplication to Him for the Salvation of all men. Who enjoys a preëminence in the Government of

the world; \* but possesses an equal share of things, and Glory with His Father, in His Father's King-

dom. For, He is that Light which transcends all things; which dances about the Father, and

which by its intervention Separates that Nature which is without a Beginning and without a

the Word Generation, from the substance of things begot-

ten. Which Light also, screaming from above, in which from the Deity which wants both beginning and

end, \* diffuses it self without, and illustrates the Region above heaven,

and all things that are within heaven, with the Rays of Wisdom,

which are far more Glorious than the splendour of the Sun. This is he, who is the

Left. Its Leader of the whole World; the Word of God may also who goes before all, and through all, and is in all

things, as well Visible as Invisible. By whom concerning and through whom, Our Emperor dear to God,

who, although He in imitation of the Deity, directs and manages was begot- the Film of Government over all things upon the

ten before Earth. all ages, is nevertheless continually begotten by the Father. And this is what

is said in the Psalms; Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee, &c. Thus the Word is before all things, and after all things,

and in all things, not by a succession of time, but by reason of an eternal Generation. For, he is the Origin and End of all things;

who begins and terminates all things which are or which can be. Nevertheless, Eusebius's words may be understood otherwise, if they

be construed with the verb *ἀποκαταστασθαι*. So, the meaning will be this; The Word does appear God the Father before all persons and after

all persons. But the former exposition is true. For in this manner Dionysius Alexandrianus in his Epistle to Hieronymus, speaks concerning the Son of God; *ὅτι τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ὁρᾷ καὶ οὐκ ὁρᾷ*

He who was before all, is in all, and above all. Which passage is quoted in the Seventh Book of the Ecclesiastical History, Chap. 10. Nonianus likewise, in his Book de Trinitate, Chap. 14. says Christ is before all things, and after all things; before all things, as God; but after all things, as Man. Vale.

\* *τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ὁρᾷ καὶ οὐκ ὁρᾷ*. The Translator has rendered it *indignatus patrem participes*, partaker of His Father's dignity;

whereas it ought to have been rendered, *devotus ac dicatus patri participes*, devoted, &c. 'Tis an explication like that inscription, which is com-

monly extant on the Base of Statues which they had dedicated to the Emperours, DEVOTUS NUMINI MAJESTATI.

QUE EJUS. But, their words smell rank of Arrianism. For whoever asserts, that God the Word is devoted to the worship of God

the Father, \* doubts that person speaks too meanly of the Word, and seems not only not to equal the Word to God the Father, but rather

to make Him subject to the Father. Of the same Stamp is that expression which Eusebius adds; that the Word makes supplication to the Father

for the Salvation of all men. Which, if it be meant concerning God the Word, as He is the Word, can so wise be born with. But, if it

be understood concerning Christ, that is, concerning the Word after He had assumed the humane Nature, it is most true. The same opi-

on is extant in his Second Book against Marcellus Chap. 7. where Eusebius says, that the Son doth worship, adore, and glorify God the Father.

Further, a little before, the reading in the Eusebian Manuscript is, *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. Vale.

\* *ὅτι τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ὁρᾷ καὶ οὐκ ὁρᾷ*, but, possesses an equal share, &c. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote, *ἀδελφεὸς ὡς τὸν θεόν*, &c. But,

reads the second place in His Father's Kingdom: which explication the publisher being not able to endure, they thought it was to be changed

into *ἵνα*, that to the Son might be made equal to the Father. But,

that Eusebius wrote as I have said, is apparent, first from the very Series of his Oration. For, at this place Eusebius distinguishes the Government and Regiment of the Universe, from the Kingdom of God the Father. And in the Government of the Universe, he does indeed say, that the Son holds the principal place: but, that he has the Second place in the Kingdom of His Father: *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὡς τὸν θεόν*, *καταστάς ἀδελφεὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*. You see, that *τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*, that is, the Kingdom of the Universe, is opposed to the Kingdom of God the Father. To *οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμεῖς τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* ought also to be opposed. Secondly, *τὸν θεόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ* is not Greek. Lastly, Eusebius, in his Book of Demonstr. Evang. does always term the Son, the Second Cause: And, in Book 3. Chap 4. *Demonstr. Evang.* he says *τὸν ἀδελφόν*, *ἡμεῖς*. Vale.

AND That Only-begotten Word of God, CHAP.

Reigns together with his Father, to infinite and endless ages. But this Our

Emperour, \* always dear to him, being supplied with some Imperial Emanations

from above, and fortified with the Surname of a Divine appellation, governs

upon earth during many and long periods of years. Further, that Uni-

versal \* Preserver \* Or, Saviour, dear to Him, &c. Vale.

\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. This place is, in my judgment, thus to be restored; *ἀρχαῖος ὡς ἀδελφόν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ πατρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, &c.

continues to Reign together with His Father, from ages which want a beginning, to infinite and endless ages. But, Our Emperour, dear to Him, &c.

\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. This is not clearly enough made out, what this Surname of a Divine appellation should be, wherewith Constantine was hon-

oured and signalized. Does Eusebius mean the name of *Παῖς*, which was given to Constantine, as we have remark'd above? Or

rather, the surname of *Μαξιμῖος*, which is proper to God? The very Name *Constantine* may also be meant, the import wherof is, He that is. Now the Sacred

Scriptures do inform us, that this is the proper Name of God. Lastly, we may here understand the surname of *Christianus*, *Chris-*

*tianus*; an appellation which Constantine loved most entirely. Vale.

\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. I read with the Translator, *ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*, for His Kingdom. Vale.

\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. I read with the Translator, *ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*, for His Kingdom. Vale.

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\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. I read with the Translator, *ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*, for His Kingdom. Vale.

\* *Ὁ ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*. I read with the Translator, *ἀρχαῖος ὡς τὸν θεόν*, for His Kingdom. Vale.

Command and management whereof He is entrusted, should be preferred together with the People on Board. And He is the only Person of all those that ever yet governed the Empire of the Romans, who having now been honoured

\* Or, Three periods of Decades.

by God the Supreme King, with \* thirty years Reign, celebrates this Festival, not to terrene Spirits, as the usage of the Ancients was, nor to the Apparitions of Dæmons which seduce the unskilful multitude, nor yet to the frauds and

\* Ἄνερος ἀδελφῶν. The word *ἀνερός* is corrupted; in place whereof, what term should be substituted, I don't know. Unless the word *ἀδελφῶν* will please. For he praises Constantine, because he would not admit the Ethnic Orations to his Decennialia. Valef.

† Or, Imperial Horses.

feign'd Narratives of impious Men: but, says his thanks to that God, by whom he has been honoured, being truly sensible of those Blessings which He has conferred on him. Not polluting his † Palace with blood and gore, agreeable to the Rites of the Ancients; nor appearing terrene Dæmons with smoke and fire, and with sacrifices of Brasts wholly consumed by fire on the Altars; but consecrating a most grateful and acceptable sacrifice to the Supreme King Himself. His own Imperial Soul namely, and His Mind which is most worthy of God. For this is the only Sacrifice wherewith God is well pleased: which Our Emperour has learnt to offer, with the purified thoughts of his mind, without either fire or blood: giving confirmation to his piety by those unerring Sentiments and Opinions treasured up in his mind; setting forth the praises of God in lofty and magnifick Orations, and by Imperial Actions emulating the Clemency of the Deity: and wholly devoting himself to God, and, like some great Gift, making a present of himself to Him, the First-fruits of the World, with the Administration whereof he hath been entrusted. This greatest Sacrifice therefore, the Emperour in a due manner Offers, \* before all other. But he Sacrifices like a Good Shepherd, not

† Ζυλὸν φιλαρμονίας ἀνακρίων. These words ought to be expung'd; which are not set in their due place here, but must be put in lower, in this manner: ἑδωκεν αὐτῷ δίσκον τῶ τῆς ἐστὶν ἡγε- λος and worship of God.

Offering glorious Hecatombs of Firsling-Lambs:

but rather, bringing over the minds of those rational stocks, which are fed by Him, to the knowledge and worship of God.

τῶν ὡς μαλασσέσθαι πρὸς τὴν τῶν θεῶν, πρὸς τὴν βασιλικῆς τῶν καὶ κρείστων. ἑδωκεν φιλαρμονίας ἀνακρίων. αὐτῷ, ὃ ὡς δῖον, &c. giving confirmation to his piety, &c. There is nothing more certain than this Emendation; nor did the Translator read otherwise, as 'tis apparent from his Version. Wherefore this seems to be a mistake of the Printer. This our Emendation was long afterwards confirmed to us by the Fukeian Copy; wherein 'twas exactly written as I had conjectured; say only, that 'tis there worded, ὅς τε ἀνακρίων, and wholly devoting himself, &c. Valef.

\* Πρὶς τῶν ἀπάντων. It must be made αὐτῶν τῶν ἀπάντων, or πρὶν, before all other, or, first. Valef.

CHAP. III. BUT God, highly pleased with such a Sacrifice as this, and with delight accepting this Gift offered to Him; praises the \* Hierophanta of this venerable and eximious Sacrifice, and makes an addition of † many periods of years † to his Reign; augmenting his favours towards him, in a manner correspondent and proportionate to those Acts of Piety, wherein He is worshipped by the Emperour. And He has permitted him to celebrate all these Festivals with the highest prosperity of the Monarchy; at each period of the Decennialian Felicity, advancing one of his Sons

\* See the Prolegomena to this Oration, note (h.)

† Or,

Large.

\* Καὶ ἀδελφῶν. These words, as far as ἀδελφῶν, are wanting in the Fukeian Copy, and in the most ancient Palatine Copy, as the Geneva-men

have told us. Valef. Valefius takes no notice of this clause, either in the Greek Text of his Edition, or in his Version. In Constantinus's Translation of this Oration (for I have not the Geneva-Edition by me.) it is worded thus; Et velis plura floresci virentique temporum incrementa donata.

For, in the first Decennium of his Empire, he † proclaimed his eldest Son, who bears the same name with his Father, a Partner of the Imperial \* Realm: after that, his second Son, who was the next to him in age, at his second Decade: and in like manner his third, at his third Decade, which we now celebrate. † And, whereas his fourth period [of ten years] is now current; in regard the spaces of times do more and more extend themselves, he encreases the Empire by an enquiry into the Copious † Collegaship of his Stock, and by Creations of Cæsars; filling the Oracles of the Divine

\* Or, Hecatombs.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

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† Or, So.

† Or, So.

† Or, So.

Propets, which they long since proclaimed in that Constantine manner: And the Saints of the most High shall take the Kingdom. Thus therefore, God Himself the Supreme King confers upon the most Pious Emperour, \* an Increase both of years and Children, and renders his Government of the Nations upon Earth, fresh and flourishing, as if it had been but now begun. Constantine's Em-

Pire. For Constantine Junior was created Cæsar by his Father, in the Consulate of Gallicanus and Bassus, on the Calends of March, in the year of Christ 317. This was the eleventh year of Constantine's Reign, Wherefore, Constantine Junior was not created Cæsar within the first Decennium, but within the second rather. This place of Eusebius must therefore be favourably interpreted, and ὅτι τῶν πρώτων δεκάδων, must be taken for ἀπὸ τῶν, &c. about, &c. Valef.

\* Ἡδὲ ὃ τῆς πεντήκοντα ἀναμνηστικῆς πεντήκοντα. The Emperour Constantine published his Tricennialia in the Consulate of Constantius and Albinus, on the eighth of the Calends of August, which day began the thirtieth year of his Empire. From this day therefore; in the foresaid Persons Consulate, on the year of Christ 335, began the fourth Decennialian period of Constantine's Empire, according to the computation of Eusebius: whereas nevertheless, it ought rather to begin from the following year, namely, his thirty first year. But these things are not wont to be so exactly call up, by Orators. Valef.

\* He means Dalmatius and Hannibalianus; the former of whom was declared Cæsar, the other King, by Constantine, in the thirtieth year of his Empire, on the fifteenth of the Calends of October, as it occurs in Iulian's Fasti. Saint Jerome (in the Chronicon) tells us, that Dalmatius was made Cæsar, in Constantine's Tricennialia. Where he has made use of the term Tricennialia, instead of the thirtieth year of his Empire: whereas nevertheless, Tricennialia is properly the first day of his thirtieth year. For the Roman Emperours celebrated their Quinquennialia, Decennialia, and Tricennialia, on the first day of the fifth, tenth, and twentieth year of their Empire. For these words signify nothing else, but the Natiuitas [Birth-day] of the Empire, which was celebrated with the greatest Pomp and Felicity, every recurring fifth and tenth year. Now, this Felicity lasted one or two days, in which time the Ludi Circenses and Theatralæ were exhibited. Therefore, whereas Dalmatius was not created Cæsar on the eighth of the Calends of August, which day began the thirtieth year of Constantine's Empire; Saint Jerome has expressed himself improperly, who has told us, that the Cæsar was created in Constantine's Tricennialia. Our Eusebius does here more truly place that, after his Tricennialia, the fourth Decennialian period of Constantine's Empire now beginning. For, after the celebration of the Tricennialia, they began a new period; as if the thirtieth year, which was but just begun, had been now finished. And, as Lamyers are wont to say, that in dignities, a begun-year is accounted for a complete one: so also they were wont to do, in the Quinquennialia, Decennialia, and the other Festivals of this sort. Thus, the place in Amm. Marcellinus's fourteenth Book it to be understood; where he speaks concerning Constantius's Tricennialia in these words. Arclet hincem annos Constantius, post Theatralæ Ludos atque Circenses ambitiosè editos apparuit die 6. idus Octobris, qui Imperij eius annum tricesimum terminabat, &c. For Amm. Marcellinus has undoubtedly made use of the thirtieth year completed, instead of the thirtieth year begun, on account of that very reason which I have mentioned. Valef.

\* Περὶ τῶν ὁρίων. In the Fukeian Copy 'tis ὁρίων ἀποφασίζον. And, a little after, ἔτι δὲ τῶν ὁρίων, &c. This place, which Eusebius cites out of the Divine Prophets, occurs in the seventh Chapter of Daniel. Valef.

And

\* That is, And \* he himself solemnizes this Festival [in honour] to Him, having made Him the Conqueror over all his Enemies and Adversaries; and exhibiting Him as the Pattern of true Piety, to all Persons upon the Earth. But our Emperor, like the Light of the Sun, illustrates Men, whose habitations are in places most remote from one another, with the glorious † Presence of His Caesars, as † were by some Rays transmitted from himself to the greatest distance. And on † Us who inhabit the East, He hath bestowed a † Shoot truly worthy of himself: another of his Sons [he hath assigned] to another portion of Men: and again, another [He has placed] elsewhere; like so many Lamps and Lights, which derive their Brightness from that Light diffused from Himself. Farther, having joined together for himself, the Four most valiant Caesars, like so many young Horses, \* and fixed them under one Set of Harness belonging to the † Imperial Chariot, and fitted them with the Reins of Divine Concord and Unity; He Himself sits above, like the Charioteer, and puts them on; and drives over the whole World, wherever the Sun makes his Visits; and is personally present in all places, and inspects all affairs. Lastly, being adorned with a representation of the Celestial Empire, having His eyes fixed upon Heaven, He directs and manages the affairs of

two, nor three, nor yet many. For, to, assert a multitude of Gods, is plainly to affirm, that there is no God at all. One King: and \* his Word and Imperial Law, One: which [Law] is not declared by words and syllables; nor is it written in Paper, or cut upon Pillars, that it should be consumed by length of time: but it is the living and self-subsisting

ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. In the English Copy, the Comma is wanting, excellently well. For the Son of God is the Word and Law of God the Father, as Eusebius says a little afterwards. Valf.

\* ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. Valesius renders it, Dei sermo, word of God.

† The ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. He means Constantius Caesar. For he had at first been sent by his Father, to Govern the Gallia. But afterwards he was removed into the East; as Julian informs us in his first Oration de Laudibus Constantii, and Libanias in his Basilica. Valf.

\* Or, To one Yoke of the Imperial Chariot; so Valesius.

\* The Translator saw nothing here; he has rendered this place, thus, Perro imperii quadrarium differens imperium, quasi quatuor equis, id est, his, et tribus filiis Caesaribus permissis imperiis. But Eusebius does expressly name four Caesars, whom he compareth to four Horses, who being coupled together in one Yoke, drew the Imperial Chariot; over which Constantine presided, as Charioteer. Now, the four Caesars were, Constantine Junior, Constantius, and Constant, Sons of the Emperor Constantine; and Dalmatius the Son of Dalmatius; concerning whom we have spoken above. Valf.

Mortals, in a conformity to that Original Draught; and is encouraged and strengthened by a resemblance of the Monarchy of God. For, this the [sole] King over all, hath bestowed on the

† The δὲ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. This place tortured me a long while. But at length I have found out the most undoubted Emendation of it. I write therefore; ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. That is; For, thus the [sole] King over all, &c. Eusebius repeats the same hereafter, in chap. 4, where he reckons up the Favours, which Mankind hath received from God the Word. Βασιλεὺς τῷ πᾶσι τῷ κόσμῳ ἀποκαταστήσας, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. But the Translator, instead of ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, seems at this place to have read ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. For thus he renders it. Ipsi enim imperii formam Lex, quae rex omnium est, humanis precibus tribuit. Valf.

† Νόμος τῷ αὐτῷ. These words are spoken concerning the supreme King and God; who really is the Law and Rule of Royal Power. The reading at this place might likewise be ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, that is to the meaning may be this, that God only is possessor of the Royal Power, in regard be alone rules over all, and holds the Monarchy. Therefore, in the foregoing period, it must, I think, be written in this manner, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ, ὁ ὅς τῳ αὐτῷ. Nor do I think, that Eusebius wrote otherwise. For the sentence is most plain and elegant, if we read thus. And this period will excellently well cohere with the foregoing one. Valf.

† Nature of Men only, † of all those Creatures which are on Earth, [that it should express a likeness of his Divine Monarchy.] For, He is the Law of Imperial power, whereby 'tis Decreed, that all should be subject to the Empire of One. Moreover, Monarchy does far excel all other Constitutions, and Forms of Government whatever. For Polyarchy, which is opposed to it, being a sort of Regiment wherein many Govern with an equality of power and honour, ought rather to be termed Anarchy and Confusion. On which account, there is one God, no

also, derived from a Divine Emanation. For, He only is wise, who is also the Sole God: He only is essentially Good: He only is strong and powerful. And He is the Parent of Justice: the Father of Reason and Wisdom; the Fountain of Light and Life; the Dispenser of Truth and Vertue; and lastly, the Author of Empire it self, and of all Dominion and Power.

BUT, Whence has Man the knowledge of CHAP. IV. these matters? Who hath declared these things in the hearing of Mortals? Whence has a Carnal tongue the Liberty, of uttering those matters, which are foreign both to sight and body? Who ever saw the invisible King, and discovered these Excellences in Him? 'Tis true, the Elements, which are joined in an Affinity with Bodies, and the things made up of those Elements, are perceived by the \* senses of the Body. But, no Person hath boasted, that with the eyes of the Body He hath ever had a sight of that invisible Kingdom, by which all things are Governed: nor, has mortal Nature ever beheld the Beauty of Wisdom. Who hath seen the Face of Justice, with † eyes of Flesh? Whence † Or, Ter was the Notion of Legal Government and Royal sense of Dominion itself.

† Μήτις ἀποδοῦν ἀρετή. The term ἀρετή must be expunged, or else the word ἀρετή: for one of those words is superfluous. Yet I had rather blot out the latter. For so Eusebius expresses himself hereafter, in chap. 11. Valf.

\* Or, Sense

Dominion suggested to men? From whence could Imperial Power [be known] to man; who is made up of flesh and blood? Who hath declared to those on earth, the invisible \* Form, which can't be express'd by any figure; and the incorporeal † Essence which wants all external Li- nements? Questionless, there was one Interpreter of these things, the Word of God who pier- ceth thorow all things. Who is the Father and Maker of that rational and intellectual substance which appears to be in men: who being the Only Person that is united to the Divinity of the Fa- ther, watereth his own Sons with his Fathers Effluxes. Hence have all men, Greeks and likewise Barbarians, those natural and self-learn'd Reasonings: hence those Notions of Reason and Wisdom: hence the Seeds of prudence and Inventions of Arts: hence the knowledge of Vertue \* and the grateful name of Wis- dom, and the Venerable Love of Philosophick Learning. Hence the knowledge of all that is Good and Commenda- ble: hence the Representation of God Himself formed in the mind, and a Course of Life fitly answering the divine Worship. Hence is man furnished with a Royal Power, and with an invincible Empire over all things that are in the Earth. But, after The Logos, who is the Parent of Rational Creatures, had impress'd upon the mind of Man a Character agreeable to the Image and like- ness of God, and had made Man a Royal Crea- ture; (having conferred this on him only, of all those Creatures which are on Earth, namely that he should have a knowledge, both of Go- verning, and of being Governed; and also, that even from this Life he should \* begin to meditate upon, and to fore-learn that promised Hope of the Celestial Kingdom; for the sake of which Kingdom, He Himself came, and, as a Father of His children, disdained not personally to enter into a Converse with Mortals: ) He Himself, cultivating His own Seeds, and renew- ing His heavenly Supplies and Favours, declared to all men, that they should partake of the Celestial Kingdom. And he invit- ed them, and exhort- ed them, that they should be ready for their journey upwards, and should furnish themselves with a Gar- ment besitting their calling. And by an unspeak- able power he fill'd the whole world, which is en- lightened by the Sun's Rayes, with his Preaching; by a likeness of the earthly King- dom, expressing the Kingdom of Heaven. To which he incites and encourages the whole Body of mankind to ha- sten, having shew'd all men this Confidence and good Hope:

OF Whiche hope, Our Emperor most dear CHAP. V. to God, is even in this life made a par- taker; in regard he is adorned by God with innate Vertues, and has received into his mind the Celestial Effluxes derived from that Foun- tain. For he is rational from that Universal Reason: wise, from a communication of that Di- vine Wisdom: good, from a participation of that Goodness. And he is just, by being a partaker of that Justice: and temperate, from that \* O- lar, or, riginal of Temperance; and strong, by having Pattern, that Supreme Strength im- parted to him. \* He there- fore may most truly be stiled Emperor, who hath fashioned his mind with Royal Vertues, to a likeness of the Celestial Empire. But, that person who is a stranger to these, and who has renounc'd the King of this Universe; neither hath acknow- ledged the Celestial Parent of Souls; nor cloathed himself in a Garb besitting an Emperor; but hath \* fill'd his mind with deformity and filthiness; \* Or, Hath and instead of Imperial Clemency, hath gotten bound up the Rage of a Savage Beast; instead of an in- his mind genious disposition, the incurable poison of im- in, &c. probity; in place of Prudence, Folly; instead of † O, The Reason and Wisdom, † a want of Reason and Irrational- consideration, the soules of all Vices: from lix.

which, as from a bitter Root, most pernicious Sprouts do spring, namely, a sottish and intemperate Life; A- varice; Murders; Fightings against God; Impieties: he [I say] who is addic'd to all these Vices, though he may seem sometime to Go- vern by Tyrannick Violence, yet cannot deviously and in reality be stiled an Empe- ror. For, how should he represent a likeness of the Monarchical power [of Hea- ven,] who bears a thousand false and adulterate Resem- blances of Demons, impress- on his mind? How should he be a Prince and Lord over all, who hath procur'd for himself so infinite a number of Cruel and hard Masters? A servant to filty pleasure; a servant to an excessive madnes for women; a servant to money gotten by injustice; a servant of anger and rage; a servant of fear and dread; a servant of bloody Demons; and [lastly] a slave to soul-de- stroying Spirits. Therefore, (Truth it self fa- vouring us with its assent and Testimony,) this Emperor, dear to the Supreme God, is the sole Person that can truly be stiled an Emperor: who only is free; or rather, who really is Lord, Who is above the desire of money, and superior to the Love of women: a Vanquisher of plea- sures, even of them which Nature does allow of. Who is not overcome by anger and rage, but has those passions perfectly within his own power. He is really Emperor, and bears a Title answerable to his practise: being truly a

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The two last words are wanting in the Fukejian Copy. Valef. Nihilis enim. He alludes to Constantine's pronomen [Fore- name, J. For Constantine had taken to himself the Pronomen of Victor, as I have noted at The Books concerning Constantine's Life. Valef Victor;

\* Or, Forms.

† Or, Sub- stance.

|| Out- flowing.

† Καταλι- λει, Con- prehensi- onis.

\* Σοφία το φίλον νόμον, ἡ σοφία εὐαγγελίου παλαιῶν ἡμεῶν; which words Valef renders thus, Et nomen Philosophia, & Vene- randus amor Sapientie, and the name of Philosophy, and the Vene- rable Love of Wisdom.

\* Περισυλῶν το ἡ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν, I think, he written περισυλῶν. For so Eu- sebius expresses himself in chap. 6. where he speaks thus concerning God the Father; ἡ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν, ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν, ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν. The sentence is in both places the same. For, in the one place he speaks concerning the Celestial Kingdom; in the other, concerning Life eternal: and says, that some assys, proofs, and fore-exercises of each, are granted to men in this life, by the Divine Word. Wherefore I doubt not but Eusebius wrote in this manner; περισυλῶν το ἡ ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν, ἀρετῶν καὶ τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν. And thus the sense is most perspi- cuous. But the word ἀρετῶν, which went before, must be un- derstood. A long while after I had written this Note, having at length procur'd the Fukejian Cop- py, I found my conjecture confir- med by its authority, at least in part. For in that Manuscript the reading is, περισυλῶν το ἡ ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν, ἡ ἀρετῶν ἀναμνηστικῶν, and so it is clear; inconspicu- ously well. Valef.

\* Το δ' αὖτε λέγειν. I had rather write, το δ' αὖτε. Fur- ther, this whole page of Eusebius's is put together very unfitly, by reason of the too great number of Verbs, which occur in the Im- perfect Tense. Whence 'tis, that his Discourse becomes tickle and unpleasant. Valef.



and made up of prosperous and happy Circles of Years. And having now compleated three Cycles of ten Years, he permits the whole Body of man-

\* *Flavescens se pascit.* Any one may see, that it should be written thus, *Flavescens pascit* or *se pascit*. For *Flavescit* says, that these Feasts of the *Triquetralia* were celebrated, not only by a numerous concourse of the People, but also by the common joy of the whole World. For some Feasts are publick, others private. Some are peculiar to Cities, others to a whole Province. Some are Feasts of the whole *Roman* World; as the *Calends of January*, the *Birth day of the Emperor*, their *Quinquagesima*, and the like. Indeed, in the *Fiskezian* Copy I found it written as I had conjectured. *Fals.*

\* Or, *Blessings*.

[illegible]

† Or, *that time which is termed*  
*its present, to be comprehended by*  
 † Or, *one; much less*  
*those that are distant.* Time future, *or*  
*Time past.* For  
 this latter is not, in regard  
 'tis already gone. And the  
 Time future is not yet come.

“ ὁ Μένειν τοῦ παρόντος. The Translator renders it, *medium futurum* Tempus autem *praeteritum*; much like *Time future*, or *Time past*. Wherein 'tis apparent, that he read μένειν τοῦ παρόντος, excellently well. In the *Fulcran Copy* 'tis, *ὡς τοῦ παρόντος*. Vulf. [ [that part of it] termed it *Time present*, *flyeth away* whilst we think or speak *yea sooner*. Nor is it at all possible, that it should be apprehended as *Time present* for we must of necessity either except things future or contemplate things past. For [The present] *slips away*, and flies as quick as *Thyrist*. Thus therefore en-

to be subjected to the thoughts and accounts of  
 Aton; but disdain to serve them. Nevertheless  
 it refuses nor, to acknowledge " God its own  
 King and Lord; and it carries Him fitting o-  
 ver its Back, priding it self in all those " Gayeties  
 [which it hath received] from Him. But God

should be, *Σὺ δ' αὐτὸς Θεοῦ*; in which manner also the Translators read; and we have rendered it accordingly. *Eusebius* alludes to a passage of *Saint Paul the Apostle, who calls God Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀληθοῦ, *our King of Ages*. Valef.*

<sup>a</sup> *Tals* יָמֵי אֲדָמָה וְחֻמָּה. He means the days, months, and years; and the vicissitudes of seasons, &c. wherewith God had adorned *Ævum*. *Palest*.

sitting above, and driving it on, has not bound  
it fast with a Golden Chain, according to the  
fiction of the Poet; but, embracing and holding  
in it with the cords of an unspicable Wisdom,  
as 'twere with some Reins, with all imaginable  
Harmony he has constituted in it, Months and  
Times, Seasons, and Years, and the interchange-  
able distances of Nights and Days; and has  
circumscribed it with various Limits and Mea-  
sures. For, Evum, of its  
own nature, is <sup>i</sup> direct or  
straight, and \* reaches to  
an infinity; and has taken  
the name of Evum, <sup>k</sup> as 'twere <sup>l</sup> so [that  
is, always existing;] and is it self like its own  
parts; or rather, being void both of parts and  
distance, doth increase, being prolonged  
into ∞ residue only. But God hath divided it  
by middle || Segments, and like a right line stretch'd into Lon-  
gitude, hath severed it by points, and  
hath included in it a vast multitude.

<sup>i</sup> Transitive &c. I read doubt-  
ingly Vasef.  
<sup>\*</sup> Is extended, or prolonged.  
<sup>k</sup> As might  
be said.  
<sup>l</sup> As might  
be said.  
<sup>m</sup> As might  
be said.  
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And, whereas it was one, and exactly like an  
 Unite; He bath bound it with a Variety of  
 numbers; and from its being without Form,  
 bath made in it \* manifold and various Forms.\* Or, A  
 For first of all, He framed in it matter void of any Form;  
 Form, as some substance fit to receive all Forms.  
 In the second Place, He created Quality in mat-  
 ter, by the power of the number Two; making  
 that beautiful, which before was void of all  
 comeliness. Afterwards, by [the help of] the  
 number Three, he framed a  
 Body, <sup>1</sup> compounded of Mat-  
 ter and Form, consisting  
 of three Dimensions, namely,  
 Latitude, Longitude, and  
 Profundity. Then, from the  
 number Two doubled, he de-  
 rived † the Quaternation of the  
 Water; Air; Fire; which  
 Elements, Earth;  
 produced as some  
 Elements, which are  
 † Or, The  
 † See before 25 June 1710. It  
 should, I think, be written, *25*  
 June 25 June 1710, &c. &c.  
 comes. In the Foketian copy  
 the word *Latin* is wanting; ex-  
 cellently well. *Va's.*

N n n everlasting number

\*Xoριστῶν; everlasting Fountains, in order to the \* supply of this Universe. Farther, the number Four begets the number Ten. For, One; Two; Three; Four; make up the number Ten. The number Three † multiplied by the number Ten, bath ‖ produced the space of a Month. And a Month by twelve Circuits or Turns, finishes the Course of the Sun. Hence the Circles of Tears, and the changes of Seasons, have delineated and express'd Ævum, which before was void both of Form and Shape, as 'twere in a variety of Paint [made up] of many Flowers; in order to the ease and delight of those, who therein \* run over the Course of Life. For, as those Persons (who in hope of winning Prizes, perform the Courses in a Race,) have the distances set out to them, by Stadia or determinate quantities of Ground: and as they too travel long Journeys, find the

† Limited, publick Road † best as 'twere, with some Man-  
of, &c. sions and Stages; least any Person, by having his Expectation drawn out to an immense length, should be quite tired, and abate of his Alacrity and vigour of Mind: after the very same manner also, God the Supreme Emperor, having confined the whole Mass of Time within the Lines of Wisdom, leads and manages it; and like a Chariteer, governs it variously, according as it seems good to Himself. The same Moderator of the Universe, having bedeck'd Ævum, which before was void of Figure, with beautiful Colours and fresh Flowers, has adorned the Day with Brightness and the Rays of the Sun: but, over the Night he hath spread a ‖ darker Colour, and has made the Lights of the Stars to glister therein, like some Bits or Spangles of Gold. And having light up the bright Rays of the Day-Star, and the various Splendor of the Moon, and the most resplendent Companies of the Stars; he has Crowned the whole Heaven, is 'twere some large Embroidered \* Vesture, with the manifold Beauties of Colours. Also when he had extended the Air from a vast height to a great depth, and by its help had \* cooled the length and breadth of the whole World; he commanded it

|| Or, Blacker.  
\* Veil, or Hood.  
m Poyz'd.  
me This whole page is, in my judgement, to be read in poyz'd the Earth in the middle like the Center, be this manner; in that its green-coloured Mantle. And after he had made This the Residence, Nurse, and Mother of all Creatures that are therein; and by its help or power had cooled, &c. In which manner the Translator read. And so I found it written in the Pak. Copy. Valef.

He seems to mean the Aerial Demons, concerning whom he hath spoken above, in the beginning of this Oration. Further, we may understand here as well the Good Demons, as the bad. For the good

are Spirits also, whom we term Angels, pass throw the Air; as 'twere some Embassadors and Interpreters, carrying our desires to God, and bringing to us answers, and favours from God. Of which, even the ancient Philosophers were not ignorant. But, The Translator thought, that at this place Eusebius spake of Fishes. Concerning the Aerial Demons, St. Austin (Epist. 49.) speaks thus. Quanto perniciosior est Sacrificatio Demonum, &c. How much more destructive is it to Sacrifice to Demons, than is, to an all Spiritual Creature, which dwells in the nearest and dark Heaven, as in its Aerial Prison, is predestinated to Eternal Punishment. — Valef.

\* Kαὶ οὕτως ὁμοίαν ἔχει τὸν οὐρανόν. I write ὁμοίαν τὸν οὐρανόν. He speaks legacily, in saying that the Earth is clothed with the Ocean, as with a green Mantle. So David, Psalm 104. 6. Thou coverest it with the Deep as with a Garment: namely the Earth, as Theodoret explains it, and St. Jerome on Hagai Chap. 1. Farther those words [ὁμοίαν τὸν οὐρανόν] ἐστὶν αὐτῷ must be blotted out, as being superfluous, and wholly disagreeable to this place; wherefore we have omitted them in our Version. They are a piece of a Verse of Homer's out of his 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> Iiad. In the Fuckerian Copy the reading is, οὐρανὸν τὸν οὐρανόν. ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν. Valef.

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and had moistened it partly with Showers, and partly with Waters issuing from Springs; He commanded it to flourish and grow green with all sorts of Plants and beautiful Flowers, in order to the delight and Pleasure of Humane Life. And having therein formed a most excellent and bonorable Creature, dear to the Divinity it self, according to His own Image; namely \* Man, endued with a mind and knowledge, and the Office of Reason and Wisdom; on him He conferred the Government and Empire over all the other Creatures, which creep upon the Earth and have their Sustainance from it. For, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, Man was the dearest to God; and like an Indulgent Father He permitted, that all sorts of irrational Creatures should pay their Service and Obedience to Him. [Twice] Man, for whose sake He made the Sea navigable, and Crowned the Earth with all manner of Plants. On him He bestowed knowing and intellectual Faculties and Powers, in order to his being rendered capable of all manner of Learning and Sciences. Into his Hands He hath delivered, as well those Creatures which swim in the Depths, as the Fowls which fly in the Air. To him He hath laid open the knowledge and contemplation of things Celestial; and hath discovered [to him] the Courses of the Sun, and changes of the Moon, and the Circuits of the Planets and fixed Stars. [Lastly,] 'twas Man alone, of all the Creatures that are on the Earth, to whom He gave order, that he should acknowledge the Celestial Father, and with Hymns should laud and praise the Supreme Emperor of intire Ævum. Besides all these things, that Great Framer of the World, hath begit immutable Ævum with four changes of the Year; the Winter-season He has bounded with the Spring: \* but the Spring, which is the beginning of the Seasons of the Year He has weighed as 'twere in an equal Balance. Then, when He had Crowned Universal Ævum with the manifold Fruits of the Spring, \* He delivered it to the parching heat of the Summer. After this, having allowed a cessation from Labour as 'twere, He hath refresh'd it with the interval of Autumn. Lastly, when he has wash'd \* it (being as 'twere some Royal Steed,) in the moist Fountains of Winter Showers, and has rendered it Slick and Gay by the Waters which flow from † above, and has sufficiently famed it with the continual waterings of the Rain; He again places it at the fore-gates of the Spring. When therefore the Supreme Emperor, had in this manner bound fast His own Ævum, within the Circle of the whole Year, by such Reins of Divine Wisdom as these; He delivered it to be managed by a Greater Governor, namely, His own only-begotten Word; to whom, as being terms the common Preserver of all things, He has committed the Reins of this Universe. But He, or, not than the Father Himself, but means Him to be greater than all others. And perhaps any body would guess, that Eusebius had written, καὶ οὕτως, by a Left. Valef.

\* Or, Re-tional Man.  
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\* Or, Re-tional Man.  
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having received an Inheritance as 'twere, from a most excellent Father; and having bound together all things, which are contained as well in the inner, as more outward Compass of Heaven, in one harmonious consent; proceeds straight forward: and with all imaginable equity makes provision of those things that are of use to his rational Flocks on earth. And having appointed a certain fixed space of living to Mortals, He has given all Men leave, that even in this Life they should be exercised in the \* preludes of a better and an eternal Life. For He hath taught, that after the Term of this present Age, there is a Divine and happy Life; trespass'd up and reserved for them, who in the hopes of Celestial Enjoyments, have undergone the Combat of this Life. And, that there shall be a Translation and Removal of those, who have spent their Lives soberly, modestly, and piously, from hence to a better Allotment: but, for them, who shall have been detected of Impieties in this Life, [He has given notice,] that there is an agreeable Place provided. After this, (as 'tis wont to be in the Distributions of Prizes and Rewards in the Games,) having with a loud voice pronounced various Crowns [to be due] to the Victors, He Crowne

making and constituting all things; but it self receiving an increase from none. Nearly related hereto is the Ternarie, which in like manner can neither be cut in sunder, nor divided; and is the first of Numbers that are made up of Even and Odd. For the even number Two, having an Unite added to it, hath produced the Ternarie, which is the first of odd Numbers. Moreover the Ternarie first shew'd [Men] Justice, by teaching them Equality? for it has a Beginning, Middle, and End, all Equal. And these things give a Representation of the Mystic, most Holy, and Royal Trinity: which though it consists in a nature that is void of Beginning and \* Generation, yet contains in it \* Of Self the Seeds, and Reasons, and Causes of the Birth: Substance of all things which have Generation. And the Power of the Ternarie may deservedly be thought the Beginning of all things. But the number Ten, which contains the End or Term of all numbers, Stops and Bounds all things [proceeding] as far as it self: and 'tis with good reason styled full, and every way perfect: in regard it comprehends all the Species, and all the Measures, of all Numbers, † Ratio's, Concord, and Harmonies. 'Tis certain, † Unites being by Composition increased, are terminat

\* Eusebio megal. In the Fuxerian Copy 'tis written, Eusebio; and after the verb megal a middle distinction is placed. Valef.

\* Or, Preface.

\* Amos is 'twere. I doubt not but Eusebius wrote Amos is 'twere; He crowneb different, &c. which writing the following words do manifestly confirm. In the Fuxerian Copy 'tis written, Amos is 'twere. Valef.

\* Μοιραζον δ' τετρακιστιον. The first word is wanting in the Fuxerian Copy; and the want of it is no fault, if I mistake not. But then, it is also another fault here. Wherefore this whole place is, in my opinion, to be corrected; Εισαγον δ' ον μυριας Εξον διακοσιον ενσην τεταλιν Εξ ακαθαρτων μυριασιν. διακοσιον τετρακιστιον. τεταλιν δ' δεκακιστιον. He permits to be celebrated, &c. Than which a amendment there is nothing more certain. For the Festivity of the Tricennalia, concerning which Eusebius treats, consists of perfect numbers; to wit, Tens trebled, and Threes ten times repeated. Eusebius's following words, concerning The Denary, or Number Ten, do plainly confirm our Emendation. Valef.

from above, to stay or continue. For, whereas all Multitude is lessened and increased, according to the diminution or addition of Numbers; an Unite alone has stability and firmness, as its allotment; being separated from all Multitude, and from those Numbers produc'd from it self. And therefore it bears a lively Resemblance of that Indivisible † Essence, which is separated from all others; by the power and participation whereof, the nature of all things doth subsist. For, an Unite is the Framer of every Number; in as much as every Multitude does consist of a composition and addition of Unites. Nor is it possible, without an Unite, to have a conception in our thoughts of the substance of Numbers. But, an Unite, it self, subsists without a Multitude; being separated at the greatest distance from, and far better than all Numbers;

Decade, allotted to them, as their mother, \* and fix'd Boundary; as 'twere in the Cirque they run round this \* Meta. Then, \* Goat, or having performed the Limit: a second Circuit, and again a third, and a fourth, and so on as far as Ten; of ten Tens they make up the Hundredth Number. After this they return to the first † Carceres. From † Place of setting out, whence they begin again, and proceed on to Ten; and having run round the Hundredth Number Ten times, going back again, they perform long Courses round the same Meta; returning by a Circuit from themselves into themselves. For, of the number Ten, an Unite is the tenth part; and ten Unites make up one Denarie. But, a Denarie or Decade is the Limit, the \* Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundary of Unites: the Meta of the infinity of Numbers; but \* the End, that is, the perfection of Unites. Moreover, the Ternarie joined together with the Denarie, and having performed the third period of ten Circuits, produces that most natural Number, the Number Thirty. For, that which in Unites is the Ternarie, the same in Denaries is the Tricenarie or Thirtieth Number. And this is the firm and certain Limit of that great Luminary, which is the second from the Sun. For the Course of the Moon, from one conjunction with the Sun to the next, compleats the Circle of a Month: after which, She again receives a Beginning of Birth as 'twere, and does again begin new Light, and new Days: being grac'd with thirty Unites; honoured with three Decades; and beautified

\* Η εξαγων δεκαετηρ. It must, I think, be written, εξ μι-εξαγων, &c. and fix'd Boundary. So he calls the number Ten, because 'tis the Term and Meta of Numbers. But, by fetching an Elegant Metaphor from the Cirque, he says that Unites do run round the number Ten, as 'twere the Meta. Wherefore, Εξαγων δεκαετηρ was to have been translated rangam in Cirque, as 'twere in the Cirque. Hence 'tis, that a little after this, he names the Carceres also, where his words are, εν τη σπηλαιω διαταχεντος ακαθαρτων, they return or run back to the first Carceres Valef.

\* Καταληξιν κτιστων. The words must, I think, be placed otherwise, and read thus, καταληξιν: Εξου κτιστων, the Meta, and the fix'd and stated Boundary. 'Tis the fame with what he says hereafter, Εξου του, the firm and certain Limit. In the Fuxerian Copy the reading is, Εξου η καταληξιν. Valef.

\* Or, The Limit and the End of Unites.

† Or,

† Or, The Limit and the End of Unites.

Nan 2



as words, *sifted with ten Ternaries*. With the very same Doubtless [Graces] is the Empire of Our Victor Augustus, and Lord of the whole world, \* adorned, by the Bestower of all things that are good; and enters upon a beginning of new blessings: having hitherto accomplished the Tricennalian Festivities only; but now from hence forward entering upon longer intervals of Times; and \* e-

\* Or, Pro-mising. of future Blessings, in the Celestial Kingdom. Where not one only Sun, but troops of innumerable Lights dance about the Supreme Emperor as every one of which \* is far more Glorious than the Sun itself; and do shine and glister, with the splendour of those Rays shot from the Eternal Fountain [of Light]. Where [there is] a life of the \* mind, in

\* Or, Soul. the incorruptible Bonities of Goods: where [there is] a life, void of all grief and trouble: where [there is] an enjoyment of temperate and most holy pleasure: Time without Time; a long and endless Ævum, enlarged to Spaces bounded by no Term: not any more [distinguished] by the intervals of days and months; nor measured by the Circles of Years; and the periods of seasons and Times: but sufficient for one life continued to an immensity. Which is not enlightened by the Sun, nor illustrated by the multitude of the Stars, or \* Splendour of the Moon: but has that Luminary in itself, God the Word, the only-begotten Son of the Supreme Emperor. On which account, the Divine Discourses of Mystical Theology, do declare Him to be that Sun of Righteousness, and a Light which far transcends all Lights. We do firmly believe, that the very same person does illustrate those most blessed Powers, with the Rays of Justice, and the beams of Wisdom: and, that He does take the Souls of men, adorned with true Piety, not into the Circumference of Heaven, but into His own Bosom: and, that He does really confirm and fulfil His own promises. But the eye of Mortals hath not seen, nor hath any ear heard; neither can a mind clothed with flesh, be able to discern and look into those things, which are prepared for them who have been adorned with Piety: as likewise for You also, Most Religious Emperor! To whom alone, of all persons that ever were, God Himself the Supreme Emperor of this Universe, has granted this, that You should cleanse and reform the Life of men. To whom also He hath shown His own Salutary Sign; by the power whereof having conquered Death, He \* celebrated a Triumph over His Enemies. Which Trophy of Victory, and Amulet of Demons, when You had opposed a-

\* His-ces  
Dei-ces  
Triumph

He had better have said, *Yes, Lead, or celebrated*. For 'tis not said, *He* celebrated a Triumph, but *He* was celebrated. Indeed, *He* was properly to be said concerning a Trophy. Valef.

gainst the Images of Error; You \* gained the Victory over all impious Enemies and Barbarians, as also over the Demons themselves, who are another sort of Barbarians.

have read, *ἀγρο νίκας* and thought that these words were spoken concerning Christ. But, after I had look'd more narrowly into the thing, I perceived, that these words are spoken in the Second Person. For Eusebius speaks to the Emperor himself. 'Tis certain, those words *ἐπὶ πέντων ἀδελφῶν παλαιῶν τῶν ἐς Κύβητας, over all impious Enemies and Barbarians*, do evince that this is spoken concerning the Emperor. Valef.

FOR, Whereas there are in us two \* Sub-CHAP. stances conjoined, namely, Soul and Body; V.11. whereof the Latter is exposed to view, but the \* Or, other remains invisible: against both these, Naturen two sorts of Enemies and Barbarians, the one covertly, the other openly, have set themselves in array. And, the one of them opposes Bodies against Bodies: but the other assaults Man's naked Soul it self, with all sorts of incorporeal Engines. Farther; those visible Bar-

\* Nomades, in nothing different from Wild-beasts, make an attack upon the meek and gentle Flocks of Men; ruin and depopulate Countries; enslave Cities; [rush] out of the Desert, like fiercer and furious Wolves, and fall upon the Inhabitants of Cities; after which they destroy as many as they can. But the invisible Enemies, I mean the Soul-destroying Demons, who are far more fierce and cruel than all Barbarians; sieg about the Regions of this Air, and by the Engines of mischievous Polytheism, had reduced all mankind under their Power: in so much that, the true God was not by them any longer look'd upon as God; but they wandered up and down in manifold error, without any worship of the Deity. For, having procured for themselves Gods from I know not whence, who have not any Being or Existence in any place whatever; they wholly neglected and undervalued Him who is the only, and the true God, as if He were not. Hence it was, that the Generation of Bodies was by them reputed and worshipp'd as a God; as also, a contrary Deity hereto, to wit, the Destruction and Dissolution of Bodies. And the former of these Gods in regard He was the Author of Generation, was honoured with the Rites of Venus. But the Latter, because He abounded with Riches, and in Strength excelled Mankind, was named Pluto and \* Orcus. \* Or, For, whereas the Men of that Age, acknow-Death- ledged no other Life, save that which takes its beginning from Generation; therefore they asserted the Cause and Origin of that Life to be a God. And, whereas they believed Men not to exist any more after Death; they declared Death to be the Vanquisher of all, and a Great God. Then, concluding, that on account of that dissolution by Death, they were in no wise accountable hereafter for what was performed here; they resolved upon living such a Life, as in effect was no Life; perpetrating such Facts, as deserved to be punished with ten Thousand Deaths. For, they had not their Minds taken up, with the thoughts of God; they expected not

\* Νουαδὸς νίκας. The Translator has done ill in rendering it, *Passions, Sieges*. I would rather retain the Greek word, or else render it *Vagabonds, Wanderers*. For so the Latins termed those Barbarians, who fitting on their Horses, or in Wagons, were carried this way and that way, without any House or settled habitation. Such persons as these, because, in order to their getting food, they would range about to find places abounding with pasture; were termed *nomades*. A little after, in the Eusebian Copy the reading is, *λυμφοβωτοὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, destroying as many as they can*. Valef.

\* Or, Sub- not the Tribunals of the Divine judgment; nor call'd to remembrance the \* Nature of their own Souls: but acknowledging a subjection to one Cruel Patron, Deas; and finally persuading themselves, that the destruction of bodies effected by it, was the dissolution [and annihilation] of the whole man; they declared Death to be a great and a rich God; and for that reason gave him the name of Pluto or Dis. Death therefore was to them a God; and not be alone; but what-ever else they accounted valuable in comparison of Death; namely those things which were conducive, in order to the rendering their Lives pleasant and delectate. For, the pleasure of the Body was by them accounted a God; norriphment was a God; the growth of those things [that produce nutriment,] a God; the fruit of Trees, a God; Drunkenness and Luxury, a God; the desire of things, Carnal, a God; the Pleasure of those things, a God. Hence [came] the Mysteries of Ceres and Proserpina; hence the Ravishment of the Virgin [Proserpina] by Pluto, and Her, Restoration again. Hence Bacchus's Initiations and Ceremonies; and Hercules vanquished by drunkenness, as by a more powerful God. Hence the adulterous Rites of Cupid and Venus. Hence Jupiter himself engaged with a Lust after women, and in Love with Ganymede: hence the fictions of Lastivious Fables, concerning Gods addicted to pleasure, Wantonness, and Luxury. With such

Καὶ τὸν ἐκ τούτου ὅτι πο-  
μῶν φρεσὶν. At my peril  
write ἐκ τούτῳ, by it; under-  
stand death. And so the read-  
ing is in the Fulkian Copy.  
A little before, the Geneva-  
man had left out a word; which,  
from the Fulkian Copy, I have  
supplied in this manner, ὅτι ἐκ  
ἀπορίας διότι. Valef.

† Or, Fists.

|| Or, Bodies.

\* Or, God-  
opposing  
Error.

therefore, and so many Darts of \* impious  
persecution as these, the cruel Barbarians, and  
prorust Enemies to the Supream King, could  
the Inhabitants of the Earth; and at length  
reduced the whole Body of mankind to a Sub-  
jection to themselves; in so much that, Monu-  
ments of impiety were erected by them, in all  
parts of the earth, and Temples and Shrines of  
false Divinity, built in every Corner. More-  
over, \* those persons then  
thought to be in power,  
were so miserably enslaved  
to Error, that they ap-  
peared their Gods, with  
the slaughters of their own Coun-  
try-men and Relations; and  
sharpened their Swords a-  
gainst the defenders of Truth;  
and [commenced] an im-  
placable War, and lifted up  
impious bands, not against  
foreign and barbarous En-  
emies; but against their  
Domesticks and Friends, and  
against their Brethren, Kin-  
smen and dearest Relatives;  
who by a purity of Life and  
Sobriety, and with purposes  
of true Piety, had resolved  
to pay a worship and observance to the Deity.

οἱ γὰρ τούτοις κερταῖν βο-  
μολοῦσιν. By these words Eu-  
sebius either means the Empe-  
rours themselves, who had per-  
secuted the Christian Religion;  
or else all the Heathens. For  
these prevailed at that time, be-  
fore the Christian Religion had  
obtained throughout the whole  
world. As therefore the Christian  
Religion was afterwards termed  
in κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν, and the Chris-  
tians in κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν (as I have  
noted at the Books of Eusebius's  
Eccles. Hist.) so the Gen-  
tiles, as long as their supersti-  
tious flourish'd, are rightly ter-  
med of κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν. Yet below,  
at the beginning of the ninth  
Chapter, he has used τούτοις κερ-  
ταῖν to signify the Emperours.  
Valef.

After this manner, these men, seized with a  
distraction of mind, sacrificed persons consecrated  
to the supream King, to their own Dæmons.  
But They, in regard they were courageous Wit-  
nesses of true Piety, and had been accustomed  
to prefer a glorious death in defence of truth,  
before life it self, did not in the least value  
so severe a Tyranny: but rather, as it became

the Soldiers of God, being satisfied with the  
\* Arms of Patience, they despised and laugh'd  
at every sort of Death; namely Fire, Sword, and  
the piercing of Nails; the wild Beasts; the depths of the Sea; the cutting off, and after-  
wards tearing of Limbs; digging out of Eyes; [\*]  
mutations of the whole Body; and lastly,  
Famine, the Mines, and Bonds. All which, by reas-  
on of that Love and ardency of Affection they bore  
to their own King, they accounted sweeter than  
all the Pleasures and Enjoyments [of this Life.]  
The Minds likewise of the tenderer Sex were  
Valiant and Stout, endowed with a Courage no-  
thing inferior to that of Men; some of whom  
underwent the very same Combats with Men,  
and obtained equal rewards of Valour. Others,  
when drag'd away to be sacrific'd, sooner re-  
signed their Lives to Death, than their Bo-  
dies to Ravishment. And vast other numbers in the  
of them, not enduring so much as to bear the  
Menaces of Ravishment, wherewith they were of his  
threatened by the Presidents of Provinces; with  
a valiant Mind endured all sorts of Tor-  
tures, and [the Execution of] every Capital  
Sentence. In this manner the Vanguard of  
the supream Emperour, with an undaunted  
Courage of Mind maintained the Fight, a-  
gainst their Army who paid a worship to many  
Gods. But the [Dæmons,] who are the ad-  
versaries of God, and Enemies to the Salvation  
of Men; demonstrating more of Cruelty than any  
of the most Savage Barbarian, rejoiced in such  
Libations of humane Blood. And their As-  
sistants and Ministers, quaff'd to them such  
as these, filled with Blood unjustly shed; provid-  
ing for them this dreadful and impious Ran-  
som. Valef.

And to the ruin and destruction of humane  
kind. Affairs being in this posture, what ought  
to have been done by God, the King of these  
that were oppress'd? Ought He to be careless of  
the safety of his dearest  
[Dependents,] and to neglect his own Servants, when  
in this bloody manner assailed?  
Doubtless, He can  
never be termed a prudent  
Pilot, who shall suffer his  
Vessel, together with the Men  
on Board, to be sunk, with-  
out contributing any thing  
of his own Assistance, in or-  
der to the Preservation of  
the Ships-company. Nor, can  
that person be stiled a wary  
and provident General, who  
shall render up his Allies to  
the Enemy, unreveng'd and  
undefended. Neither will a  
good Shepherd be unconcern-  
ed for, and a careless of  
a Sheep straying from the  
rest of his Flock: but will  
rather leave all the other,  
which are safe and in good  
condition; and will most  
readily suffer any thing what-  
ever, on account of preserv-  
ing that Sheep which has  
strayed; being ready, should  
there be a necessity, to encoun-  
ter even with fierce and ra-

read ἀσέβη, impious, with the  
Translator; in the Fulkian  
Copy, it is written, ἀσέβη Valef.  
Ὁ δὲ τὸν κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν  
ἀντὶ τούτου. I should chonle  
to write, ὁ τὸν κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν  
ἀντὶ τούτου, &c; Doubtless, He can  
never, &c; So in the following  
period, I think it should be men-  
ded, ὁ τὸν κερταῖν βομολοῦσιν ἀντὶ  
τῶν ἀσέβων, &c; &c; nor  
can that person, &c; where  
it is put for ἀσέβων. Valef.

Ἐπίστω ἀσέβων. I know in-  
deed, that a Commander who  
spares not his own Life, may be  
termed ἀσέβων. But, in regard  
this is a commendation befitting  
a Soldier, rather than a Com-  
mander; and because the term  
ἀσέβων is wont to be most  
commonly taken in an ill sense;  
therefore, at this place I would  
more willingly read ἀσέβων,  
that is, a wary and provident  
General. So Ann. Marcellinus,  
speaking concerning Corbulo the  
most fam'd Commander of the  
Romans, gives him this Elogy,  
Provinciarum fidus defensor &  
cautus, a faithful and wary De-  
fender of the Provinces. Neverthe-  
less, if any one had rather retain  
the common reading, I will not  
gain-say it. Valef.

Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀσέβων. The a-  
mendment of this place was obvious. For who can see that it should  
be, ἀσέβων ἀντὶ τῶν ἀσέβων in which manner I found it written in the  
Fulkian Copy, and have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

ging Beasts. But, the supream Moderator's care was not employ'd about a Sheep that wants reason; but He was highly concern'd for his whole Army; for the sake of those, who on his account were assaulted. Of whose Combats, and conflicts in defence of Piety, when he had approv'd; and had honour'd them, who were now removed to him,

nial Embassies; compelling them to own, and  
\* submit themselves to their Betters; and from \* Or, No  
a Lawless and brutish life, reducing them to be igno-  
Civility and Humanity. But, as for that cruel  
and enraged Sort of invincible Demons, he does  
really and manifestly prove, that they were long  
since vanquished by God. For the Common Sa-  
viour of the Universe, had by an invincible  
Power routed those invincible Spirits. But this  
Our Prince, the Supreme Emperor's Lieutenant-  
General as 'twere, has pursued the vanqui-  
shed; spoiling † those who were long since dead  
and consumed; and plentifully distributing the  
Booty amongst the Souldiers of [ God ] the  
Victor.

ἰ Παρ' αὐτοῦ. I read παρ' αὐτοῦ, *with himself*; in which manner *Eusebius* is wont to express himself. A little after, the reading should be ἑξῆςται ἡγουσάμενοι, *might also become Relaters*: the *Fuketian Copy* confirms both these Emendations. *Vale.*

should both be spectators of his vengeance upon the impious, and might also become Relaters of those things which they had beheld with their own eyes. After this, when he had stretch'd forth his right hand, in order to his being avenged of his Adversaries; by his very Nod, on a sudden he destroyed them; having first punished them with stripes inflicted on them from Heaven; and compell'd them, even against their wills, with their own lips to recant their own horrid wickednesses. But these, who were meant and condemned, and by almost all persons look'd upon as forsaken and hopeless, he has raised from the ground, and highly exalted. And thus, the supreme Emperor [God,] effected his purpose from Heaven; when he had presented to us his own Servant, as some invincible Warrior (For our Emperor, by reason of his transcendency of Piety, rejoices in his being styled The Servant of God.) Whom God has made Conquerour over all sorts of Enemies whatever, having raised up him alone, against many. For they were numerous; and almost infinite as <sup>k</sup> be the friends of many Demons. <sup>l</sup> Tea

and renders the passage thus: *Reipfa coarguit reipfiffe*; *reipfiffe* *quod iam olim fuiffet ab ipfo Deo fupervatum*, he really confuted and reprov'd it; *in regard it had been long before vanquifhed by God Himfelf*. But I have taken away the diftinction, and rendered it thus *rebus ipfis convincens, jam pridem à Deo fuiffe fupervatum*, He does really convince, *forasmuch as it has been long ago vanquifhed by God*, &c. The Reader may make choice of which rendition be pleafes. For there is but little difference. *How Conftantine* actually demonstrated, that the *Demons* were vanquifhed; *Enfebio* does preface his *Deo*, when he fays, that at their Temples were rited by *Conftantine*, and befet down on the *Chriftian* Altar.

<sup>a</sup> *Tōs ιερωνυμίου Σωζοῦς*. It muft be written, *ιερων. Σωζ.*  
† Namely, the *Demons*; whose Temples *Conftantine* destroyed and melted down their Images.

FOR, Whereas he perceived, that the simple CHAP  
multitude, like children, in vain stood in VIII.  
fear of those Bug-bears of Error, made of Gold  
and Silver; it was his Sentiment, that they  
ought wholly to be destroyed; in regard they  
would be like some pieces of Stones, cast before

the feet of those who walk  
in the dark; \* and because  
a smooth and plain passage  
thorow the Kings - high - way  
was in future to be open to  
all men. Having therefore  
diligently weighed these mat-  
ters with himself, he was of  
opinion, that he stood not in need either of Military  
Forces or a numerous Army, in order to his  
giving Check to those things; but, that one,  
or two of those persons well known to him, were  
sufficient to effect this business: whom by one  
only Nod he dispatch'd away into every Province.  
They, confiding in [the Emperour's] Piety,  
[and in their own Religiousness towards God],  
made their way thorow the thickest crowds, and

thorow infinite multitudes of  
people, and <sup>b</sup> fully discovered  
that ancient Error  
[of Idolatry,] in all Cities,  
and throughout every Coun-  
try. And in the first place,  
they commanded the Priests  
themselves, with much laugh-

ter and disgrace to bring forth their Gods, out of certain dark recesses. Then they divested [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Lastly, having scrap'd off that matter which seemed and in itself was to be useful, and \* cast it into the fire, and fire.

as by them was thought  
to be of use and necessa-  
ry, they reserved, and put

xT as being the friends of many Nations. Teach  
xT rather, they were nothing: whence it is,  
xT This at present they are nothing. But this One Em-  
place is perow, [\* is] of One, [and bear-  
corrupted; See Note the Image of That One Supreme  
in my Emperor. They, [induced thereto]  
judgment, by an impious mind, destroyed pious men by  
infant bloody Murders. But he, imitating his own  
restored of Saviour's example, and being only skilled in this  
the preservation namely of men; has sav'd alive  
even the impious themselves, teaching them truth  
Peace and Religion. Then, in regard he is  
really Victor, he hath vanquished that twofold  
sort of Barbarians: civilizing the fierce and  
untractable Tribes of men, by prudent and ra-

For they were almost innumerable and many in regard they were the friends of many Demons and of themselves. I have expunged the word *ἄνθρωποι*, because it had crept in hither, from the upper line. And by *εὐσεβίων ἀριθμώμενοι ἄνθρωποι*, against whom God raised one single person, Constantine; Eusebious means Maxentius, Maximianus Herculeus, Maximinus, and Licinius; to whom Dioclesian and Galerius may be added. But, by *εὐσεβίων πολλοί φίλοι*, both of the Demons, and of themselves he means the Prefidents and Governours of Prouinces, and the Commanders of the Militie; who, that they might carry favour with the Emperours, molested the Christians in all places. It may also be written *ἐπεὶ οὐδ' αὖτε ἐκείνων φίλοι*, in another sense; that is, *many as being defended of many Demons, and the friends of those Demons.* Which sense seems truer. For, it answers to the words which follow, *ὁ δὲ εὐσεβίου ὡς καὶ, &c.* But, *this One Emperor [is] of One.* For Eusebius alludes to that passage in the Gospel; *Τὴν αἰά σου πατέρα τὸν δεσπότη.* Luke. 8. 44. In the Fakesian Copy, the reading of this place runs thus; *ὁ π. ὃς ὅτι τοιοῦτο ποιεῖς οὐ δύνασαι εἶναι φίλος τοῦ σατανᾶ.* For they were created, and made as being the friends of many Demons. Which saying is purer and truer. Valf.

Μόλιον δὲ σέθεν ἔγωγε, ὅπου ὡς σέθεν. Eusebius here seems to have imitated Dionysius Alexandrinus; who in his Paschal Letter concerning the Tyranny of Marcianus, expresseth himself in this manner, *ὁ π. ὃς ἐν τοῖς κτλ μὴ ἔγωγε.* Now is not, for he never was what passage occurs in the seventh Book of his Ecclesiastical History. Chate. 23. Valf.

ment of disgrace. Moreover, this admirable Emperour performed another thing like hereto. For, at the same time that those Idols of the Dead, made of pretious matter, were spoiled in that manner we have declared; he \* ordered the rest of the Images, consisting of Brasts, to be brought together. Therefore, those Gods, [celebrated] in the dining tables [of the Greeks,] having had ropes made of hair cast about them, were drag'd away bound. After these things, this great Emperour, having as 'twere light up a most bright Torch, look'd about with his Imperial Eye, if peradventure he could any where find, any Remains of Error as yet lying concealed. And, as some most sharp-sighted Eagle, which has raised herself to Heaven on her wings, sees from above those things on the earth that are at the greatest distance: in the same manner he, whilst he † was resident in the Imperial Palace of his own most beautiful City, beheld as from a Watch-Tower, a certain pernicious figure of Souls, lying concealed in the Province of the Phœnicians. It was a Grove and a Temple, [not placed] in the midst of a City, nor in the Forums, or Streets; of which sort many are visible in Cities, most gloriously built for ornaments sake: but this [Temple] was out of the way, far distant from the common Road and beaten path, consecrated to that filthy Dæmon [termed] Venus, in part of the Top of [Mount] Libanus. This was a School of wickedness, [open] to all incontinent persons, and such as with all manner of dissoluteness, had decaub'd their own Bodies. For certain effeminate men, who ought to be termed women rather than men, having renounc'd the venerableness of their own Sex, affected the Dæmon by suffering themselves to be made use of as women. Besides, unlawful † Coitions with women, and Adulteries, and other heathen and infamous facts were committed in that Temple, as in a place that was lawless, and without a Governour. Nor was there any one that might inspect what was done in that place, in regard no person of gravity or modesty durst go thither. But, the impieties committed there, could not lie concealed from this Great Emperour also. But, when he himself had look'd into them with the eye of an Imperial providence, he judged such a Temple as this to be unworthy of being [enlightened with the Rays] of the Sun it self, Wherefore he orders it to be totally demolished, together with [its Statues and] Consecrated Gifts. Immediately therefore, the Engines of this impudent and Libidinous Error, were dissipated by an Imperial Order; and a Company of Soldiers gave their assistance in cleansing that place. And they who had hitherto been addicted to Lasciviousness, [being scar'd] by the Emperour's Menaces, in future learned modesty. When therefore the Emperour had in this manner a full'd off those Vizards of abominable wickedness, which were visible in the Temple of that Dæmon the seducer of the people; and had exposed them to the view of all persons; he Preached his own Saviour in the presence of all.

\* Or, Set upon the other Images, made of Brast.

† Walk'd up and down in, or, near conversant in.

|| Or, Co-pulations of women.

|| Φεσμεται κατωθεν τοις οφθαλμοις σου. I can't approve of the Translatour's Version, who has rendered this place thus; Ad hunc modum videntur Imperator, cum spectata illa impietate; & nequitie qua hominum animi occurrat fuerant, palmam omnium oculis sublevari, &c. In this manner therefore the Emperour, both exposed to public view those Spectres of improbity and wickedness, whereby the minds of men had been blinded, &c. But I had rather render it thus; Cum flagitiorum larva, que in Demoniis illius populorum seductores temporis visibantur, decessisset, &c. When therefore the Emperour

had in this manner pull'd off, &c. Φεσμεται κατωθεν (for to the Ascendation it is to be rettored), are the integumenta victorum, the masks of vices, wherewith the Heathens covered their own uncleanness. So above, Eusebius speaking of the Images of the Demons, lays, κατωθεν απονομιωδους τα φεσμα; &c. Then they discover'd [those Gods] of their outward dress, and exposed their inward deformity, which lay concealed under a painted shape, to the eyes of all men. Farther, this place is thus to be mended from the Fuckerian Copy, εως ες τα Της λαοκρατου φεσμα; κατωθεν. Valef.

Nor was there any one who could defend or assist the persons detected: no Dæmon; no God; no Utterer of Oracles; no Diviner. Nor were the minds of men any longer wrap'd up in thick and profound darkness: but being illustrated by the Rays of unerring Piety, they condemn'd the ignorance of their Ancestours; and pity'd their Blindness; and pronounc'd themselves happy, in regard they were free'd from the cruel slavery of Error. \* Thus therefore in a moment, by the Will of the Great God, and the Emperour's Assistance and Ministry, all the kinds of E-tionicles enemies and Adversaries, as well the visible as must be invisible, were totally destroyed: and in future, † the Peace, the best Educatrix of Youth, encompass'd the habitation of all men. Nor were there any more Wars, because The Gods were not. Neither did their happen any Fights, either in the Presently, Countries or Cities, as there had been before, I read † when the worship of Demons flourish'd: nor † were there any more effusions of blood amongst the best Edmen, such as had usually happend, whilst the fury catrix [or Breeder] of Youth; without the particle ε. For Eusebius alludes to that Verse of Hesiod, in his Opera;

Ειληνη τ' αλσας κρησσειτο.

Valef.

NOW therefore 'tis seasonable, to oppose the new CHAP. Face of affairs to the old, and inspect the IX.

Change of matters made for the better, by comparing the worse with them; and to discern and perceive clearly, in what manner heretofore, Porches and Consecrated Plots of Ground; Groves and Temples, were \* most elaborately founded and prepared for them; and how the Temples were \* beautified \* Or, with vast numbers Crown'd of Consecrated Gifts. As for the Tyrans and those in whose hands the supreme power then was, they had an high veneration for the Gods. The Nations also and people, in the fields and in all places, yea in their very Private dwellings, in their Store Houses namely and Bed-chambers, † honoured them with Statues, according to the Rites of their own Country. But, the fruit of their devotion, was not that mutual Peace, which we now behold with our eyes, but all these things directly contrary hereto; to wit Wars, Fights, seditions and Seditions; wherewith they were † sorely disquieted during the whole † worn our Course of their Lives, and filled their own Coun-tries with blood and intestine slaughters. More-very aid indeed promise the then Emperours; Pro-nor can the phecies and Oracles, and predictions of things future. τερμαξα-

well joined with Σαλαμοις: Wherefore, I would more willingly read this whole place, in this manner, Εστιν τε ες δεικται κατ' αφεση ες παρτα πονοι, αμν τε κατ' αμν ες αμν αυτων ταμειοι ες ες Σαλαμοις αλφιαμοι εδωκεν εημω κατ' τα παρτα. The Nations also and peo-ple, &c. Valef.

But those very Gods \* could not \* foresee their own Ruine, and were altogether unable to forestall to their own selves. Which is a most convincing Argument, in order to the manifestation of their cheat and imposture. 'Tis certain, none of those, heretofore admired for their Oracles, ever foretold the Glorious Coming of the Common Saviour amongst men, or the new Preaching of that divine knowledge, which was first delivered by him. Neither Pythius himself, nor any other of the Great Daemons, was ever apprehensive of their own desolation: nor did he presage or prophesy, who should vanquish and destroy them. What Divine or Soothsayer hath foretold, that the worship of the Gods should be extinguished

† Νέω τι by the Coming of a Certain † New Person into the world; and, that the knowledge and worship of the suprem Mediator of all things, should be diffused amongst all men? Who hath foreseen this Holy and Religious Principality, and this Our Victor, and the Trophies which be has in all places of the earth erected against Ruine of the \* High places? Which of the Hero's hath ever declared in express words, that the lifeless Statues should be melted, and from an useless Form be changed into necessary uses? Which of the Gods hath ever made any mention, concerning their own Statues which are melted down, and with disgrace and laughter

\* Τῶν ὁ. Daemons, and the *ψαῖον*. This a term which occurs in sacred Scripture; see 1 Kings, chap. 12, and 13. The Images of Daemons were so termed, because they were commonly worshiped in high places. *Valf.*

† Εἰς ἀσπίδων τὰ κρηττόνιστον. Doubtless, the reading must be κρηττόνιστον, cut; which Christophorus perceived not. *Valf.*

Monuments consecrated to them, which were ruined by Men? What is become of them, who heretofore raised Wars, and who now behold their own vanquishers living in a most calm and secure Peace? Where are those who put their trust in them, as in Gods, and elevated their own minds by a vain and fruitless confidence:

\* Οἱς τὴν δὲ πλάττω. As far as this place, there was a *Chasme* in the Puckerian Copy; which Manuscript gives us this reading of this place; οἱς δὲ τὴν δὲ πλάττω. I am of opinion, that the first word is to be blotted out. *Valf.*

manner? Where are those Troops of Gyants, fighting against God Himself? And the hissings of Dragons; Who have whet their Tongues, and have uttered impious Expressions against the suprem King? Those persons, profest Enemies to the suprem Emperor, confiding in a multitude of Gods, sell on with vast numbers of men in Arms; carrying before them as their

† Νεκρῶν ἄδολα χαμόεσσαν. Write *ἀδολῶν*, as the reading is in his Life of Constantine, Book 2. Chap. 16; where this passage occurs. A little after, write, *χαμόεσσαν ἀδολῶν* ὑπὸ τῷ τῶν αἰσῶν; as tis in his Life of Constantine, and in his Puckerian Copy. *Valf.*

some affrighting spectacle, and potent Preserva

tive against mischiefs; obtained the Victory, both over his Enemies; and over the Daemons. After which, with a grateful mind, he rendered a Thanksgiving-prayer to [God] the Author of his Victory; and with a loud voice, and by the Monuments of Statues raised, he made known to all men the Triumphant Standard; erecting this Great Trophy against all his Enemies, in the midst of the Imperial City; and issuing out an Express Command to all men, that they should acknowledge this salutary Standard (which no Age can deface,) as the Preservative of the Roman Government, that is the Empire of the whole world. And herewith he acquainted all persons, but more especially the Militie. To whom [he gave this in charge,] that they ought not to \* place \* Or, *ἔχειν* their hopes in their Spears and Armour, nor in their hope the strength of their Bodies; but should acknowledge God to be the Giver of all Good, and particularly of Victory it self. Thus the Emperor himself (strange and almost incredible!) was his own Armie's Instructer in their devotions; and delivered to them pious † prayers, which were agreeable to the Divine Laws and Institutions; that they should lift up their hands on high, towards Heaven; but Constantine should || fix the eyes of their minds on the true, most highest object, namely on the Celestial King; and 4 Chap. 20. in their prayers should invoke him, as The Giver † Or, of Victory, The Saviour, The Preserver, and The Transmitter of the Empire. Moreover, that they should esteem of it, as a day, as convenient and fit for prayers; to wit, that day, which really is the Chief and \* First of the year.

He terms the Lord's day, the first; not only because 'tis the first day of the week; but also, in regard it was the first day of the world. Whence it may deservedly be termed the first-day of the world. Further, the Lord's Day is not only termed the first day, but the eighth also. St. Austin's words (Book 1. Concerning the Lord's Sermon on the Mount, Chap. 11.) are these: *Et octava Sententia quæ ad Caput reddit, &c.* This eighth Sentence which returns to the Head, and declares the perfect man; perhaps signified by Circumcision also on the eighth day in the Old Testament; and by the Resurrection of the Lord after the Sabbath, which as 'tis the eighth, so 'tis also the first day. Before St. Austin, Hilarius had said the same, in his Prologue to his Comments on the Psalms; where discoursing concerning the seventh Number, his words are these: *Quem tamen octiduo, quia et eadem prima quæ octava, &c.* which nevertheles, the number eight (because the first day is the same with the eighth, being added in the last Sabbath according to the Evangelicall fulness, doth complete. See also his following words in that Prologue. Moreover, Theophilus Bishop of Alexandria, in his discourse when the day of the Theophania had fallen on a Sunday, speaks concerning the Lord's day in this manner: *ἡ δὲ ἡμέρα ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος καὶ ἀποστόλων καὶ μαρτύρων ἡμέρα, &c.* Both Custom, and also duty doth require us, so to honour every Sunday, and to observe that day as a Festival; in regard thereon our Lord Jesus Christ procured for us a Resurrection from the dead. Wherefore, in the sacred Scriptures, this day is both termed The first, as being the beginning of life to us; and also The eighth, in regard it surpasses the Sabbath of the Jews. These words of Theophilus are cited in the Typicon of St. Sabas, and by Basilian in his Collection of Canons. To whom add Isidorus, and Beda in the Book de Divinis Officiis, where they treat concerning Sunday. Stephanus Gibarus writes the same, in his 29th Chapter. To this custom it is perhaps to be reterred, that the Greeks most commonly reckon the days of the week, not to the Sunday which precedes, but to that which follows. For, after the Sunday of the Prædical Son, which is the ninth Sunday before Easter, those days which follow immediately, namely the second, third, and fourth Feria, and so on, were by the Greeks termed, *ἡ πρώτη τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως, ἡ δεύτερη, &c.* until the following Sunday, which was termed *Δομινικὰ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως*, and this week was called *ἡδομινικὰ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως*. [See Meursius's Glossary, in the word *ἀποκατάστασις*.] But after the *Δομινικὰ τῆς ἀποκαταστάσεως*, the second Feria which followed next, was termed *ἡ τῆς νεωκίας* or *νεωκίης*, and so the other days of that whole week, unto the following Sunday, which was called by the same name, *ἡ καὶ νεωκίης τῆς νεωκίας*. The same may be observed in the other Sundays, until Easter-day. For after the *Δομινικὰ τῆς νεωκίας*, the second Feria was termed the second Feria of the Holy Fast; and the whole week was called so, until the following Sunday, which had the same name. Lastly, the *ἡδομινικὰ ὑπερῶν* [The Great week, or Passion-week] which we call the Holy Week, it reckoned to the following Sunday, namely Easter-day, as it appears

appears from the *Typicon of Saint Sabas*, Chap. 31. Crillus also, in his *Paschal Sermons*, always begins the Week of Easter, which we now term *The Holy Week*, from the *second Feria*; and closes it with the following Sunday, namely *Easter-Day*. Nor does *Theophilus* do otherwise in his *Paschal Epistles*. Valef.

other days, and which is truly the *Lord's*, and the *Salutary Day*: and which has its name from *Light*, *Life*, *Immortality*, and from every thing that is good. Moreover, He himself, becoming his own Teacher of such good things, pays an adoration to his Saviour in the most private Apartments of his Imperial Palace; and sometimes by praying fulfils the *Divine Laws*; at others, by bearing the *sacred Scriptures* read, he cultivates and instructs his own mind. Farther, Persons consecrated to God, and who are adorned with holiness of Life and the other virtues, are his Servants and Ministers; and them he has appointed to be the *Controllers* of his *whole House*. Lastly, his *Protectors* and *crusky Guards*, armed with the weapons of good affection, do acknowledge the *Emperour as their Instructor* in a pious Life. verse 10.

But, what *Eusebius* says here, and in the *Life of Constantine*; namely, that Sunday was consecrated and set apart for Prayers and Ecclesiastick assemblies; this in my judgement, was instituted something later. For the first Christians, who had embraced the faith immediately after our Lord's Ascension, were every day, always applying themselves to Prayer, and all manner of Offices of Piety; as *St. Luke* writes in the *Acts of the Apostles*. But afterwards, when the Heathens betook themselves in great numbers to the faith of Christ, and the Faithful could not meet every day; it was appointed by the Apostles and their Successors, that at least on the *Lord's Day*, the Faithful should meet together in the Church. Concerning which there is an eminent passage in *Justin the Martyr's Second Apology*, about the close of it. *Τὴν ἡμέραν ἀποκαταστήσαντες, &c.* On the day termed Sunday, all Persons, as well those who dwell in the Country, as them in the City, meet together, &c. He has termed it Sunday, not the *Lord's Day*, because he spoke to the Roman Emperours, who were well acquainted with Sunday, but knew not the *Lord's Day*, which was an appellation proper to Christians. *Justin* repeats the same thing a little after, in the same *Apology*. *Heretico* likewise *Pliny* agrees in his *Epistle to Trajan*. *Affirmatorem*, says he, *hanc fuisse summam vel culpae suae, vel erroris, &c.* They affirmed, that this was the Total, either of their fault, or error, that on a stated day they were wont to meet together before it was light, and sing an Hymn to Christ, as to God. Where, by a stated day he means *The Lord's Day*. Therefore, from this place of *Pliny* it may be gathered, that the Christians who then lived in Bithynia, met together on the *Lord's Day* only. Otherwise, *Pliny*, would have said, that they were wont to meet on stated days, not on a stated day. Although this is not so much the Testimony of *Pliny* himself, as the Christians own, who confess that before *Pliny*, as he himself attests. Besides the *Lord's Day*, *Epiphanius* (in the *Epilogue to his Books against Heresies*) affirms that an Assembly on the fourth and sixth *Feria*; and *Clemens* (in his *Constitutions*) says, that a meeting together on the Sabbath Day, was instituted by the Apostles. But, as to what belongs to the *Scarcions of the fourth and sixth Feria*, we are informed from *Tertullian* in his Book of *Jenninus*, that they were merely arbitrary and at will not determined by any positive Law or Command. And although it was the Easterns usage to meet together on the Sabbath, yet 'tis manifest from *Epiphanius*, *Socrates*, and others, that in most Churches, Assemblies were not then held. There is an eminent passage of *St. Jerome's*, on the *Epistle to the Galatians*, Chap. 4. *Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, &c.* And lest a disordered Congregation of the People might lessen the faith in Christ, therefore some days are appointed, that we might all come together. Not that that day when we meet, is more solemn; but, that on whatever day there is an assembly, a greater joy may arise from the sight of one another. Valef.

And *St. Basil* likewise says, that the *Lord's Day* has its name from light, not because it was by the Heathens termed the day of the Sun, but because 'tis the day of the Lord, that namely wherein the Lord rose, and conferred on us Life and Light: and because on that day we received the Holy Spirit, the Enlightener of our minds. See *Clement's Alexandrianus's Strom.* Book 6. where speaking concerning the Sabbath, there occurs a most elegant passage, which for brevities sake I here omit. The *Lord's Day* therefore is the day of Light, both because on that day the Light was first created, and also in regard we on that day received the knowledge of the truth by the Holy Spirit, who fell upon the Faithful under the form of fire, and without division was divided, as *Clement's* words in the forementioned place. Valef.

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But the Emperour himself pays an honour to this *Victorious Banner*, having experimentally found a *Divine Efficacy* inherent in it. For, by this [Standard] vast multitudes of the adverse Army have been put to flight; by it the Forces of invisible Demons have been subdued. By it, their insolence, who opposed God himself, was repress: by it, the tongues of slanderers and seditious Persons were silenced. By it the Barbarous Nations were vanquished. By it the frauds and mockery of Superstitious Error were exposed and detected. Lastly, to it (which is the sum and perfection of all Goods,) the Emperour paying a due debt as 'twere, has erected Triumphant Arches in all places of the Earth. And with a bountiful and Royal hand [bath founded] Temples and Churches, in honour of it: and has issued forth an Order to all Persons, that sacred Oratories should be built. In the very

midst therefore of the Provinces and Cities, eximious Monuments of his Imperial magnificence were forthwith raised; and in a short time they shined gloriously in every Country, and manifestly confuted and exposed the impiety of Tyrannick Government. For those [Tyrants] having by a madness of mind been a little before hurried on to wage a War against God; like mad dogs, vented their rage against the lifeless Structures, in regard they were unable to effect any thing against God Himself: and when they had thrown down the Oratories from their vast height to the very ground, and had dug up their very Foundations; they made them look like a City taken by the Enemy. Such was the Tragedy of wickednesses acted by them: wherein they attempted, as 'twere to assault the Deity itself; but were soon made sensible of their own madness. For a short space of time had scarce intervened, when a Storm poured on them from Heaven, swept them away and in one moment rendered them invisible: in so much that, neither kindred, nor issue, nor any the least relique of their memory, was left remaining amongst Men; but, though they were numerous, yet in a minute, having first had stripes inflicted on them from Heaven, they all perished utterly, and became extinct. Such was the conclusion of these Mens outrageous Fury, whereby they had made an Insurrection against God. But this [Our Emperour,] who, armed with the Salutary Trophy, had alone fallen on the Enemies; (or rather, was not alone, for he who is the sole Emperour, was present with, and assisted him;) bath built new Oratories far better than those which a little before had been demolished; and bath made the latter much more magnificent, than the former were: one while adorning the City which bears his own name, with various Churches of God; at another time, honouring the chief [City] of Bithynia, with a most

stately and most beautiful [Church.] He bath likewise grac'd the chiefs [Cities] of the other Provinces, with Ornaments of this nature. Moreover, when he had made choice of two eminent places in the East; the one in the Province of Palestine, because the *Victorious Stream* [of saving faith] has from thence, as from a Spring, diffused it self and overflowed

ἡ ἁγία πόλις ὁ ἁγίος ναός. The reading must be ἡ ἁγία πόλις; and we have rendered it accordingly. Indeed, in the *Puckerian Copy*, 'tis ἡ πόλις. Valef.

ἡ ἁγία πόλις ὁ ἁγίος ναός. It must be, ἡ ἁγία πόλις ὁ ἁγίος ναός. For ἡ ἁγία πόλις, Church, is understood; as 'tis apparent from His third Book concerning the Life of Constantine, Chap. 10. From whence it must be also here corrected, ἡ ἁγία πόλις, the chiefs [Cities] as the reading likewise is in the *Puckerian Copy*. Valef.

flowed all Nations;  
"Korai of the whole East,"

In the third Book of his Life of Constantine, Chap. 50. instead of the verb *korai*, *slaves* is made use of. Indeed, this is a strange kind of an expression, *ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀποικιστῶν* *from the whole colonies*. And at first blush it may seem to be an Enallage, instead of *ἐκ τῶν ὅλων ἀποικιστῶν* *from the whole colonies*, which [City] the Surname of Antiochus does grace. Yet, if any one shall inspect the matter more narrowly, he will confess, that this was spoken by Eusebius, with a design to greatness the thing. For such was the largeness of the City Antioch, that it might seem rather to adorn its own Builder Antiochus, than to be adorned by his name. Valef.

crowned it with a variety of Ornaments. In this manner were these [Edifices] completed. But in the Province of the Palestinians, in that City heretofore the Royal Seat of the Hebrews,

in the middle of the City, at the very Martyrium of our Saviour, [he has erected] a † Basilica of a vast height,

† See Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 43. note (c.)  
That is, as the very place of Our Lord's Sepulchre. For to Eusebius is wont to call the Sepulchre of our Lord, as his appearance from his Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 33. *Μαρτύριον* does properly signify a place where the Reliques of Martyrs are deposited. The Latines have in like manner termed it *Confessionem*, *Confession*; which is the same with *μαρτύριον*. For *μαρτυρία* is in Latine called *Confessio*. Thus, in *Anaglinis*, we read the Confession of Saint Peter. Below, at Chap. 11, Eusebius calls it, *τὸ τοῦ κυρίου ἀδελφίου μαρτύριον*. Valef.

richly, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supreme Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory), and the Trophies that He raised against Death,

† Or, The *οὐρανοῦ*, *salutary*.  
For, it is the voice of laws, τὸ τοῦ νόμου ὡς τῆς ὁδοῦ. Agony.  
Which [Sign] gives the Emperor the reward of his piety, increases his whole Family and the time [of his Reign,] and confirms the

extrall'd † the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperor has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Salutary Sign [of the Cross,] and confirms the

at the very middle of the City, at the very Martyrium of our Saviour, [he has erected] a † Basilica of a vast height, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supreme Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory), and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified, each of them with magnificent Structures: to \* that Cave wherein [Our Saviour] first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a besting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd † the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperor has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Salutary Sign [of the Cross,] and confirms the

the other in the Metropolis which graces the name of Antiochus: in this latter, as 'twere in the head of all the Provinces of that Tract, he hath consecrated [to God] a \* most

Or, glorious and matchless Structure, in respect both of its Largeness and Beauty. For he hath encompassed the whole Temple, with a large circuit on the out side: but within, he hath raised the Basilica it self to an immense height, and has built it in an Eight-square figure, and has variously adorned it; and having surrounded it on all sides with many lodging Rooms and Exhedræ, has

† See Life of Constant. Book 3. Chap. 43. note (c.)  
a † Basilica of a vast height, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supreme Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory), and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified, each of them with magnificent Structures: to \* that Cave wherein [Our Saviour] first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a besting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd † the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperor has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Salutary Sign [of the Cross,] and confirms the

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at the very middle of the City, at the very Martyrium of our Saviour, [he has erected] a † Basilica of a vast height, and with all manner of magnificence. And he hath grac'd the Monument of the supreme Saviour, (which deserves an eternal Memory), and the Trophies that He raised against Death, with Ornaments that are inexpressible. And having selected three places in that Country, which are honoured with three Mystick Caves, He has beautified, each of them with magnificent Structures: to \* that Cave wherein [Our Saviour] first made his Divine appearance, he hath assigned a besting honour: in the other, he has illustrated the memory of his last Assumption, in the Top of the Mount: but in that Cave, which is in the midst between the other two, he has extoll'd † the Combats and Victory of Our Saviour. All these [Caves] the Emperor has adorned magnificently, thereby declaring to all Persons the Salutary Sign [of the Cross,] and confirms the

Throne of his Empire by \* many periods of years; \* Or, Long, revering the Fruits and Rewards of Virtue, \* Or, Rejoicing, for his most excellent Children, and for \* his The reason own Kindred, and for their Defendants. And thus much this is a most convincing argument of the power he does, of that God, whom the Emperor does worship. After that he hath poiz'd the Scale of Justice with equal weights on both sides, and has assigned to Confession each Party a fit and proportionate Reward. For since the punishment due to impiety, immediately seized them, those who had assaulted and demolished the sacred Temples, Houses; and they were forthwith swept away, without any Stock or Kindred, without any House, added or Family. But this [Our Emperor,] who by Stock or Acts of Piety of all sorts, pays an Honour to his Kindred Lord; and who one while eructs Churches to all: on him; at another time, manifests and makes many of him known to his Subjects, by those Sacred Dalmatian Gifts which he hath dedicated to him in all and Han-parts of the World: is most certainly known to have him, and that most deservedly, the Father, who were server and Keeper of his Family, Empire, and Constancy. Race. In this manner have God's performances been made known, by the Divine power and the Son of his Brother. Valef.

Concerning which [Sign] the Discourse Chap. might be large, wherein they are well X.

acquainted, \* who have been initiated in those Mysteries delivered to them by divine Persons. For, this \* is that truly saving [Sign:] a thing wonderful indeed to be related; but, far more admirable to be conceived: in what manner, as soon as it appeared on earth, That alone hath obscured all those Fables, many ages since invented concerning the Gods; and hath delivered up Error, to darkness and oblivion; but hath discovered to all Persons that Intellectual Light (which had illustrated the minds of Men,) the one namely, and the true God. Therefore, all People, now changed to a better and more enlightened Condition, spit on the faces of their dead Idols; trample under foot the impious Rites of Dæmons, and deride that ancient Error handed down to them from their Ancestours. And on the other side, Men have every where founded Schools of sacred Literature, and are all trained up as 'twere in the Precepts of the saving Discipline: to the intent that, they may no longer dread \* things Created, which are visible to the eyes of flesh; nor Creation, lift up their eyes to the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and stop in an admiration of those Bodies: but may confess him, who transcends all these, him who can't be perceived by sight, or any sense; to be the Creator of all things; and may learn to worship him alone. All which singular and extraordinary Blessings and Favours [conferred] on Men, had their rise from this Great and admirable Sign. By the power and virtue whereof, all those Ills which were before, now are not: and those [Goods] which before were not, are † every where resplendent, [deriving † Or, † Also, from] the Rays of Piety. Also, most of all Discourses, Precepts, and Exhortations to a sober and Pious Life, are Preach'd in the hearing of all Nations; yea, even the Emperor himself Preaches. And this is the greatest wonder, that so mighty an Emperor, does with so loud a Voice call out to the whole World, like some Interpreter

\* Or, *Μυστήριον* *Mystery*.  
The Translator renders it, *in quibus sacramenta literarum professionis considerantur*; which Version I don't approve of. *Μυστήρια* are the persons initiated, who were partakers of the Mysteries. But *Μυστήρια* are they who initiate other, and deliver the Mysteries to them. Valef.

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to God the suprem King; and does invite all those Governed by Him, to the Knowledge of the true God. And that, in the midst of the Imperial Palace, the trifling and ridiculous Compositions of insipid Men [are not recited,] as the usage was heretofore; but the Priests and Ministers of God, persons conspicuous for their

Piety, with \* Roy-  
al Hymns and Praises do celebrate the Festival. That, the sole God, He who is the Emperour of the Universe, is declared and set forth to all; and that the Evangelical Word [who promisseth us all things which are good,] does unite Mankind in

[God] the suprem King; shewing the glad tidings of His Celestial Father's being rendered propitious and benign to His Sons on Earth. That, Quires do Laud Him with all manner of triumphant Songs; and that the whole Body of Mankind doth join in The Chorus together with the Angelick Companies in Heaven: and, that rational Souls, using those Bodies wherewith they are clothed as some Mystical Instruments, [do Laud] Him with besitting Hymns, and shout forth Praises that are grateful to him. That they who are Inhabitants of the East, together with those who dwell in the West, are instructed in His Precepts, at one and the same moment of time: and, that those who have received the Southern and Northern Parts of the World as their Allotment, do sing † to the same melodious Tune: studiously following a pious Course of Life, by the very same Methods and Precepts: conspiring in the praises of one God, who is suprem: admitting of one Saviour, His only-begotten Son the Author of all Blessings: and [Lastly,] acknowledging one Moderator and Emperour on Earth, and His Sons belov'd by God. Which Emperour, like some skilful Pilot, sits on high above the Rudder, and holding the Helm in his Hand, Steers the Vessel in a straight Course; and by a prosperous gale of Wind, brings all those under his command, into a safe and calm Port. But God Himself, the suprem Emperour, stretches forth his right Hand to Him from above, and hitherto constitutes Him the Conqueror of all his Enemies and Opposers;

increasing the Strength of His Empire by long periods of Years. But will hereafter make Him a Partaker of far more excellent Blessings, and will really fulfill his own Promises made to Him. Of which Promises the time present permits not a Re-benefit; but a departure out of this Life is to be expected: in as much as, 'tis not possible for things divine to be distinctly perceived and fully apprehended, by mortal Eyes and corporeal Ears,

deliver to You \* Secret and Mysterious Matters: not that we may teach You, who have been instructed by God: nor that we may disclose Secrets to You, to Whom God Himself, long before these our discourses, (not from Men, neither by any Man, but by the Common Saviour Himself, and by the Presence and Appearance of His own Divinity, which hath often shined upon You,) hath opened and revealed things Secret that were hidden: but, that we may bring wondrous Men to the Light; and may suggest to the Ignorant, the Reasons and Causes of Your Pious and Religious Works and Deeds. Indeed, those great Actions daily performed by Your Virtue, thorough the whole habitable World, in order to the promoting the Worship and Honour of God the suprem King; are celebrated in the mouths of all Mortals. But, the Monuments of Gratitude, which You have consecrated to Your Preserver and Saviour, in Our Country, (I mean in the Province of Palestine, and in that City, whence, as from a Fountain-head, the Salutary Word hath poured forth its refreshing Streams upon all Men;) and the Trophies of that Victory gained over Death, which You have erected in the Edifices of Oratories, and in the Dedications of Sacred Houses: [I say,] those lofty and most beautiful Works of an Imperial Magnificence, Structures truly Imperial, erected † about the Salutary Martyrium, a Monument that deserves an Immortal Memory; contain a Reason [for their having been built,] which is as not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons.

lified by Aldus, pag 613. but, which is ill done, 'tis confounded with Menander Rhetor's Book, which treats concerning the same Subject. Further, in the foregoing Chapter of Alexander, there is cited an Oration of the most famous Sophist Callicles, with this Title, *πρὸς βασιλέα*, written, if I mistake not, in praise of the Emperour Philip. Which I guess from hence, because Philip was an Arabian as well as Callimachus, and was of mean birth: which are the Qualifications of that Emperour, to whom Callimachus spoke this Oration, as Alexander attests. The time suits very well also; for Callimachus lived in the Reign of Gallienus, to whom Callimachus spoke this Oration, as Alexander attests. There is also extant a *Βασιλικὸς λόγος* of Libanius, written by him in honour of Constantinus and Constans, when he was at Nicomedia. Eusebius therefore alludes to these Orationes, and terms this Oration *βασιλικὸν εἰσηγγελμα*. So in the foregoing Chapter, he has made use of this expression, *βασιλικὸς ὁμιλος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*, in allusion to the same thing; which the Translator understood not. Moreover, this is to be remark'd, namely that this Oration is by Eusebius termed *βασιλικὸν εἰσηγγελμα*, that is, an Imperial Book, for 'tis indeed like a Book, than an Oration; because by its too great length it exceeds the measure of an Oration. Wherefore I can't persuade my self, that it was recited by Eusebius. Vale.

† *Πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*. It must be, *πρὸς τὸν οὐν βασιλέα*, by your Virtue; and so the Translator read. Vale.

\* *Ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μαρτύριου*. It ought, I think, to be written, *ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μαρτύριου*, about the Salutary Martyrium, as Eusebius has express'd himself in the ninth Chapter: where see what we have observed, at note (a.) It might also be, *ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου μαρτύριου*, about the Salutary Monument. For so it will be an elegant allusion, *μαρτύριον* *εὐαγγελίου μαρτύριου*, a Monument of an immortal Memory. And so Eusebius words it in the foregoing Chapter, *μαρτύριον τῶν εὐαγγελίων ἀπὸ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* and the Monument—which deserves an eternal Memory. Nevertheless I have observed, that *τοῦ εὐαγγελίου* is by Eusebius simply and absolutely taken to signify the Salutary Sign of the Cross: *σὺν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις τὸ εὐαγγέλιον* by the Divine Virtue of the Salutary Sign, as it occurs in the very close of the ninth Chapter: where nevertheless, the Fuxerian Copy words it in this manner, *εὐαγγέλιον μαρτύριον*. Vale.

† *Ὁ τὰς μάλα*. I don't doubt but it should be written, *ὁ τὰς μάλα ἀποδοῦναι ἑαυτὸν δίδωαι*, contain a reason—which is not equally apparent and manifest to all Persons. Which Emendation is confirmed by the words of Eusebius that follow presently. All Persons, says he, are not acquainted with the reasons of those Works, which You have with great magnificence built near the Sepulchre of Our Lord. For the Christians do indeed love them, and ordain accounts do they admire You. But the Heathens deride such work as these. The reading therefore in the Fuxerian Copy is ill, thus, *ὁ τὰς μάλα*, &c. Vale.

Tide. The Greek Rhetorickian term Orationes concerning the praises of Emperours, *βασιλικὸν εἰσηγγελμα*; which the Latines are wont to call Panegyrics, Panegyrics. The method of these Orationes is delivered by Alexander Rhetor, in his Book *πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*. The title of which Chapter ought to be *πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα*. This Book is extant among the Greek Rhetorickian pub-

CHAP. XI. BUT, Come on Victor Maximus Constantinus! \* in this Imperial Book [written] concerning the Supream Emperour, let us now



'Tis certain, they who have been enlightened by the Celestial Power and Influence of the Divine Spirit, do know and understand [the true Cause of Your raising those Structures,] and on account thereof do deservedly admire You, and do stile that Your purpose of Mind, a blessed resolution, as proceeding from no other than a divine impulse. But, those who are unskilled in matters divine, in a most immoderate manner deride, and scoff at that work, by reason of their blindness of Mind: supposing it to be a mighty indecency, and a thing unfitting [the Majesty of] so great an Emperor, to employ His care about the Monuments and Sepulchres of Dead Bodies. For, would it not have been better (may some one of these persons say,) to observe and keep Our Ancestors Rites; and to appease the Hero's and Gods worship'd in each Province; and not to detest and abhor them on account of such Calamities as these? For, either they must

\* Or, Desired. be \* affected with Divine Honours, in the same manner with \* this Person, by reason of that likeness there is in their miseries and infelicities: or else, if they are to be rejected, as being obnoxious to humane sufferings; 'tis just, that the very same sentence be pronounced against Him also. These words will peradventure be said by some one of those Persons, having first contrived His Brows, and in His own vain opinion thinking Himself wiser than others, and with much of gravity extolling his own Arrogance. To whom nevertheless, a pardon of his ignorance is vouchsafed, (and

\* Ομοίως τῷ θεῷ. He means Christ, as the Translator has well noted at the margin. These words are spoken by Eusebius, with an intent to personate the Heathen, who (when the Christian objected to them, the Adulteries, Quarrels, Slaughters, Death, and also Sepulchres of their Gods and Hero's) answered in this manner. If our Gods are to be rejected and despised on account of such humane Calamities as these, Your God is in like manner to be rejected also; whom you confess to have been condemned, to have been dead, and buried. Valef.

† Οὐ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα. I should choose to write, it is all ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα μεταφυσικῶς, &c. For this seems to me more elegant. But the ordinary reading has the same sense; but 'tis not so expiellive, nor so elegant. Nevertheless, he expresses himself so hereafter in this chapter. A little after I read διδασκαλίας καὶ διδασκαλίας, Schools and places of Instruction; not διδασκαλίας, Doctrines. Valef.

the Divine Precepts: and like a most indulgent Saviour and Physician of Souls, persuades both Greeks and Barbarians; Wise and Simple; Poor and Rich; Servants and Masters; Governors and the Governed; the Impious; the Unjust; the Unlearned; the Unclean; the Blasphemous; to come, yes to hasten to a Divine Cure. With a loud Voice therefore proclaiming to all Persons Oblivion of their former Wickedness, thus He beretofore cried out, saying; \* Come unto Me all that labour, and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. And again. I † am not come to call the Righteous, but Sinners to repentance. And He adds the reason, saying: [† For] they that be whole, need not a Physician, but they that are sick. And [in another place,] I desire not the death of a Sinner [so earnestly, as I desire] his Repentance. Hence it is, that only that Person who has been instructed in the knowledge of things Divine, (as soon as he shall have been acquainted with the reasons of that care and diligence employed about the fore-

mentioned Works,) must of necessity acknowledge a far more excellent infinita than that which is merely humane, to have been in our Emperor, and must admire His Pious Disposition towards the worship of God; and must believe, that this Care and Sollicitude in reference to \* the Monument of the Salutary Resurrection, was not merely exerted without Divine Appointment; but was from of ready the product of the Inspiration of that God, whose faithful Servant and Minister of good things, [the Emperor] boasts Himself to be. Being fully persuaded, Greatest Emperor: that these things are truly grateful and acceptable to You, I have taken a resolution, in this present Discourse to set forth to all Persons, the Causes and \* Reasons of Your Pious

Fabricks: glorying in this, that I am as 'twere the Interpreter of Your Intention, and the Relator of Your Pious Mind: and that I teach all those things, which 'tis fit and agreeable every Person should be instructed in, whose desire it is to understand the Reasons of the Power of God, and of Our Saviour: on account of which [Reasons] He who excised long before, and had the sole Care and Management of the Universe, at length came down from Heaven to us: for which [reasons] be † clothed Himself with the humane Nature: for which [Reasons] Lastly, † He gave access even to Death: moreover, [that I declare] the reasons of that immortal Life which followed hereupon, and of the Resurrection from the dead; and not the reasons only, but the most evident and rational Demonstrations also, and the most indubitable Proofs, necessary to those who as yet stand in need of these things. But, now it is time, that we should here begin this our design'd discourse. They who have \* ascribed, ed the worship of God the Framer of the World or transferred the supreme Governor over all things, to those things created by Him; and have honoured the Sun and Moon, and the other parts of the World, and the first Elements [of all things,] Earth; Water; Air; Fire; with an appellation equal to their Maker and Framer: and have termed those things, Gods, which neither ever were, nor had justified, nor had had any name unless they had been † present with the World: waited upon the Word of God who made the World: such Persons, in my judgement, seem to sin. The differ every little from those, who † passing by the Architect of excruciating Works in Imperial Palaces, greatly admire the Roofs and Walls, and

\* Ἐργον τοῦ θεοῦ. Without doubt it must be τοῦ θεοῦ, and a little after (as the words are placed in the Greek,) εἰς πόλιν ἀσπίαν βέλαντος: and so the Translator seems to have read, who renders it thus: Reminere tibi religionis, ad te respicientem rationem Christianorum hoc presentis sermone explicare constitui. But he has rendered the word ἔργον illi, which does here signify Works, or Edifices, which by the Latins are termed Opera, Works. For here Eusebius does manifestly treat concerning that Church, which Constantine had built at Jerusalem, in a most magnificent and admirable manner. Further, this passage does plainly confirm Our Emendation in note (d.) in this chapter, πᾶσι τοῖς ἀσπίαν ἔχον τοῦ θεοῦ. In the Fukanian Copy, the reading is, ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀσπίαν πᾶσι καὶ ἀσπίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἀσπίαν βέλαντος. Valef.

† ὁ Θεοπρεπὴς ὁμοίως. You must add the word ὁμοίως, He clothed Himself with the humane Nature; which word is ill placed in the foregoing line. This Emendation is confirmed by the Fukanian Copy. Valef.

necessary to those who as yet stand in need of these things. But, now it is time, that we should here begin this our design'd discourse. They who have \* ascribed, ed the worship of God the Framer of the World or transferred the supreme Governor over all things, to those things created by Him; and have honoured the Sun and Moon, and the other parts of the World, and the first Elements [of all things,] Earth; Water; Air; Fire; with an appellation equal to their Maker and Framer: and have termed those things, Gods, which neither ever were, nor had justified, nor had had any name unless they had been † present with the World: waited upon the Word of God who made the World: such Persons, in my judgement, seem to sin. The differ every little from those, who † passing by the Architect of excruciating Works in Imperial Palaces, greatly admire the Roofs and Walls, and

† Or, Can't coming, or, neglecting. renders it, Nisi verbo Dei in Lucern educti fuisse.

sent, unless they had been brought to light by the Word of God. But this rendition is not expreitive enough of the propriety of the Greek Term. Wherefore, I would rather render it, Nisi verbo Dei adlustrati, unless they had stood by the Word of God. For 'tis a Metaphor, taken from Servants, who, when their Lord calls, are at hand presently. Therefore this verb aspien is a fit word to be used concerning the Creation of the World. For the Lord said, Let there be made, and they were made. Father, I have amended this place from the Fukanian Copy. For whereas the reading before was, ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὴν οὐρανὴν καὶ τὴν γῆν, I have corrected it, ὁ θεὸς ἔκτισεν τὴν οὐρανὴν καὶ τὴν γῆν. Valef.

the Paintings thereon which consist of a variety of Flowers and Colours, and the Golden Lacunaria, and the curious Workmanship thereof, and the Carv'd-works of Stones; and to those very things, attribute the praise and name of the skill of the Artist: whereas, the Cause of the admiration ought not to be ascribed to those things visible to the eye, but only to the Architect of those [curious pieces of work:] and in as much as 'tis to be acknowledged, that there are many works of great Art and Skill; but, that be only wife and skilful, who is the Author of the Being of such Works as these, and of their being beheld by many. Nor, would they seem in any thing to differ from very young Children, who should admire the Musical Instrument of the Harp it self, which consists of seven Strings; and not the Inventor Himself, and the Person stilled in its Harmony, on account of this his knowledge: or they, who neglecting him that had performed a brave piece of service in the Wars, should adorn the Spear or the Shield, with Triumphant Crowns: or [Lastly] they, who should honour the Forums, the Streets, the Edifices, the lifeless Temples, and the Gymnasias, in the same degree with the Mighty Emperour, the Author and Founder of the Great and Royal City: whereas 'tis not meet to admire the Columns or Stones, but rather the wise Builder himself of this great Work, and him by whose Laws and Sanctions it is Governed. In the very same manner also, they, who with the eyes of the Body behold this Universe, ought not to ascribe its Cause, either to the Sun, or Moon, or to any other of the Celestial Bodies: but must acknowledge all these to be the Works of Wisdom; being in the interim mindful of the Maker and Framers of them, and preferring his Honour and Worship before all other things whatever. But, from a view of these very [Works,] with an entire affection of mind they must reverence and adore him, namely the Word of God, the supreme Emperour [of this Universe,] who is not now to be perceived by the eyes of the body, but only by a pure and uncorrupt mind. For, in the Body of a Man, no one hath ever termed the eyes, or head, or hands, or feet, or the rest of the members of a wife and knowing Person, Wisdom; much less has any one termed the Pallium within which such a Person is wrapt, wife; or his house-bold-stuff, wife; or the Vessels necessary for a Philosopher's use, wife: but every prudent Person admires the invisible and disappearing mind that is in Main. In the same manner also, rather than [we should wonder at] the visible Works of this whole World, which are corporeal, and framed of one and the same matter; we ought to admire that undiscerned and invisible Word, the Framers and Beautifier of this Universe; Who is the only-begotten [Son] of God: Whom the Maker of all things Himself, a Being that far transcends every substance, hath begotten of Himself; and hath constituted Him the Ruler and Governour of this Universe. For, whereas it was impossible, that the transient and frail substance of Bodies, and the Nature of rational Creatures which had been newly made, should approach God the Supreme Rector, because of that infinity of distance whereby He excels them: (For He is unbegotten, plac'd above and beyond all things; inexplicable, incomprehensible; inaccessible; inhabiting Light that is not to be approached,) as the sacred Oracles tell us: but they

stant, and a long way separated from that unbegotten Nature:) with good reason therefore, the All-Good and Supreme God, interposed as 'twere, the Middle, Divine, and Omnipotent Power of His own only-begotten Word. Which [Power] is most intimately and most nearly conversant with the Father, and abides within Him, and enjoys His Secrets: "nevertheless, it does most graciously condescend and let down it self, and in a middle manner adapts and fits it self to those, who are power-be far distant from the supremum height. For otherwise, it would be a thing neither pure nor holy, that He who is plac'd above and beyond all things, should be joyned with corruptible matter and Body, not that the power of the Son is different from the Virtue and power of the Father. For Eusebius does plainly call it here, the Divine power of the Son. But he gives it the name of Middle, because the Father does nothing by himself, but all things by the Son. Therefore ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to the Father; but the Administration or sovereignty to the Son; as Tertullian informs us in his Book against Praxeas. See the Twelfth Chapter; where he does again term the Son, the Middle, and a certain Bond as 'twere, whereby things Created are coupled with the unbegotten Father. And least any one should think, that Eusebius deserves to be reproved here; Alexander Bishop of Alexandria (in his Epistle to Alexander Bishop of Constantinople,) expresses himself in the very same manner; ἀποφασίζων ὅτι ἐκ θεοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοτιμίας αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοθεότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοειότητος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὁμοφύσεως αὐτοῦ, ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐγενήθη. (Book i. against Sabellius) declares the same thing at large. Non quia non sufficeret Pater, ideo genuit Filium: &c. Not because the Father was not sufficient, therefore He begets the Son: but because those things which were made were not sufficient to bear the power of him unborn. Therefore he speaks by a Mediator. Why? Because we could not approach him unborn. Nevertheless, Athanasius refutes these assertions incomparably well, in his third Oration against the Arians, pag. 397. Valef.

ἡ Περὶ τῆς ὁμοτιμίας. Doubtless it must be, περὶ τῆς ὁμοτιμίας, καὶ ἀποφασίζων; we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

Therefore, the divine Word \* came down and put himself into this Universe; and having taken the fended Reins of the whole World into his Hands, Governs and mixes it by an incorporeal and divine power; and, like himself a most wise Charioter, manages it according to what this, it seems good to Himself. Now, the demonstration of this Discourse is clear and perspicuous. For, if those parts of the World do subsist of themselves, which we have usually termed the first Elements, namely, Earth; Water; Air; and Fire; which consist of a nature void of reason, as we see with our own eyes: [or n.] if there be one matter [or, substance] common to them all, which those Persons skilled in such things as these, are wont to term the Receptacle, Mother and Nurse of all: and if that be without Form and Figure, wholly void of Life and Reason: whence [bath it happened,] (will any one affirm,) that there is in it Beauty and Ornament? Whence [proceeded] the distinction of the Elements? Whence † the concord and agreement of things contrary? Who bath commanded the heavy Element of Earth to be carried on the moist substance [of Water?] Who bath turned back the nature of Waters, which tends downward, and hath carried it about on high, in the clouds? Who hath bound the force of Fire, and [bath commanded it] to lie hid in wood, and to mix with things contrary to its nature? Who hath mingled the cold air with the hot nature of Fire, and by putting an end to the mutual fight between them, hath reduced them to concordance. ἡ Τὸς αὐτοῦ ὁμοτιμίας, καὶ ἀποφασίζων. I write, ὁ τὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποφασίζων, καὶ ἀποφασίζων, &c. or at least, ὁ τὸς αὐτοῦ ἀποφασίζων, &c. which latter reading we have followed. Valef.

\* Arch'd-Rev'd.

† Places for Exercise, or, Schools.

|| A long Garment worn by Philosophers.

\* Or ἵππερ αἰχμῆς, so were produced out of nothing, and are vastly dilated 'tis in the Fugesian Copy; instead of ἱππῆς. Valef.

† Or, *kind*, by inventing the  
\* *Eis ma-* bath enlarged it ] to  
*understand.*

Who hath propagated man-  
 benefit of success, [and  
 the \* long-continuing space  
 of an immortal Life? Who  
 hath formed the Male, and  
 fashioned the Female, thus as  
 we see them; and <sup>o</sup> having  
 made them both up into one  
 harmonious Composition, hath  
 focused out one common principle  
 of Generation to all li-  
 ving Creatures? Who has  
 changed the liquid nature of  
 Sperm, which of it self  
 is corruptible, fluid, and <sup>o</sup> void  
 of sense; and hath made it  
 prolific and fit for the be-  
 getting of living Creatures?  
 every infant works all these  
 others besides these, which  
 are, and superior to all admi-  
 ration; that every day and hour ef-  
 fects [and corrupts] of all  
 ordered and inviolable power

very *Work-house* of *Nature*, gives them *Life* and *Form*. He also lifts up on high the fluid and heavy *Nature* of the moist substance, and afterwards, when by a change he has made it sweet, brings it down gently and moderately to the Ground: but at *Stated Seasons* he bestows it in a more plentiful manner. Then, like some skillful and excellent *Husband-man*, having sufficiently watered the fields with it, by dividing it into various *Streams*, and conveying it in several channels; and having mix'd the moist substance with the dry ground, He dresses and adorns the Earth in a different manner; sometimes, with

王 德 三 君 之 詩 意 謂 曰  
 The Translator renders it, *mod-  
 estatibus, formosius enijuequodis ali-*  
*strand, formosius* by illustrating  
 it with all sorts of forms of herbs.  
 Which Rendition I don't approve  
 of. In my judgment, *effulgens* does  
 rather mean the various figures  
 of Countries. For, *Europe* has  
 one sort of figure, *Asia* another,  
*Africa* another. Nor in these  
 parts of the World, all Provinces  
 have their figures, which God  
 the Framers of this Universe hath  
 given them; having divided the  
 World, like a most pleasant gar-  
 den, into various Beds. By the  
 term may also be meant, the dif-  
 ferent Dresses and Garbs of the  
 Earth. For sometimes the Earth  
 is green with Grass, at others it  
 is yellow with Corn; here it's bud-  
 dy with Woods; there, 'tis plant-  
 ed with Gardens. *Valde*.  
 王 德 三 君 曰。 I think it must  
 be, 王 德 三 君。 That is, *Why*  
 do I presume, is very em-  
 phatical; when the Orator does  
 as 'twere stop and chide Himself  
 in the *Fugitian* Copy 'tis 王 德 三  
 君。 *Valde*.

another: whilst they debase  
and throw down even to the earth, the Ruler of  
all things Himself, and the Unbegotten and Su-  
preme Nature; and joyn it with a Body, and  
with corruptible matter; and affirm that 'tis  
† wrap'd up in the midst, between Living Crea-  
tures that are rational and irrational, between  
substances mortal and immortal. Thus they.

**B**UT, The Divine Doctrine does assert, CHAP. XII.  
Self, and the Cause of all things, is far beyond  
all Comprehension: and therefore, that it is in-  
effable, and inexpressible, nor can have a name giv-  
en it; and that 'tis not only above expres-  
sion, but all thought also. That 'tis not to be  
contained in place, nor is in Bodies: that 'tis  
exalted not in Heaven; nor in the Æther; restored  
in thiaman  
ner; ἡ δὲ θεοῦ διδασκαλία αὐτὸ δι τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκείνων  
παύει τ' αὐτοῦ, &c. But, the Divine Doctrine does assert, that  
Etc. Valfc.

b The Ancients distinguished the *Æther*, from the heaven; and by that name of *Æther*, meant the Element of Fire. So Anaxagoras; *Æristote* tells us in his third Book of *Cele*: whom almost all Philosophers afterwards follow, except the Peripateticks. For the Peripateticks termed the substance of Heaven, *Æther*; (See *Æristote* de Mundo) and affirmed that was a fifth Element. The same is asserted by *Heraclides*, in *Allegoriis* *Homeri*. Peripateticks, say he, *Alunt Naturam* *Cœlestium* *corporum* *altam* *eis* *ab igne*, &c. The Peripateticks do say that the Nature of the Celestial Bodies is different from fire, and do term it *κατακοσμητικόν* (a nature that moves circularly,) and say that it is a fifth Element. For fire, which in Greek is *αἰθήρ*, does not naturally move upwards: but the Sun and Moon do so. But the Stoicks also themselves called the Element of fire, *Æther*; and thought that it was the principal part, (or the *πρῶτον ὑπερσώματον*) of the whole World. *Conformis* (or whoever else is the Author, speaks to this effect, in Chap. 1. de *Naturali Institutione*.

I read it in one word, thus,  
 ἰσὺς παντοκράτης, and have rendered  
 it accordingly. *Eusebius*, makes  
 use of the same word above.  
*Valf.*  
 ὁ ἀποὺς τοῦ ἀποκρίων συ-  
 νεψαζον. I had rather point it thus,  
 ὁ ἀποὺς τοῦ ἀποκρίων συνεψα-  
 ζον, and having made them both,  
 &c. and have rendered it ac-  
 cordingly. *Valf.*  
 ἡ καὶ ἀσέβεια, and void of  
 reason. I would rather say,  
 ἀναισθησία; which I have fol-  
 lowed in my Version. *Valf.*

Who even at this things, and infinities are far above woman's generation? Who is it affects the Generation these, by an undignified? The two last words must be expunged, which creep in hither from the upper line. I might also be written, *ἡσυχία* *ἡσυχία*, the Generations and corruptions. Valef.

having in an inco-  
self, both upward  
also downwards to  
within his large  
tude and Longitu-  
compacted and bo-

|| Or, *A most wise and rational power, or faculty.*

9 *Τῆς διατριβῆς τοῦ διδασκ.*  
*αἰνα συντάξας.* They are terms  
 properly belonging to Music,  
 concerning which besides other  
 Authors, (see Boetius de Musica  
 Book 1. Chap. 24. and 25; where  
 he treats concerning the Synapsis  
 and the Diapason). But the Trans-  
 lator has rendered it, *Lapides*  
*fracti*, i.e. Stones that are  
 smashed on both sides, and are  
 even with the thickness of the  
 wall, and are seen on both sides.  
 Thence which rendition, there is  
 nothing more absurd. Instead  
 of the term *διατριβῆς*, it should  
 I think, be *γῆρας*, *Tones*, or  
*Notes*. I had almost forgot to  
 give notice, that at the beginning  
 of this period the reading should  
 be, *ἁγῶν τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, &c.  
*Valef*. Concerning the term  
*Διατριβῆς*, see Boetius's foremen-  
 tioned Book, Chap. 21. The title  
 of which chapter is, *De generibus*  
*Canentiarum*.

and invulnerable  
of living Creatures  
and Children. received  
the reading is truer, thus  
of Swimming Creatures. Valer

The Wonder-working Word of God, is most deviously to be looked upon as the Author of all these things. For the truly-omnipotent Word of God diffuses Himself self over all things; and in such manner extended Himself to an immense height, and a vast depth; and containing as 'twere, the 'Latin of the 'Universe, He bathed together this whole World with Which when He had made up into an Instrument containing in it self all sorts of Harmony, for His own use; with ' Reason and Wisdom He began to play upon the matter of Bodies, which is of it self irrational, without Form, and void of Figure; 'filily setting together and composing the disjuncts with the Diatones. He likewise Governs the Sun and Moon and the other Luminaries of Heaven, by measures most to be unfolded; and lead [them] in such a manner, as may be most useful and beneficial to this 'Universe. The same Word of God let Himself down upon the Earth also, where He produced living Creatures of every kind, and the variously shaded Beauties of Plants.

The very same Word of God  
penetrated into the deep Re-  
cesses of the Sea likewise, and  
inverted the Nature of  
Swimming Creatures: and  
there also He made infinite  
Forms and Varieties of all sorts.  
He it is, who perfects  
contemplating the † Fœtus's con-  
dition in the Womb, within in

ἐπεδύσε φύσιν, *invented the Nature*

and innumerable  
of living Creatures  
and Children. received

*Principale Solum quidam putant, ut Cleanthes, &c. Some think the Son to be the Principal of the World, as Cleanthes; and Chrysippus, the Father, by whose perpetual motion the things under it are held and administered. And the Father it self suffers nothing. So also Eusebius sets it below in this chapter; and St. Austin in his 147th Sermon de Tempore. Valef.*

or in any other part of the Universe: but, that 'tis wholly without all things, and hid within some secret Recefs of the understanding. The sacred Oracles do teach, that he is to be acknowledged the Only True God; he who is separated from all Corporal Subſtance and foreign to all Miniſterial Oeconomic. Wherefore all things, are ſaid to have exiſted from Him, but not by Him.

Not that the Son is not the true God; but be-  
cause the Name of God doth properly belong to the Father; in regard he is the Fountain and Author of the Deity. But, whereas Our Euſebius (in his Epistle to Euphratam) hath ſaid, that the Son is not the true God, (as Athanaſius and the Fathers of the ſeventh Synod do object againſt him) that is in no wiſe to be born with. For, although the Father be properly termed God; ſo that, whenever God is ſimply and abſolutely ſpoken, we preſently underſtand the Father: nevertheless, the Son is no leſs truly God, than the Father; in regard the Divinity of the Father and of the Son, is one and the Same. 'Tis certain, Euſebius (in his Firſt Book againſt Marcellus, de Eccleſiaſtica Theologia, Chap. 10.) has expreſly affirmed that the Son is the true God. Although in the following Chapter, he does a little diminiſh from what he had ſaid above. The words of Chriſt in St. John's Goſpel (Chap. 17. v. 3.) are theſe. *This is Life eternal, that they might know Thee the only true God, and Jeſus Chriſt whom thou haſt ſent.* Valef. 'Tis the Learned Perſepius's opinion, that the word [Only] in that Teſt of St. John, does in no wiſe exclude the Son. For (as he notes from St. Baſil, Epist. 141. p. 927.) the words *is* and *only* are made uſe of in ſcripture, not only to diſtinguiſh and ſeparate the ſeſſe Gods; that they may be removed, who are not true Gods, and therefore are not Gods: ſee Petavi. Dign. Theolog. Tom. 2. De Trinit. Lib. 2. Cap. 4. Sect. 14.

'Tis certain, however, that ancient Divines attributed the Monarchy to God the Father; but to the Son, the *ἐκκλησία* or diſpoſition. Indeed, 'tis the Father's property to reign: but the Son's property, who is the Wiſdom of the Father, is to diſpoſe or ſet in order all things. Wherefore they affirmed, that Reſt and Beatitude was the Father's property: but Operation, the Son's. Not that the Father Himſelf does not work; but becauſe the Father works things unknown and ſecret; but the Son, things more manifeſt to us; as Marius Victorinus makes it out, in his firſt book againſt the Arians. And the Ancient Divines, before the Nicene Council, termed the Son *ἐκκλησία* and *ὁρατός*; but afterwards they avoided theſe Names, as 'tis apparent from St. Chryſoſtome in his Sermon de Sigilli. Valef.

But he himſelf, as The Emperor, within in ſecret and inaccessibile apartments, inhabits Light that is always unapproachable, and by the ſole power of his own Will does [every where] Determine and Command. For, from his being willing, proceeds the Exiſtence of every thing that is; and he not being willing, it is not. Now, he wills all things that are good, becauſe by his own Eſſence he is Goodneſs it ſelf. But God the Word, by whom are all things, iſſues from above in a manner inexpressible, out of his Excellent Father, as out of an everlaſting and immenſe Fountain, and flows forth like a River; \* ſpreading his ſtreams all abroad, in order to the common preſervation of every thing. And (that

\* Καὶ αὐτοῦ αὐτῶν. 'Tis plain that it ſhould be αὐτῶν αὐτῶν. In the Fugorian Copy the reading is αὐτοῦ αὐτῶν, in the word. Valef.

αὐτοῦ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν. Doubtless it ſhould be αὐτῶν αὐτῶν, or αὐτῶν αὐτῶν, in a manner inexpressible, as Euſebius ſays a little lower. Valef.

\* Or, Wholly overflowing, in order, &c.

I may make uſe of an inſtance taken from our ſelves,) as the inviſible and diſcovered Mind in us, (which, what, and of what ſort it is as to its Eſſence, no mortal ever yet knew;) reſiding like ſome Emperor within the private Apartments of his own Palace, does alone will, and conclude upon thoſe things that are to be done: but Diſcourſe, as 'twere the only-begotten Son, begotten by the mind in a manner that is inexpressible, and by a power not to be expreſſed, proceeds out of its Boſom, as from its Parent; and

is the firſt Meſſenger and Interpreter of its Parent's thoughts to all Perſons; and makes a public declaration of thoſe things which its Parent has concluded on in ſecret; and actually performs its Parents Reſolves, conveying it ſelf to the Ears of all Men. Whence 'tis, that Men receive benefit from Diſcourſe: but no Perſon has ever beheld with his eyes, the latent and inviſible mind it ſelf, which is the Parent of Diſcourſe. In the very ſame manner, or rather in a manner far beyond all compariſon and reſemblance, the moſt Perfect Word of the Supreme God, in regard he is the Only begotten Son of the Father, not conſiſting of a power of pronounciation, nor as to his nature made up of ſyllables, names, and words; nor expreſſed by a voice which ſtrikes through the air: but exiſting the Living and Operating Word of the Supreme God, and ſubſiſting perſonally, as being the Power of God, and the Wiſdom of God; proceeds from his Father's Divinity, and [comes forth] out of his Kingdom. And, in as much as He is the Good Offspring of the Good Father, and the Common Saviour of all things, he paſſes thorow; and derives a miſture upon all [living Creatures:] and by Reaſon of his own ſiſtneſs of Reaſon, Wiſdom, Light, and of all Goods, he diſſuſes himſelf over all things, not only thoſe that are at hand and near, but them alſo that are at the remotest diſtance, whether on the Earth or in the Sea, or where ever elſe; if beſides theſe, there be in nature any other Seat or Habitation allotted to things. To all which, with the greateſt equity and juſtice he appoints Limits, and

\* Regions, and Laws, and ſtated Inheritances; and \* Or, by his Royal power beſtows upon, and ſupplies each of them with thoſe things that are fit and agreeable. And to ſome of them he aſſigns [for their place of Reſidence,] thoſe

Arches that are above the World; \* again, to others [He appoints] The Heaven for their Habitation; to others, Ethereal Manſions; to others, the Air; to others, the Earth. And afterwards, he does again remove them from hence to other places; and makes an exact enquiry into the lives of every one of them, and rewards their Morals, Behaviour, and Converſation. He likewiſe provides food and nourishment, not only for Creatures endued with reaſon, but for thoſe that are irrational alſo, which are of uſe to Men: \* and to theſe Latter, he affords the enjoyment of a mortal and temporary Life; but to the Former, a participation of [a Life] immortal. In fine, he himſelf, as being the Word of God, effects all things, is every where preſent, and by his rational power does penetrate and paſs thorow all things. And looking up to his own Father, agreeably to his will and ap-  
pointment, he governs and manages all inferior things, and which are conſequent to him, in regard he is the Common Saviour of all: exiſting in a manner The Middle [between both,] and joining that Subſtance which has an Original, with

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Εὐαγγελίου. ἡ ἀποστολή. The laſt word muſt be expunged; iſneſs you would rather write *ῥῶς*, living Creatures. For at this place he ſpeaks chiefly concerning living Creatures. Valef.

ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν. Write it in words diſjoined, thus, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*; again, to others [He appoints,] &c. Valef.

Καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησίας. I doubt not but Euſebius wrote, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία* *ἡ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*, *ἡ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἐκκλησία αὐτῶν*; in which manner the Tranſlator ſeems to have read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

Τὸ ἐκ. Τὸ ἐκ. The words seem to be transpo-  
with





<sup>2</sup> *Ev 71* as well in living creatures as plants; not only in rational Beings, but in Brutes; differentiating *Ev 72* and distinguishing all things with an admirable variety, and by one and the same power plentifully supplying all things with all things: hereby *Ev 73* most clearly demonstrating, that not an Harping; they consisting of seven Cords, but this one all Harmonious Universe, is the work of The One World-creating Word.

*Valf.*

**CHAP. XIII.** *P*roceed we therefore in the next place to unfold the reason, which moved this Almighty mighty Word to make his descent into this world. A sort of ignorant and unthinking men, not apprehending that this Word of God has the Presidency over Heaven and Earth, that he was begotten of his Father's

Divinity, [the stream] as 'twere from that supreme Fountain it self, and is always present and conversant with this world; and that he exhibits most apparent and manifest Indications of his own Providence and Care in reference to men: have given the adorable name [of God] to the Sun and Moon, and to the Heaven it self and the Stars. Nor have they stop'd here: but have likewise deified a terrene Nature, and the Fruits produc'd from the Earth, and all manner of nourishment of Bodies: framing for themselves Images of Ceres, of Proserpina and Bacchus, and of infinite other such like [Deities.] Neither has it sufficed them to proceed thus far: but they have not been afraid of declaring the thoughts of their own minds, and Speech it self the Interpreter of those thoughts, to be Gods: terming the mind, Minerva; and Speech Mercurius: they have likewise named those faculties of the mind, whereby Arts and Sciences are acquired, \* Moneta and The Muses. Nor have they stop'd here: but making every day new accessions to their absurdities, by reason of their transcendent impiety, they have deified their own Concomitants and perturbations of mind, which they ought to have had an aversion for, and to have cur'd by the Prescripts of Temperance. And even to their very Lust it self, and to the Mischievous and unruly disease of their Souls, and to those parts of the Body that are the Incentives to obscenity;

<sup>3</sup> and moreover, to that intemperance excessively prone to filthy pleasures, they have given the names of Cupido, Priapus, and Venus, and other such like appellations as these. Nor have they stop'd here: but debasing themselves to the Generations of Bodies, and to this mortal life here below, they have deified mortal men, and after death which is common to all, have termed them Hero's and Gods; imagining that

<sup>4</sup> Roll, or, the immortal and divine Nature, does \* wander about Tombs and Sepulchres. Nor has this put a stop to their madness: but they have honoured all sorts of irrational Creatures, and the most noxious kinds of Creeping things, with the venerable Title [of Divinity.] Neither were they satisfied therewith: but they have cut down Trees, and hew'd out Stones, and have dug forth the

Adietus of the Earth, Brass, Iron, and other mat-

ter; whereof they have form'd Resemblances of Women and shapes of men, and figures of wild Beasts and creeping things: and afterwards paid them a divine worship and Honour. Nor have they put an end to their madness here: but have given the Name of Gods to those malignant Demons, which had hold in Images, and lay lurking within obscure and dark recesses, and who with greediness gaped after and swallowed Libations, and the stinking savours of sacrifices. Nor did they stop here: but by certain Ligatures of forbidden Crafts, and by wicked and compulsory enchanting Verses and charms, they allure and enticed those Demons, and invincible powers which fly about the Air, to be their Assistants and Familiars. Moreover, some Term of mortal men were deified by one sort of people; Magick others, by another. For the Greeks honoured Ar. Bacchus, and Hercules, and Esculapius, and remidur Apollo, and some other men, with the name of (B. 1. Hero's and Gods. But the Egyptians esteemed jorns Horus, and Isis, and Osiris, and other such like men as these, to be Gods. And these persons, and who on account of their transcendent sagacity, boasted of the invention of Geometry, Altrono-my, and Arithmetick; underfoot not, nor were so well skilled, (though in their own judgments they look'd upon themselves to be such) his wife and knowing men;) as to weigh and consider, the measures of the power of God, and [to examine] how great a difference there is betwixt Him, and a mortal and brutish Nature. Harpo-

craton in the verb *καταδύσθαι*. The Latines call them *Ligaturæ*, *Ligatures*. St. Austin's words, in his seventh Treatise on St. John, are these. *Uque adeo, fratres mei, &c.* In so much, my Brethren, that those very persons, who seduce by Ligatures, by charms, by the deccits and engines of the Enemy, mix the name of Christ with their own Charms. Origen (B. 4. C. 13.) calls it *obligamentum magicum*, a Magick Bond or Tye. *Valf.*

<sup>5</sup> *Εκδύσθους τῶν ὁρίωντων αἰσθησέων*. It must be made *invidiosus*, compulsory; from the *Fuk. Copy*. *Valf.*

<sup>6</sup> *Πασιδευς*. Tertullian in his Book *De Anima*, has termed them in Latine *Paredores Spiritus*, which he joins with the *Catabolick* and *Pythobick* Spirits, who were put into men by Magicians. Now, they were called *Paredri* Demones, who assisted men, and kept off diseases and unhappy accidents from them. This we are told by Tertullian (in his *Apolog.* Chap. 23.) in these words. *Si & homina immittunt, habentes simul invitatorum angelorum & demonum assistentem sibi potestatem.* For Magicians had Demons that assisted and obeyed them, who were their *Paredri*, Familiars; by whose help they performed many miracles. Besides, they put such Spirits into others, that they might either insule dreams into them, or be always present with them in order to their defence. The former sort of Spirits they termed *invitantes*, sencers or causers of Dreams: the Latter they call *magides*, Assistants or Familiars. Sometimes also, by Magick charms they threw boys against the ground, who being afterwards raised, as 'twere from a Fit of the falling-sickness, foretold things future to those that consulted them. Which thing they performed by *Catabolick* Spirits, as Hieronymus has rightly remarked at Tertullian's *Apology*. Front hee Salmassius's mistake is made apparent, who (in his notes on Sparianus, pag. 49.) affirms, that those were termed *Paredri*, who from being men were reckoned amongst the Gods, and were made Assistants to the Gods. Which opinion of Salmassius, Geshofred has embraced in his notes on Tertullian's second Book *ad Nationes*. Turnebus (B. 26. *Adversar.*) is much righter; for he that renders it *malus genius*, evil Geni: whereas notwithstanding, the God Genii, and *αἰσθησέων* were so termed, as Lucian writes concerning Hephæstion. Lastly, they usually termed the Infernal Gods, not the *Celestial*, *Paredri*; which being not observed by Salmassius, was the occasion of his mistake. See *Demosthenes* in *Oration*. Funeral about the close: and *Diodorus Siculus*, B. 1. pag. 45. and lastly Rufinus's *Ecclesi. History* B. 2. Chap. 13. From which Authors 'tis plain, that the Infernal Gods were termed *Paredri*. *Valf.*

<sup>7</sup> *Οὐκ ἔστι δὲ τῶν αἰσθησέων*. I read *ὡς τῶν αἰσθησέων*; however, &c. Which though a small fault, yet ought not to have been omitted. *Valf.*

<sup>8</sup> *Πασιδευς* in *Εὐφρων*. Here the words seem to be misplaced. I read therefore, *ἐν Εὐφρων*, *ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν τῇ Εὐφρων*, &c. Which way of writing this place, we have followed in our Version. In the *Fuk. Copy*, this passage is written thus, *πασιδευς τῶν αἰσθησέων, ἀπορροῖας δὲ αἰσθησέων αἰσθησέων, τῶν αἰσθησέων ἐν Εὐφρων*, &c. Which reading I don't approve of. *Valf.*









For, as the Rays of the Sun (which though they fill all places, and touch Bodies that are dead and impure, yet) suffer nothing therefrom: so, and in a far more excellent manner also, the incorporeal Power of God The Word, neither suffers any thing, nor is He sensible of any detriment in reference to His own Essence, nor does That ever exist worse than It Self, \* when, being Spiritual, it touches a Body. In this manner therefore the Common Saviour of all, exhibited Himself Beneficent and Salutory to all: demonstrating his Wisdom by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed, no otherwise than a Musician [does shew his Skill] by an Harp. We are told in the Fables of the Greeks, that Orpheus by melody appeased all sorts of Wild-beasts and mitigated the rage of savage Monsters, by His skilful strokes on the Chords of his Instrument. And this is both commonly reported amongst the Greeks, and also believ'd to be true; namely, that the lifeless Harp tam'd the Wild-beasts;

\* Or, When It incorporeally touches a Body.

Καὶ διὰ τὴν τὴν ἀνθρώπου τὴν οὐρανίου τὴν ἀνθρώπου, καὶ τὴν ἀνθρώπου. Which words Valefius renders thus, Et quoniam Spiritus Sanctus delimitat immutabile, and that is changed the Oakes ravish'd with the sweetness of its melody. Chrysostomus and Cyprianus render this clause thus, tum arborea (quæ fagi vocantur) musica suavitatē delimitat, sinus suos mutare solent, also the Trees (which are termed Beeches) pleased with the sweetness of its Music, are more to change their Site. Perhaps the reading should be, οὐ δὲ τὴν ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀνθρώπου.

Ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀνθρώπου τὴν ἀνθρώπου. Eusebius terms the Humane Nature which Christ assumed, τὴν ἀνθρώπου, in the same manner that the Latine Fathers are wont to speak concerning Christ that He assumed Hominem, Man. So Eusebius uses it a little above, where His Words are, διὰ τὴν ἀνθρώπου, by the Instrument of an humane Body which he had assumed. It occurs hereafter also Valef.

Ἄνθρωπος τὴν ἀνθρώπου. These words are wanting in the Fugesian Copy; and seem to me to have been added by a Scholiast. Valef.

\* Or, Help.

this, in regard He manifested no less care towards Bodies, than towards Souls; even the eyes of Flesh beheld some stupendous Miracles, and Divine Wonders, and Works of His own Omnipotence. But in the Interim, by a corporeal Mouth and Tongue He desisted not from instilling sacred Precepts, into the ears of Flesh. In fine, He performed all things by the Humanity which He had assumed, on their account, who could no otherwise, than only by this means, be made sensible of \* His Divinity. And these things He performed in obedience to His Father's Counsels, Himself contriving the same that He was before with the Father: neither changing his Essence, nor \* losing His own Nature: not bound with the Bonds of Flesh; nor making His abode in that place where

\* Or, Subj. performed in obedience to His Father's Counsels, Himself contriving the same that He was before with the Father: neither changing his Essence,

\* Or, De. through streyng. making His abode in that place where yet I can't omit that reading which I found in the Fugesian Copy. ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, &c. which reading I think to be true. A little after, where the reading is ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, I have added a word from the Fug. Copy; where it thus words, ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, &c. where his humane Vessel was. Valef.

his Humane Vessel was; and altogether bindred from being present in other places. But, during that very interim wherein He was conversant with Men, by his Presence He filled all things, and was with the Father, and was in the Father; and in that very instant took care of all things together, as well those which are in Heaven, as them on Earth. Neither was He excluded, in the same manner that we are, from being present every where; nor hindered from performing divine Works, according to his usual Manner. But those things which were of Himself, He delivered to the humane Nature; but, on the other hand, He received not those things which were of the mortal Nature it self. He did indeed confer Divine Power on mortal Nature: but, on the contrary, He drew nothing from a Participation of the mortal Nature. Therefore, neither was He any way polluted, at such time as his Body was born; nor again, at such time as his mortal Body was dissolved, did He, in regard He is impassible, suffer any thing in reference to his Essence. For neither, if an Harp should by accident be broken, or the Chords thereof burst; is it \* necessary that He Himself should suffer any thing. Likely, who plays upon the Harp. Nor if the Body of any wise Man happen to be punished, is there any reason we should affirm, that the Wisdom in that wise Man, or the Soul in that Body, is either mangled or burnt. \* As the very same manner, and on a far better account, 'tis agreeable to reason we should assert, that the Power of the Divine Word received no damage, from the \* sufferings of the Body: in as

\* Διευκρίνισις. It must be made clearer, was dissolved; as the reading is in the Fugesian Copy. Valef.

\* Or, necessary that He Himself should suffer any thing. Likely, who plays upon the Harp. Nor if the Body of any wise Man happen to be punished, is there any reason we should affirm, that the Wisdom in that wise Man, or the Soul in that Body, is either mangled or burnt. \* As the very same manner, and on a far better account, 'tis agreeable to reason we should assert, that the Power of the Divine Word received no damage, from the \* sufferings of the Body: in as

much as, neither that instance of Light, which we Christians have already made use of, does any ways permit the Solar Rays, which are shot from Heaven upon the Earth, and do touch dirt and mire and all manner of filth, to be polluted. For, though nothing binds us from affirming, that even these things are illustrated by the Rays of Light; yet we do not therefore [say,] that the Light it self is also bemired, or that the Sun is defiled by the mixture of Bodies: albeit these things are not wholly disagreeable to Nature it self. But, whereas that Saviour and incorporeal Word of God, is the Life it self

and the intellectual Light it self; whatsoever thing He shall have touch'd by his divine and incorporeal Virtue, that thing must afterwards of necessity live, and be conversant in rational Light. \* In like manner also, whatever Body He shall have touch'd, that Body is forthwith sanctified and illuminated: and immediately every disease, sickness, and Trouble departs from it. And those things which before were empty, receive some portion from his Fulness. Wherefore, He spent almost the whole Course of His Life in such a manner, that He might sometimes show his own Body to be lyable to the same Passions that we are; but at others, that he might declare

ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι. The word αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν, and that which follows αὐτοὺς αὐτῶν, must in writing be joyned together, as one word, that is, as Græcians term it, ὁ αὐτῶν. Further, in the Geneva Edition, this place was confus'd by the Printers fault; which we have reitored thus, ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, whatsoever thing He shall have touch'd. And so the reading is in the Fugesian Copy. Valef.

\* Or, Without doubt it must be worded thus, ἡμεῖς αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἔμελλεν εἶναι, &c. and we have rendered it accordingly. Nothing is more certain than this Emendation. For the following words do plainly shew, that Eusebius speaks here concerning a Body. And thus I found it written in the Fug. Copy. Valef.

that He might sometimes show his own Body to be lyable to the same Passions that we are; but at others, that he might declare

clare Himself to be God the Word: whilst He performed Great and Wonderful Works, as God, and foretold things future long before they happened, and demonstrated the word of God, (who was not seen by many,) by the things themselves; namely, by prodigious Works, Miracles, Signs, and Stupendous Powers; <sup>1</sup> and moreover, by Divine Doctrines, whereby He incited the Minds of Men, that they should prepare their Souls for [the Blessings] of that supernal Habitation which is beyond Heaven.

and moreover, &c. For so *Græcians* are wont to express themselves. And thus 'tis in the *Fuketian Copy*. Valef.

CHAP. XV. **W**HAT remains now, but that we give an account of the cause and reason of that thing, which is the chief and principal of all: I mean the much-talk'd-of End of His Life, and the manner of his Passion; and the grand Mi-

<sup>a</sup> Ἀναμνήσεως, remembrance.

It must be made *ἀνακρίσιμος*, re-  
[f]erence, as the Translators  
seems to have read. Presumably,  
the reading must be *ἀνακρίσιμος*  
else, after an explanation, or  
consideration of which [par-  
ticular] as 'tis in the Pukertian  
Copy. Vale.

The words are misplaced here, a thing which has frequently happened in these Books, as I have already told you. I write therefore, *xaxyeudōn*, *autō tē tērā* *tū pīssē paxadīm*, &c. and have rendered it accordingly. In Fukes's Copy, its *xaxyeudōn*, *tērā autō*, &c. Valf.

rhoēs reafous mentioned by  
made use of a mortal  
instrument, as of a \* Statue  
moss becoming the Majesty of  
God; and, in regard He is  
the Great Emperour, having  
by its Ministry, as twice by  
that of an Interpreter, † been  
conversant amongst Men: He

\* Or, *Image*.

† Or, *Lived an humane Life.*

<sup>c</sup> 'Aḥḥānīs wān ḡarḡānīs. One of the two last words must be expunged. *Kulef.*

<sup>d</sup> καὶ ὅτι αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ. Que-  
stions it must be written thus  
καὶ ἐτ' αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ τὸ πρῶ-  
τον διαγράψω. Nor would  
He Himself, &c. the necessity of  
which emendation is plainly con-  
firmed by the following words  
ἐαυτῷ.

His own Interpreter to Death and Corruption  
Nor would those things which He had performed  
against the \* Devil, have been terminated by an  
illusory conflict and Combat with Death. Nor  
could it have been accurately known, whether He had  
withdrawn Himself: nor would He have been be-  
lieved by those, who had not seen Him with their  
Eyes: nor could it have been made apparent  
that He has a nature superior to Death: nor  
could He have freed Moral Nature from [the  
infirmary of] its own Condition: nor would He  
have been † found thoroughout the whole habitable  
World: nor could He have prevailed upon His own  
Disciples to condemn Death: nor would He have pro-  
cured for those who are followers of His Doctrine  
the Hope of a Life with God after Death: nor

would He have fulfilled the Promises of His own Discourses: nor would He have exhibited agreeable Events to the Prophetick Predictions concerning Himself: nor [in fine,] would He have undergone the last Combat of all; which was against Death it self. On account therefore of all these particulars, as in much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Asortal Instrument, after that sufficient Service which it had performed to the Divine Word, should have an end bestowing God allotted to it; therefore [I say] His Death is in this manner dispensed and ordered. \* For, there remain two things [to be done by Him] at the end of His Life; either that He should surrender up His whole Body to Corruption and Rime, and so close His whole Life; 'like a Play as 'twere, with a most disgraceful Catastrophe; or, else, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death, and by the Assistance of Divine Power, should render His mortal Body, immortal: the first of these two was repugnant to His own promise. (For, 'tis not the property of Fire, to cool; dark Reason, to darken. So, neither is it the office of Property) of Life, to die; nor, of the Divine Reason, to all contrary to reason.) For, how is it agreeable to reason, that He who had promised Life to others, should be so negligent, as to suffer His own Instrument to be corrupted, and should thereafter surrender up His own Image to Destruction; and, that he who promised immortality to all, should address themselves to Him, should by Death be ruin the Interpreter of His own Divinity remaining

As if in the Greek the reading were, *non tradidit*. *Eusebius's* meaning therefore is this; *whereas* *that* *one* of *two* things *was* *not* *necessary* *to be done* by *Christ* in the *close* of *His* *Life*, *namely*, *that* *He* *should* *either* *yield* *up* *His* *Body* *to be* *unlawfully* *consumed* *by* *death*, *or* *He* *should* *declare* *Himself* *to be* *superior* *to* *death*, &c. You see how different this meaning is, from that of the Translator. For Christ has not only a two-fold reason for departing out of this Life, but one only's namely, Death. For, as the Poet says, *Omnes una manner mors*, *one Death awaits all Persons*. But in death, one of these two things remained to be performed by Christ, that he should either wholly submit to Death, and deliver up His Body to it as fane rich Spoils; or else should shew Himself to be above Death, and should refuse His Body, as a prey, out of the jaws of Death. Besides, *Eusebius* has shewn a little before, that death was *voluntarily* to have been undergone by Christ. For, had he been minded to withdraw His Body privately, and as 'twere by stealth, out of this Life; without doubt, Persons would have believed Him to have been a Ghost or Apparition, not a true and real Man. He produces other reasons also, whereby He concludes in this Manner. On account of all these reasons, *He* concludes as much as 'twas wholly necessary, that His Body should have an end, in befitting God allotted to it, Christ thus dispensed His own death, and one of these two things was to be done by Him in the end of this His Life, &c. as I have said already. And these words hang together very excellently well. But the Translator's Exposition differs widely from *Eusebius's* meaning, in regard *Eusebius* would demonstrate, that a single, not a double reason for departing out of this life was left remaining to Christ. *Vale!*

<sup>1</sup> Kāṭi tē pavaras dīcūmai. I should chuse to write, உவ்வாசு தீர-  
முடி. அப்போது நான் எழுதிய கவிதே பாரிதே நீள வகையானது, and as of a  
Play, make a most reproachful Catastrophe [or calamitous conclusion]  
of His whole Life. Val.

as 'tis in the *Fuketian* Copy. *Valcf.*

The second thing therefore was necessary; I mean, that He should manifest Himself to be superior to Death. In what manner then was that to have been done? Covertly and by stealth, or \* openly and <sup>Or, Wisely</sup> in the view of all? But so glorious an Achievement, the great-  
ment, had it been performed by Him in the dark-<sup>est</sup> and in secret, and had it been unknown to any one, would have been advantageous to no body. But when divulged and † said amongst all per-<sup>† Or,</sup> sons, it would redound to the benefit and advan-<sup>Heard,</sup> tage of all, by reason of the miracle of the thing. Whereas then it was necessary, that his Instru-  
ment should be manifested to be above Death, and

† Or,  
Heard of

trên đây

whereas this was not to have been performed in secret, but in the view of Men; on account hereof it was, that He avoided not Death. For, had He done that, He would have been look'd upon as a Coward, and inferior to Death. But by His conflict with Death as with an Adversary, He rendered that Body which was mortal, immortal; after He had undergone that Combat for the Life, Immortality and Salvation of all Persons. And as

<sup>h</sup> Εἰ τις αὐτοῦ. Something must of necessity be added, thus αὐτοῦ π. αὐτοῦ, some Vessel that can't be burnt. \* In certain, in the Eusebian Copy the reading is, αἱ τρεῖς αὐτοῦ ἡνὶ καὶ πνεύματι αὐτοῦ τρεῖς; in which manner Christophorus read. A little after, in the Eusebian Manuscript 'tis thus worded, αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ, pulling it out of the flames entire and unconsum'd; not as the reading is in the Geneva Edition, ἀσφάλεον αὐτὸ πνεῦμα. Valef.

<sup>i</sup> Or, Gain a belief of the Miracle; so Paulinus.

<sup>i</sup> Εὐ μαλα. ὁμοιωμένη ὅταν τὴν ἀνομήν. At this place ἀνομήν seems to be taken by Eusebius, for the death or passion of Christ. So he has said above in this chapter concerning Christ, ταῦτα οὐ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀ δὲ σώζων διανομήν, therefore [I say] His death is in this manner dispos'd and ordered. See what I have noted at the First Book of his Euseb. Hystor. Chap. 1. Note (b). \* To certain Epiphanius calls the Sacrament of the Eucharist κατήχησις ἡ ἀνομήν, that is, the worship of the Lord's Passion. Valef.

<sup>k</sup> These words must be helpt by a favourable interpretation. For Christ left not His own Body during the least moment of time. In regard, as 'tis wont commonly to be said, that which He had once assumed, he never parted with. But he suffered His own Body to be for some time delatate of the Company of His Soul. Presently in the Eusebian Copy the reading is, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ. But I would rather write, καὶ τὸ σῶμα τὸ σωτῆρος αὐτοῦ, and surrendering up to death that which was mortal. Valef.

<sup>l</sup> For Christ rising from the dead, plainly declared that eternal Life, which He had preach'd to all Men, to be superior to every death. And this the Translator understood not; who, though his Version be otherwise elegant enough, yet frequently wanders from the true sense in so much that in this particular, the Version of this Panegyric may seem far meaner than the Translation of the Ecclesiastick History. Valef.

<sup>m</sup> Χρὶς δὲ τὸν ἀθανάτων. I had rather write ὁ τὸν, that is, he becometh. Which reading the Translator seems to have followed. Valef.

<sup>n</sup> ἡ γὰρ ἀ- Foundation of which Knowledge had before been

laid by Him amongst all Nations. Which per- ἀνομήν. αὐτοῦ. See Story previous. What Eusebius says, namely that Christ before He dyed had sprinkled some seeds of the Knowledge of God amongst the Nations, may be understood two ways. For either He means the seeds which were by nature put into Mens Minds, whereby they are instructed in the knowledge of God; or else He means the preaching of Christ, who when conversant on Earth, had declared the worship of the true God, not only to the Jews, but to the Gentiles also. Valef.

<sup>o</sup> Πλοῖον μίσητος. Here Eusebius has made use of πλοῖον, instead of σκαῖον, or perisphaῖον; whereas nevertheless, πλοῖον is wont to be more frequently used to signify the greater Cable of a Ship. In the same sense with that here, he has made use of this word in his Book concerning the Martyrs of Palestine, Chap. 13. οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ πλοῖον καὶ βόσκον, a form and must evince instance to persuade me to believe, Clemens Alexandrinus uses the same word frequently. Chrysostome (in Hom. 1. On the Epistle to the Ephesians,) notes, that this is a common but homely term, whereby is meant a certain orderliness and elegance of what his words are thence, ὡς δὲ καὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ βόσκον, καὶ τὸ πλοῖον καὶ βόσκον. Valef.

<sup>p</sup> Κατὰ τὸν ἰδὼν. It must be κατὰ τὸν ἰδὼν πλοῖον καὶ βόσκον, &c. against the Error, &c. A little after I read, ἐκείνου ἀλλοῖς ἑστῶτα, showing them the Tropics. The Eusebian Copy confirms both Emendations. Valef.

<sup>q</sup> Ἐμψυχισμὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ. This place is not a little difficult. For how can what Eusebius says be understood, that that Life namely which Christ has promised, is the First-fruits of a future Life with God? Questionless, by the Life promised to us by Christ, Eusebius means the Resurrection on which, as 'twere the Entrance and Beginning of that eternal Life with God. Or rather he means the Resurrection of Christ's Body, which was the First-fruits and pledge as 'twere, of our Hope and Resurrection, as Eusebius tells us in the close of this Chapter. Valef.

<sup>r</sup> Or, Himself.

<sup>s</sup> And He not only raised His Mortal Body, after 'twas separated from His Soul, to a second Life; but propos'd that Trophy of immortality, which by His conquest of Death He had erected, to be viewed by all: and in His very death taught, that He alone was to be acknowledged the true God, who had been crown'd with the Rewards of Victory over Death. I could also assign you a third Reason of Our Lord's Death. He was a Sacred Victim, offered up for the whole Race of τὸν ἄνθρωπον. See GrosiusDe a Victim sacrific'd instead of the Flock of Men: ἀπαρτῶν. See GrosiusDe a Victim which routed and destroyed the Enemy of Diabolical Superstition. For, after that Satisfaction a Victim an eximious Sacrifice, namely the most Christ. Holy Body of Our Saviour, was slain for Man- Chap. 9. kind,

kind, and offered up as the Substitute to ransom the Life of all Nations, who, being fore bound by the impity of Diabolical Error, stood convicted of Treason as were; therefore these Demonstrations, having first prepared your Ears in order to a candid bearing of our discourse. All Nations upon the Earth were heretofore divided, and the whole Race of Men was mingled into Provinces, into various Dominions over each Nation, and Place, into Tyrannies, and manifold Principalities. On which account, fights and continued Wars, Depopulations and Captivities, as well in the Countreys as Cities, never left them. Hence the numerous Subjects of Histories, Adulteries and Rapes of Women: hence the calamitous destruction of Troy, and those Tragedies of the Ancients, whereof mention is made amongst all Men. The Causes of which Calamities should any one ascribe to their error in worshipping many Gods, 'tis my sentiment He would not be mistaken. But, after the Salutory Instrument, namely the most Holy Body of Christ, (which appeared superior to all Diabolical Energy or Force; the word *παλιος*, fraud, being expunged as superfluous. Unless you would word it, as the Pagan Manuscript does, *παλιος* *αυθειας*, fraud and force. Valef.)

It must be made *αδφωρ*, impure; we have already taken notice of a mistake like this above. 'Tis certain, in the Euxetan Copy the reading is *αδφωρ*; and a little after, in the same Copy 'tis *αδφωρ* *τις* *αυθειας*. Valef. *Salutory* *δαίμων*, the salutory miracle. It must be *δαίμων*, sacrifice; which I wonder Christopheran perceived not. So Eusebius has said a little above, *ισαυς* *αδφωρ* *τις* *αυθειας* *δαίμων*, For, after that one Victim and eximious sacrifice, &c. Valef.

And this was the Victim delivered unto Death, concerning which mention is made in the Expressions of the Sacred Scriptures; which are sometimes worded in this manner, Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the World: sometimes they run thus, || as a Sheep he was led to the Slaughter, and as a Lamb he was his Shearer [He was] dumb. And they likewise tell us the Reason, by adding these Words, He bears our Sins, and is tortured with pain for us: and we esteemed Him to be in labour and in stripes, and in affliction. But he was wounded for our Sins; and He was bruised by reason of our Iniquities. The Chastisement of our peace [was] upon Him; with his Stripes we are healed. All we like Sheep have gone astray; every one has wandered in his own Way: and the Lord hath delivered Him for our Sins. For these reasons therefore, the Humane Instrument of God the Word was sacrificed. But this Great High-Priest consecrated to God the Chief Governour and Supreme King, being something else besides a Victim; namely, The Word of God; The Power of God, and The Wisdom of God; soon recalled His mortal [Body] from Death; and presented it to His Father, as the First-fruits of Our common Salvation; having erected this for all Mankind, as the Trophy of that Victory which he had gain'd over Death, and over the Army of Demons, and [made it] the final Abolishment of those humane Victims which of old had been usually offered in Sacrifice.

† John 1. 29. || See Euseb. ch. 33 v. 7. 4. 5. 6. according to the Supra-erogant Perfection.

CHAP. XVI. But whereas these things are thus, 'tis now seasonable we should come to the demonstration: if indeed the truth of these matters has any need of Demonstration, and if it be

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Time of Christ; so also, at one and the very same time, in regard One Monarch was constituted over all the whole Roman Empire, a most

\* Or, Em-  
braced all  
things.

shot forth at one time amongst Men; to wit the  
† Or, Pious *Empire* of the Romans, and the † *Doctrine* of  
*Doctrine*. Christian Piety. Before that [ *Empire*, ] some

well-governed House and Family; and any one might make a Journey whither he listed, and travel to what place he pleased, and all imaginable security: and some might without danger pass from the Western to the Eastern Parts; again others might go from hence thither, as were to their own Country: And the Responses of the ancient Oracles were fulfilled, as likewise numerous other predictions of the Prophets, which, at present we have not leisure to cite: and moreover, those [Expressions] concerning the Divine Word, which run thus. \* He shall have dominion \* Psa. 72. 8. from Sea to Sea, and from the River, unto the ends of the Earth. And again † In his Days † Psa. 72. 7. Righteousness shall rise, and abundance of Peace. [And in another place:] † And they shall beat their Swords into Plow-shares, and [their] spears into Pruning-hooks; and Nation shall not lay hand on Sword against Nation, and they shall not learn War any more. These things were predicted, and many Ages since proclaimed in the Hebrew Tongue: which appearing to be actually accomplished in our Days, do confirm the Testimonies of those ancient Oracles. But if, besides these, you desired plenty of other Demonstrations, take them, not in Words, but in Deeds, and Realities. Open the Eyes of your own Mind, and set open the Gates of Thought. Forbear speaking for some time, and consider with your self. Ask, your self, and enquire as 'twere of some other Person, and make researches into the Nature of Affairs in this manner. What King from the utmost memory of Men; or Prince; or Philosopher; or Law-giver; or Prophet whether Greek or Barbarian, ever attained to so much Power and Authority, (I do not say after Death, but whilst He was yet living, and breathing, and was able to perform many things;) as to fill the Ears and Tongues of all Men upon Earth, with [the Glory] of his own Name? 'Tis certain, no person hath performed this, except only Our One Saviour, after that Victory gain'd over Death: when He both \* gave his Disciples a Command in words, \* Or, and also afterwards actually accomplished it, Spake a word to † Go therefore, said He to them, make Disciples † of all Nations in my Name. And when He had foretold and affirmed to them, that His Gospel † should be preach'd thoroughout the whole World, 23. 19. for a Testimony to all Nations; to his Words He forthwith added the actual Completion of the thing. Immediately therefore, and not after a long interval of time, the whole World was filled with his Doctrine. What then has He to return in answer hereto, who at the beginning of this Oration blamed us; especially in regard the Testimony † of the Eyes is superior to all manner of reasoning? But, who hath chased away that always-noxious and destructive Tribe of † Or, Demæmons (which heretofore prey'd upon the whole † Body of Mankind, and by the motion † Or, and impulse of Images shewed many Impostures and delusions amongst Men; by an irresistible † Or, and potent Hand, being as 'twere fierce and raging Wild-beasts, from the Flock of Men? What other Person besides Our Saviour, by an invocation of Himself, and by the purest Prayers in His Name put up to the suprem God, hath given a power of driving away the Remains of evil Spirits from among Men, to those who with purity and sincerity would follow † that † Or, Rule of Living and Discipline delivered by Him? The Life of that Philosophy delivered, † What

¶ And vnder-  
standing this,  
Valesius  
renders it  
ex unâ  
Transiunt  
Nunc docet  
properly  
signifie  
Meta, the  
Goal of a  
Race.

\* That is,  
by the Do-  
ctrine of  
Christ  
which as-  
serted  
God's Mo-  
narchy.

† Or,  
*Goods.*

¶ Fitted  
or, mad  
up into  
peace, &c

in 'Eg ends pūrtas wess. Without doubt it must be written thus, 'Eg ends pūrtas wesseds, begotten by one or the same father. The mistake arose from the contracted way of writing. Valef.

and affectionately: in so much as from that time  
the whole World seem'd in no point to differ from one





CHAP. XVII. **B**UT 'Tis here seasonable, that we should inspect the Performances of our Saviour in this our Age; and should contemplate the living Works of the

\* Εἰ δὲ ἡ ἑστέρω. It must, I think, be worded thus, ὅτι δὲ ἑστέρω, with an Interrogation; which reading I have followed in my Version. Valef.

enquire what those are? Hear them. Not long since, some Persons who had proclaimed war against God, with great obstinacy, and no less Power and Military Force, ruined and dug up from their very Foundations, the Edifices of his Oratories; and resolved upon rendering His Churches wholly invisible; and with all imaginable Engines and Stratagems fought against Him who is not to be seen with Eyes; casting and throwing against Him \* the darts of impious Expressions. But the invisible God was avenged on them in an invisible manner. Immediately therefore, by one only Nod of the Deity, they became extinct; [those Persons I mean] who a little before lived delicious and pleasant lives and were thrice-bappy; who were celebrated amongst all Men, as equal with the Gods; who during many

\* Or, Numerous words.

<sup>b</sup> Τὸν δὲ οὐρανὸν ἐκδιδάσκοντες ἐπὶ δὴτι. This place is corrupted with a double fault: nevertheless 'twas easy to restore it in this manner: διακρινόμενοι τὸν ἀρχαῖον ἐκδιδάσκοντες ἐπὶ δὴ τὸ μέγιστον ὑπερὸν πνευματικόν φῶτα τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς, &c. had governed the Empire, &c. Eusebius meant Diocletian and his Colleagues, who (says he) had governed the Republic gloriously and happily, as long as they maintained a peace with God and with the Churches. But after they attempted to bring a war upon God, and to persecute his most Holy Worshipers; immediately all affairs were altered, and put into a worse posture. Eusebius says the same in the end of his Eighth Book. Valef.

periods of Years <sup>c</sup> had Governed the Empire gloriously and happily, as long, namely, as there was peace and friendship between them and Him whom they afterwards opposed. But when they changed their minds, and were so audacious as to engage in an actual war with God; and set their Gods in array against Ours, as their

\* Cham. Leaders and Defenders:

immediately, in one moment of time, and by the Beek and Power of that God whom they opposed, they all underwent the deserved punishments of their

audacious attempts. In so much that, giving ground to Him with whom they were engaged in war, and turning their Backs upon Him, they acknowledged his Divinity as others had done; and bnfined to grant and permit the clean contrary to those things, which a little before they had attempted. But our Saviour forthwith erected Victorious Trophies in all parts of the Earth; and did again adorn the whole World afresh, with holy Temples and † Consecrated Oratories: and in every City and Village, in all Countries, and in the desert places of the Barbarians, † He dedicated Churches and Temples, to one God the suprem

† Or, Splendid Consecrations of Oratories.

\* ἀποκρίνεται ὑμῖν. It must, I think, be ἀποκρίνεται ὑμῖν, &c. And we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

King and Lord of all. Hence also 'tis, that those consecrated places are vouchsafed the name of the Lord; and take their appellation not from Men, but from the suprem Lord Himself. For, from Him <sup>d</sup> they have the name of Churches.

<sup>d</sup> Ῥεσπὸν ἐστὶν. I had rather read τὸς ἰσχυροτάτους, the name. Nothing occurs more frequently in Ecclesiastical writers, than the name of *ecclesia* or *Dominica*. Nor have only the Greeks termed Churches, thus, but the Germans also have borrowed this name from the Greeks. as *Waldfridus* Sir ab informs us in his Book de *Rebus Ecclesiasticis*, Chap. 7. Valef. Hence likewise we have our name for them in English, to wit Churches; and hence 'tis that the Scots call them *Kirk*.

Let Him therefore that has a mind to it, come forth and inform us, who, after so great a Ruine and Devastation, hath raised the sacred Houses from their Foundations to so vast an Height? Who [hath bestowed a Resurrection] upon those [Structures,] † wholly despair'd of as to their being rebuilt, and has vouchsafed them a Re-priv'd of edification, whereby they are become far more able, splendid and stately, than they had been before?

\* Καὶ ἀνεστάντων αὐτῶν. In the Fugesian Copy the reading is, αὐτοὶ δὲ τὰ ἑα ἵστα ἵσταντο δὴμα, which we follow. Valef.

\* Καὶ ἀνεστάντων αὐτῶν. Any one will easily perceive, though I hold my peace, that some words are wanting here. I write therefore, ὅτι καὶ ἀνεστάντων αὐτῶν ὅτι περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέστη δὲ ἡ οὐρανοῦ, for thus any one, &c. which words must be included in a Parenthesis. Indeed *Christophorus* seems to have read so, as it appears from his Version. Valef.

† Τὴν αὐτὴν δὲ ἱερωτάτην καὶ ῥηστὴν ἀειμαρτυρίαν. *Christophorus* joyed the word *μαρτυρίαν* with the term *ἀειμαρτυρία*, which I don't approve of. For, by the term *μαρτυρίαν*, Eusebius means those Women, who having been deprived of their Husbands, consecrated their widowhood to God; and he distinguishes these from the *Quires* of Virgins. Farther, out of the number of Widows, *Deaconesses* and *Peribysiteresses*, were wont to be chosen, as *Epiphanius* attests in the *Heretic* of the *Colyridiani*, and in the *Epitoge* of his Books against *Heresies*. Whence 'tis, that at this place Eusebius terms them *ἱερεῖες*. For those Women did in a manner perform the Office of Priests; in regard they instructed Women that were to be baptized. But the reading must be, *μαρτυρίαν τὴν ἱερωτάτην*, also Women that were in Holy Orders; and so 'tis in the Fugesian Copy. These Women, before they could be chosen *Deaconesses*, were wont to be examined. Amongst other things, they were asked, whether they had washed the Saints feet; as *Origen* informs us in his third second Time on *Satur John's* Gospel. Valef.

Women, and numerous multitudes of Men, that they should exchange the food of their Bodies, for that rational food that agrees with their rational Souls, [which food is gotten] by † a use of Divine Lessons? Who hath taught Barbarians and Peasants, Women, Children and Servants and innumerable multitudes of all Nations, to despise Death; and to persuade themselves, that their Souls are immortal, and that \* there is an Eye of Justice which inspects humane Affairs; and that they should expect a future judgment from God [to pass upon] the pious and the impious; and that for that reason, they ought to lead just, holy, and sober lives? not that

† Or, Divine Reading.

should be *ὁκνῶν ἐπαδελφῶν ὑμῶν*, there is an Eye of Justice. For the

the ancients believed, that Justice had a most quick and sharp eye, which inspected all things that were done by men, and would never wink; which eye they appealed to as a witness, who had been any ways injured. Nothing occurs more frequently, both amongst the Greeks and Latines. The old Poets words in Statens are these.

Ἐγὼ δὲ μὲν ἐκδομένη, αἰεὶ δι' ὀφθαλμοῦ  
ἀνθρώπων ἀνέστανται, μὴδ' ὁρᾷεν αὐτὸν ὁ δαίμων.

We have not leisure to produce more authorities; nor is it at all necessary, in regard the thing is so well known. Yet Christophorus saw not the Emendation of this place. Valef.

For 'tis in no wise possible, that those who are not thus disposed, should submit themselves to the yoke of piety. All which egregiously performances, are even at this present accomplished, only by Our Saviour. But let us omit these things. Come on, we will now apply our selves to [A conviction of] Him whose mind is as hard as flint, by such interrogatories as these. Tell me, Friend! and

\* Or, being utter words that are rational; \* Let your expressions be the products, not of a foolish and stupid heart, but of a soul endued with reason and understanding. Tell me [I say,] after you have often and duly weighed the matter with your self. Which of all the Sages who in times past have been famous, was known in the same manner with Our Saviour, and † proclaimed so infinite a number of ages since, by the Oracles of the Prophets, amongst the children of the Hebrews, anciently God's beloved people? Who in their minds had a fore-knowledge of the place of His Birth, and of the times of His Coming, and of His manner of Life, of His Miracles likewise, of His Discourses, and of His famous actions, and left them on record in the sacred

† Prescriptions, declared.

h Hinc sacra scripta. Doubtless the reading must be, his utroque; in which manner also Christophorus seems to have read; and we have rendered it accordingly. Valef.

the Jews should be pursued and punished by an invisible Power, and their Royal Seat utterly demolished and overturned from its very foundations, and the Temple, together with all the Ornaments and rich furniture therein, levelled with the Ground. Who hath uttered predictions,

i Ἀυτὸς π. ἐστ. It must be written πῆτα, with the accent cast back to the first syllable; which is done, as often as the proposition is set after the word. Evidently the reading must be, ἐκδομένη τῆς ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, correspondent to the affairs themselves. For 'tis referred to the word ἀφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, predictions. In the Eusebian Copy 'tis ἐκδομένη. Valef.

\* Math 23. \* Behold, your house is left to you desolate, and, † there shall not remain a stone upon a stone in this place, which shall not be thrown down.

But concerning his own Church [be spake in this manner,] || I will build my Church upon a rock, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. \* To have brought

† Ἐξ ἀλαίας καταλαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόν. I think a mistake of the Printer, I think, instead of καταλαβὼν, to have brought; be 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. Valef.

and Teachers to the whole world; what, and how mighty a thing does this seem to Thee? As for his promise to them, that he would make them

Fishers of men, he not only uttered it in words, but performed it actually and abundantly: and conferr'd on them so great a degree of strength and power, that they composed writings, and published Book: and the authority of all those Books was so great, that being rendered into all Languages, as well of Greeks as Barbarians; throughout the whole world, they are studiously read by all Nations; and the Contents of them are believed to be divine Oracles; of how mighty a prevalency is this, in order to a clear demonstration of his Divinity? How considerable likewise is that, namely that he foretold things future, and, long before it happened, assured his disciples, that they should be brought before Kings and Princes, and should be punished, and undergo the extremest of Torments, not for any fault all of their own, but only on account of their confession of his Name? Moreover, that he fitted and prepared them cheerfully to endure these things; and so fortified them with the Arms of Piety, that in their Conflicts with their adversaries, their minds appeared firmer than an Adamant; what powerfulness of expression is it, which that matter does not exceed? Likewise, that not only those who had followed him, but their successors also, and again they who immediately succeeded them, and at length such as have lived in this our present age, should with so undaunted a resolution

\* unite the Forces of their minds; that although they had done nothing worthy of death, yet with pleasure would endure all manner of punishments, and every sort of Torture, on account of their eximious Piety towards the Supreme God; what degree of admiration does not this surpass? What King did ever continue his Reign during so vast a number of Ages? Who does thus wage war after death, and does erect Trophies over his Enemies; and does subdue every place, Country and City, as well Grecian as Barbarian; and does vanquish his Opposers by an invisible and latent † Hand? And, which is the Chiefest thing of all that hath been said, hitherto rehearsed, † that

Peace \* by his Power procured for the whole world, concerning which we have already spoken what we judged agreeable, how should it not

stop the mouths of all slanderers? In as much as, the Unity and Concord of all Nations, did really concur in time with the Preaching of Our Saviour, and with the Doctrine by him disseminated over the whole world: and in regard [both of them] had long before been foretold by the Prophets of God, I mean the † Universal Peace of the Nations, and the Do-† Or, drine delivered by Christ to the Nations. The whole length of the day would be insufficient for me, || Dread Sir! should I attempt to sum up in one, those most clear and cogent arguments of Our Saviour's Divine Power, drawn from the things which are at this present Visible. For no man since the Creation, either amongst the Grecians or Barbarians, hath ever exerted such mighty Efforts of a Divine Power, as Our Saviour has done. \* But why do I say men? When at, even they who amongst all Nations are styled Gods, have not been endued with such a mighty power upon Earth. Is the Fa-

† Or, Emperor: Tis ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀποκαλύπτων τὰ κρυφά. I think a mistake of the Printer, I think, instead of ἀποκαλύπτων, to have brought; be 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. Valef.

† Ἐξ ἀλαίας καταλαβὼν τὴν ἀκρόν. I think a mistake of the Printer, I think, instead of καταλαβὼν, to have brought; be 'tis in the Eusebian Copy. Valef.

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# THE INDEX

## Of the Chief Matters contained in the Text of these

# HISTORIANS.

The First Number shews the Page ; the Second, the Column.

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# The I N D E X.

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*Trebellianus* brother to *Hilus*, 449. 1. His name is corrupted in *Theophrastus*'s Chronicon, *ibid*.  
*Troilus* the Sophist, 370. 1.  
*Τυχεῖον*, or *τυχεῖον*, the Temple of the publick Genius, 109. 1.  
*Τυχεῖον*, 114. 1.  
*Tyche*, the publick Genius, 194. 2.

V.

**V**acant Bishop, 307. 2.  
*Valentinianus Placidus*, where, and when proclaimed *Augustus*, 383. 2.  
*Valentinian Junior* was the son of *Valens Augustus*, 309. 2. He was also called *Galates*, *ibid*. In what year he dyed, 312. 1.  
*Valerian* when he began to reign, 121. 1.  
*Valerius*, a Roman Name, 69. 2.  
*Vicarii* or Deputies of the *Praefects* had the title of *Perfectissimi* in *Constantine*'s time, 195. 1.  
*Victor* the Pope, whether he excommunicated the *Asians*, or only threatened it, 87. 2.  
*Victor Tournonensis*, an eminent passage in him is mended, 402. 2, &c.  
*Victor* was taken by *Constantine* as *His Praenomen*, or fore-name, 557. 2. And after his death by his sons 632. 1.  
*Vigilius* the Pope gave his consent to the Synod of *Constantinople*, but refused to be present at it, 496. 1.  
*Vigil* of *Easter*, thereon the *Christians* kindled Lights, as well publicly, as in private, 613. 1.  
*Vindices* made by *Anastasius*, 47. 1.  
*Vine*, the Badge of the Centurion's Office, 125. 1.  
*Virtus* are either *παιδεία*, or *σοφιστική*, 616. 1.  
*ἴλας*, in what sense used by *Divines*, 93. 1.  
*Unio* for *Union*, is a barbarous, not a Latine word, 502. 2. *Unio*

in Latine signifies *unitatem*, unity, *ibid*.  
*Ἰπποκρίτης*, *Spatharius*, Esquire of the Emperor's Body, 411. 2.  
*Ἰπποκρίτης*, what it signifies, 266. 1.  
*Ἰπποκρίτης* *victoria*, Fast of *superposition*, 317. 2. 418. 1.  
*Ἰπποκρίτης*, who they were, 317. 1.

W.

**W**ek before *Easter*, termed by the Greek Fathers *The Great Week*, 24. 1. It began from the second *Feria*, or Monday, 88. 1. 678. 2, &c.  
*Widow*, or *Deaconesses*, their Examination, 698. 2.

X.

**X**anthicus, the name of a month amongst those of *Smyrna*, when it began, 60. 1.  
*Xenod*, a Dialogue of *Methodius* the Bishop, 362. 2.  
*Ξύλον*, a pair of Stocks, 60. 2. 71. 1. sometimes 'tis used to signify *The Eculeus*, 108. 2. 145. 1.  
*Xystus*, how long Bishop of *Rome*, 132. 2.

Y.

**Y**ears of the *Edeffens*, whence they began, 15. 2.  
*Year* of *Christ*, the first, according to *Eusebius*, 139. 2.]

Z.

**Z**ela, a City of *Cappadocia*, 303. 2.  
*Zeno*, whether Bishop of *Majuma*, 354. 1, 2.  
*Zozimus* the Historian, did not live in the Times of *Theodosius Junior*, 471. 2, &c.

Καὶ οὕτω τῶν δέξων ἀναγκαστικῶς τῇ Πάσχει, καὶ τῇ ἑορτῇ, καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ Πενήντητι, οὐκ ἐστὶν ἐξ ἑστέρας καὶ τὰς διαφόρους ἡμετέρας, Ἀμὲν.

28 SE 60

THE END.